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## PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE.

*Introduction.*

[As the great man who gave his name to the first of these colonies was the entire foundation of that extensive state, it will not be irrelevant to commence our history of it with a slight account of the life of its illustrious legislator.]

William Penn was the eldest son of Sir William Penn, who served both under the Parliament, and King Charles II., in several of the highest maritime offices. Sir William, born in Bristol in the year 1621, was the son of Captain Giles Penn, several years consul for the English, in the Mediterranean; and of the Penns of Penns-lodge, in Wiltshire, and the Penns of Penn, in the county of Buckinghamshire, and by his mother, from the Gilberts, in Somersetshire, originally from Yorkshire.

He was addicted from his youth to maritime affairs, and made captain at 21 years of age; rear-admiral of Ireland at 23; vice-admiral of Ireland at 25; admiral to the Straits at 29; vice-admiral of England at 31; and general in the first Dutch war at 32. Whence returning, anno 1655, he was returned to parliament for Weymouth. In 1660 he was made commissioner of the admiralty and navy, governor of the town and fort of Kingsail, vice-admiral of Munster, and a member of that provincial council; and anno 1664, he was chosen great captain-commander under the duke of York, in that signal and most successful fight with the Dutch fleet.

He shortly after this took leave of the sea, but continued in his other employments until 1669; at which time, through bodily infirmities, occasioned by his arduous life, he withdrew from public affairs; and died at Wanstead, in Essex, on the 16th of September, 1670, in the 49th year of his age; leaving a large estate, in England and Ireland, to his son William; to whom he was perfectly reconciled, after the great displeasure he had before conceived at his joining in religious society with the Quakers:—"Thus," says his son, "from a lieutenant he passed through all the eminent offices of sea employment, and arrived to that of general about the 30th year of his age; in a time full of the biggest sea actions that any history mentions; and when neither bribes nor alliance, favour nor affection, but ability only, could promote." Having acquitted himself with honour and fidelity in all his public offices, after the restoration he was knighted by King Charles II., and became a peculiar favourite of James, duke of York; whose friendship was, after his death, continued to his son; which, in a particular manner, he requested of the duke, on his death-bed. His wife was the daughter of John Jasper, a Dutch merchant, at Rotterdam.

The celebrated William Penn, son and heir of the above-mentioned Sir William, or Admiral Penn, and the first proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania, was born in London, on the 14th of October, 1644. He was endowed with an excellent capacity;

and his father, from the favourable prospects which he had of advancing him, was induced to give him a liberal education; and about the fifteenth year of his age he was entered a student at Christ's-church-college, Oxford.

"At this time more particularly," says the writer of his life, "began to appear in him a disposition of mind after true spiritual religion; of which, before he had received some sense and taste, through the ministry of Thomas Loe, a preacher under the denomination of a Quaker. In this place, he, and certain students of that university, withdrawing themselves from the national way of worship, held private meetings for the exercise of religion; where they both preached and prayed among themselves; which gave great offence to the heads of the college. He being then but sixteen years of age, was fined for non-conformity; and, at last, for his persevering in the like religious practices, was expelled the college."

After he returned home, he still retained the same turn of mind; which his father, judging likely to be a great obstacle to his advancement, endeavoured, by every means, to correct. But, after having used both argument and even bodily chastisement, without success, he was so far incensed against him, that he turned him out of his house.

Young Penn's patience surmounted this outrage, till his father's affection had subdued his anger; who then sent him to France in company with some distinguished young men, who were about making the grand tour. He continued there a considerable time, and his mind was diverted from all serious thoughts of religion. He acquired a knowledge of the French language, and became a very accomplished and fashionable young man; and his father, on his return, consequently received him with great satisfaction.

About the year 1664 his spiritual conflict is said to have been very great: his natural inclination, his lively and active disposition, his accomplishments, his father's favour, the respect of his friends and acquaintances, strongly tempted him to embrace the pleasures of the world, which he fought against with earnest supplication. But in the year 1666, and the 22nd of his age, his father committed to his management a considerable estate in Ireland, which occasioned his residence in that country; and there being at Cork a religious meeting of the people called Quakers, he was thoroughly and effectually convinced of their principles, by means of the preaching of one Thomas Loe, who ten years before had made a great impression upon him; and he thenceforward constantly attended the religious meetings of that people, even through the heat of persecution.

Being again at a meeting in Cork, in the year 1667, he, with many others, was apprehended, and carried before the mayor, who, observing that his dress was not that usually worn by the Quakers,

would have set him at liberty, upon bond, for his good behaviour; but he refused to take advantage of the offer, and was, with about eighteen others, committed to prison. During his residence in Ireland he had formed an intimate acquaintance with many of the nobility and gentry; and being now a prisoner, he wrote a letter, on the occasion, to the earl of Orrery, lord-president of Munster; in which he informed him of his situation, pleaded his innocence, and boldly exhibited the inconsistency with true Christianity, as well as the ill policy, of such kind of persecution, especially in Ireland. The earl immediately ordered his discharge; but his imprisonment was so far from terrifying him, that it strengthened him in his resolution of a closer union with that people, whose religious innocence appeared to be the only crime for which they suffered.

His more openly joining with the Quakers brought on him a great deal of odium. His father sent for him home; and upon his return, though there was no great alteration in his dress, yet his manners were manifest indications of the truth of the information which his father had received. "And here my pen," says the writer of his life, "is diffident of her abilities to describe that most pathetic and moving contest between his father and him. His father, by natural love, principally aiming at his son's temporal honour; he, guided by a divine impulse, having chiefly in view his own eternal welfare; his father, grieved to see the well-accomplished son of his hopes, now ripe for worldly promotion, voluntarily turn his back on it; he, no less afflicted, to think that a compliance with his earthly father's pleasure was inconsistent with an obedience to his heavenly one; his father pressing his conformity to the customs and fashions of the times; he modestly craving leave to refrain from what would hurt his conscience; his father earnestly entreating him, and, almost on his knees, beseeching him to yield to his desire; he, of a loving and tender disposition, in extreme agony of spirit, to behold his father's concern and trouble; his father threatening to disinherit him; he humbly submitting to his father's will therein; his father turning his back on him in anger; he lifting up his heart to God for strength, to support him in that time of trial!"

During this contest, the same writer mentions one very remarkable instance, among others, of his sincerity. "His father, finding him too fixed to be brought to a general compliance with the customary compliments of the times, seemed inclinable to have borne with him, in other respects, provided he would be uncovered in the presence of the king, the duke, and himself; this being proposed, he desired time to consider of it; which his father supposing to be with an intention of consulting his friends, the Quakers, about it, he assured him that he would see the face of none of them, but retire to his chamber, till he should return him an answer. Accordingly he withdrew, and, having humbled himself before God, with fasting and supplication, to know his heavenly mind and will, he became so strengthened in his resolution, that, returning to his father, he humbly signified, that he could not comply with his desire therein.

"When all endeavours proved ineffectual to shake his constancy, and his father saw himself utterly disappointed of his hopes, he could no longer endure him in his sight, but turned him out of doors the second time. Thus exposed to the charity of

his friends, having no other subsistence (except what his mother privately sent him), he endured the cross with a Christian patience and magnanimity, comforting himself with the promise of Christ; 'Verily I say unto you, there is no man, that hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more, in this present time, and in the world to come, life everlasting.'

"After a considerable time, his steady perseverance evincing his integrity, his father's wrath became somewhat mollified, so that he winked at his return to, and continuance in his family; and though he did not publicly seem to countenance him, yet, when imprisoned for being at meetings, he privately used his interest to get him released.

"About the year 1668, being the 24th of his age," continues his biographer, "he first appeared in the work of the ministry, rightly called to, and qualified for, that office; being sent of God to teach others what himself had learned of him; commissioned from on high to preach to others that holy self-denial which himself had practised; to recommend to all that serenity and peace of conscience which himself had felt; walking in the light, to call others out of darkness; having drank of the water of life, to direct others to the same fountain; having tasted of the heavenly bread, to incite all men to partake of the same banquet; being redeemed by the power of Christ, he was sent to call others from under the dominion of Satan, into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, that they might receive remission of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified through faith in Jesus Christ."

About this time he published several of his first compositions now extant in his printed works; one of which, entitled, "The Sandy Foundation shaken," was written in consequence of a dispute which he had in London with one Vincent, a presbyter. In this he exposed the vulgar notion of the Trinity, and some other religious tenets; which gave so much offence to those in power in the church, that they immediately took the old method of reforming what they called error, by their strongest argument viz. "An order for imprisoning him in the Tower of London;" where he was under close confinement, and even denied the visits of his friends. But yet his enemies did not obtain his conversion; for when, after some time, his servant brought him word, that the bishop of London was resolved he should either publicly recant, or die a prisoner, he made this reply: "All is well: I wish they had told me so before; since the expecting a release put a stop to some business: thou mayest tell my father, who, I know, will ask thee these words; that my prison shall be my grave, before I will budge a jot; for I owe my conscience to no mortal man. I have no need to fear: God will make amends for all. They are mistaken in me; I value not their threats and resolutions: for they shall know I can weary out their malice and peevishness; and in me shall they all behold a resolution above fear; conscience above cruelty; and a baffle put upon all their designs, by the spirit of patience, the companion of all the tribulated flock of the blessed Jesus, who is the author and finisher of the faith that overcomes the world, yea, death and hell too. Neither great nor good things were ever attained without loss and hardships. He that would reap and not labour must faint with the wind, and perish in disappointments: but a hair of my head shall not fall without the providence of my Father, that is over all.



"A spirit warmed with the love of God," says the writer of his life, "and devoted to his service, ever pursues its main purpose: he, being now restrained from preaching, applied himself to writing; several treatises were the fruits of his solitude, particularly that excellent one, entitled, 'No cross, no crown;' a book, which, tending to promote the general design of religion, was well accepted, and soon past several impressions."

He also, in the year 1669, wrote from the Tower a letter to Lord Arlington, then principal secretary of state, by whose warrant he was committed, in vindication of his innocence, and to remove some aspersions cast upon him; in this letter, with great boldness, and elegance of style, he pleads the reasonableness of toleration in religion, shows the extreme injustice of his imprisonment, and declares his firm resolution to suffer, rather than give up his cause; he likewise requests the secretary to lay his case before the king, and desires he may be ordered a release; but, if that should be denied, he entreats the favour of access to the royal presence, or at least, that the secretary himself would please to give him a full hearing, &c. And in order to clear himself from the aspersions cast on him, in relation to the doctrines of the Trinity, the incarnation, and satisfaction of Christ, he published a little book called, "Innocency with her open face," by way of apology for the "Sandy foundation shaken;" in which apology he so successfully vindicated himself, that soon after its publication, he was discharged from his imprisonment; which had been of about seven months continuance.

In the latter part of the summer this year, he went again to Ireland; and being arrived at Cork, he there visited his friends the Quakers, who were in prison, for their religion, attended the meetings of his society, and afterwards went from thence to Dublin; where an account of his friends' sufferings being drawn up, by way of address, it was by him presented to the lord-lieutenant.

During his stay in Ireland, though his business, in the care of his father's estate, occupied a considerable part of his time, yet he frequently attended, and preached in the meetings of his friends, especially at Dublin and Cork; in one of which places he usually resided. He also wrote during his residence there, several treatises, and took every opportunity in his power to solicit those in authority, in behalf of his friends in prison: and, in the beginning of 1670, through his repeated applications to the chancellor, the Lord Arran, and the lord-lieutenant, an order of council was obtained for their release. Having settled his father's affairs to his satisfaction, and done his friends, the Quakers, many services, he shortly after returned to England.

In the year 1670 was passed the Conventicle act, which prohibited the meetings of the dissenters, under severe penalties. The rigour of this law was immediately executed upon the Quakers; who not being used to give way in the cause of religion, were most exposed. Being kept out of their meeting-house in Gracechurch-street by force, they met in the street itself, as near it as they could; and William Penn, preaching there, was apprehended, and by a warrant, dated the 14th August, 1670, from Sir Samuel Starling, the lord mayor, committed to Newgate; and at the next sessions at the Old Bailey, was, together with William Mead, indicted for being present at, and preaching to, an unlawful, seditious and riotous assembly. At his trial he made such an excellent defence, as discovered at once both the

spirit of an Englishman, and the undaunted magnanimity of a Christian; inasmuch that notwithstanding the most partial menaces of the bench, the jury acquitted him. The trial itself was soon after printed; and it exhibits a signal instance of the attempts of the ignorance and tyranny of that time. It may be seen in his printed works.

Not long after this famous trial, and his discharge from Newgate, his father died, entirely reconciled to his son; to whom, as before observed, he left a good estate. His death-bed declarations and exhortations are very remarkable, and may be seen in Penn's treatise, entitled, "No cross, no crown," among the sayings of other eminent persons.

He was about this time employed in defence of his religious principles, in a public dispute with one Jeremy Ives, a celebrated Baptist; and afterwards in the December of the same year, being at Oxford, and observing the cruel usage and persecution which his innocent friends suffered there from the junior scholars, too much by the connivance of their superiors, he wrote a letter to the vice-chancellor, on the subject.

In the winter this year, he also, while residing at Penn in Buckinghamshire, published a book, entitled, "A reasonable caveat against Popery;" wherein he both exposes and confutes many erroneous doctrines of the church of Rome, and establishes the opposite truths, by sound arguments; a work alone sufficient, on the one hand, to wipe off the calumny cast upon him, of being a favourer of the Romish religion; and on the other, to show, that his principle being for an universal liberty of conscience, he would have had it extended, even to the papists themselves, under a security of their not persecuting others.

In March 1671, while he was preaching at a religious meeting of his friends in Wheeler-street, London, he was forcibly seized by a party of soldiers, sent thither for that purpose, and carried to the Tower, by an order from the lieutenant. In his examination, on this occasion, before the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Robinson, Starling the lord mayor, and others, his behaviour was very spirited. It may be seen in the printed account of his life, prefixed to his literary works; in which, as the lieutenant's words and conduct appear imperious, and manifestly inimical, so his replies were smart, and bold: and, on the lieutenant's charging him with his having been as bad as other people, and that both at home and abroad, he received this remarkable answer from W. Penn, viz. "I make this bold challenge to all men, women and children upon earth, justly to accuse me, with ever having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word (much less that I ever made it my practice), I speak this to God's glory, that has preserved me from the power of those pollutions, and that, from a child, begot a hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common, than when men are of a more severe life than ordinary, for loose persons to comfort themselves with the conceit, 'that they were once as they are,' as if there were no collateral, or oblique line of the compass, or globe, men may be said to come from to the Arctic pole, but directly and immediately from the Antarctic. 'Thy words shall be thy burden, and I trample thy slander, as dirt under my feet.'"

He was sent prisoner to Newgate for six months; where, during his confinement, he wrote several treatises, and occasional pieces of controversy, extant in his works; and the parliament being about to take measures for enforcing with greater severity

the aforesaid conventicle act, he whose freedom of spirit a prison could not confine from advocating the cause of liberty, wrote from the same place the following paper, directed,

"To the high court of Parliament.

"Forasmuch as it hath pleased you to make an act, entitled, 'An act for suppressing seditious conventicles, the dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, &c.' and that, under pretence of authority from it, many have taken the ungodly liberty of plundering, pillaging and breaking into houses, to the ruin and detriment of whole families, not regarding the poor, the widow and the fatherless, beyond all precedent, or excuse; and, that we are informed it is your purpose, instead of relaxing your hand, to supply the defects of that act, by such explanatory clauses as will inevitably expose us to the fury and interest of our several adversaries; that under pretence of answering the intents of the said act, will only gratify their private humours, and doubtless extend it beyond its original purpose, to the utter destruction of us, and our suffering friends.

"We, therefore, esteem ourselves obliged, in Christian duty, once more to remonstrate.

"First, That we own civil government, or magistracy, as God's ordinance, for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well; and though we cannot comply with those laws that prohibit us to worship God, according to our consciences, as believing it to be his alone prerogative, to preside in matters of faith and worship, yet we both own and are ready to yield obedience to every ordinance of man, relating to human affairs, and that for conscience sake.

"Secondly, That we deny and renounce, as a horrible impiety, all plots and conspiracies, or to promote our interest, or religion, by the blood and destruction of such as dissent from us, or yet those that persecute us.

"Thirdly, That in all revolutions we have demeaned ourselves with much peace and patience (disowning all contrary actings), notwithstanding the numerous prosecutions of cruel and ungodly men; which is a demonstration of our harmless behaviour, that ought not to be of little moment with you.

"Fourthly, That as we have ever lived most peaceably under all the various governments, that have been since our first appearance (notwithstanding we have been as their anvil to smite upon), so we do hereby signify, that it is our fixed resolution to continue the same; that where we cannot actually obey, we patiently shall suffer, (leaving our innocent cause without daring to love ourselves unto the death, for our blessed testimony's sake,) thereby manifesting to the whole world, that we love God above all, and our neighbours as ourselves.

"If this prevails not with you to suspend your thoughts of reinforcing your former act, we do desire that we, or some of our friends, may receive a free hearing from you (as several of us had upon the first act for uniformity), having many great and weighty reasons to offer against all such severe proceedings, to the end all wrong measures of us, and of our principles may be rectified; and, that you, being better informed of both, may remove our heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free; for such moderation will be well pleasing both to God and good men.

"From us who are prisoners, at Newgate (for conscience sake), on behalf of ourselves, and all our suffering friends in England, &c.

"WILLIAM PENN, and several others.

"Newgate, second month, 1671."

His six months' imprisonment in Newgate, being expired, he was set at liberty, and shortly after went into Holland and Germany. Of his business, or services, at this time, in these countries, we find no particular account, besides some small memorandums made in his journal of his subsequent travels afterwards into those countries.

In the beginning of the year 1672, and the 28th of his age, he married Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, formerly of Darling in Sussex; who was killed in the time of the civil wars, at the siege of Bamber; and whose widow was afterwards married to Isaac Penington, of Peter's Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire; in whose family her daughter was brought up; a young woman, of an excellent disposition, and agreeable person. Afterwards, fixing upon a convenient habitation at Rickmersworth, in Hertfordshire, he resided there with his family, often visiting the meetings of his friends.

In the September of 1672, he visited his friends in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; of which his memorandums furnish us with a proof of that singular industry which the dissenting ministers exercise in the discharge of their office; for in the space of 21 days, he with his companion were present at, and preached to, as many assemblies of people, at distant places, viz. Rochester, Canterbury, Dover, Deal, Folkstone, Ashford, and other places in Kent; at Lewes, Horsham, Stenning, &c. in Sussex; and at Charlewood and Ryegate in Surrey. "Great was their service in these counties;" says the writer of his life, "their testimonies, effectual to the strengthening of their friends, silencing of gainsayers, and to a general edification, were received by the people with joy, and openness of heart; and themselves in the performance of their duty, filled with spiritual consolation." Penn gives the following account of their last meeting in that journey, being at Ryegate: "The Lord sealed up our labours and travels according to the desire of my soul and spirit, with his heavenly refreshments, and sweet living power and word of life, unto the reaching of all, and consoling our own hearts abundantly;" and he concludes his narrative with saying:—"And thus hath the Lord been with us, in all our travels for his truth; and with his blessings of peace are we returned; which is a reward beyond all worldly treasure."

About this time many opposers of the Quakers, some of whom being dissenters themselves, who had enough to do in time of persecution, by a cautious privacy, which they called Christian prudence, to secure their heads from the storm, began, under the sun-shine of the king's indulgence, to peep out, and (in the words of the writer of Penn's life) by gain-saying the truth, to make its defence necessary; so that he had plenty of controversial exercise for his pen, the remainder of this year, and the two next ensuing; which produced several valuable treatises, extant in his works, together with many remarkable and excellent letters and epistles, written both to single persons, and collective bodies, in England, Holland, Germany and elsewhere; which, as they are principally of a religious, and some of them of a political nature, may likewise be seen in his printed writings. Among these appears the following letter to a Roman Catholic, viz

"My Friend,

"Christ Jesus did redeem a people with his most precious blood, and the ancient church of Rome, among other churches, was one; but as the sea loses and gets, and as prosperity changes its sta-

tion, so the chastity of the church of Rome is lost; she having taken in principles and discipline, that are not of Christ, neither can be found in the Holy Scriptures.

"If thou wert to die, woudest not thou leave a plain will to thy children? so have Christ and his apostles, in the Scriptures. Read, and thou mayest behold the simplicity, purity, meekness, patience, and self-denial of those Christians and churches. They are Christ's that take up his cross to the glory and spirit of this world; which the church of Rome lives in. Behold the pride, luxury, cruelty, that have, for ages, been in that church, even the heads and chieftains thereof! It is a mistake to think that Christ's church, which has lost its heavenly qualifications, because it once was. What is become of Antioch, Jerusalem, &c. both churches of Christ, and before Rome? Nor is it number, (the devil has that;) nor antiquity, (for he has that;) but Christ-likeness, and conformity to Jesus; who hath divorced those that have adulterated; and though he had left but two or three (though there were thousands), yet he would be in the midst of them: and they have been in the wilderness, people crying in sackcloth. The generality declined from Christ's spirit; and it was lost, and the teachings of it: and then came up form, without power, and a wrathful spirit, to propagate it; and this made up the great whore, that looked like the Lamb's bride, Christ's church, but was not; which God will judge. Remember that God was not without a church, though the natural church and priesthood of the Jews apostatized: so in the case of the church of Rome.

"Now is the Lord raising up his old power, and giving his spirit, and moving upon the waters (the people), that out of that state all may come, and know God in spirit, and Christ, his Son; whom he has sent into the people's hearts, a true light. And, my friend, build not upon fancies, nor the traditions of men, but Christ the sure foundation, as he appears to thee, in thy conscience; that thou mayest feel his power to redeem thee, up to himself, out of the earthly, sensual spirit, to know thy right eye plucked out, the true mortification; and this brings thee to the church of the first-born, that is more divine and noble than an outward glittering church, that is inwardly polluted: for know, as thou sowest, thou reapest in the great day of account. So to God's spirit, in thy own conscience, do I recommend thee, that leads out of all evil, and quickens thee to God, as thou obeyest it, and makes thee a child of God, and an heir of glory. I am in much haste, and as much love,

"Thy true Friend,  
"WILLIAM PENN.

"London, ninth October, 1675."

In the year 1676 he became one of the principal persons concerned in settling West New Jersey, in America; as we have already seen in the history of that colony. About this time also he wrote to some persons of great rank in Germany, as appears in his works; encouraging them to a perseverance in the paths of virtue and true religion; with the love of which he had understood their minds were happily and divinely inspired.

In the year 1677 he travelled into Holland and Germany, in company with several of his friends, the Quakers, on a religious visit, to these countries; of which there is extant, in his works, an account or journal, written by himself, in a plain and simple style. It does not appear to have been originally intended to be published; for, in the preface to its first publication, he says, "It was written for my

own, and some relations, and particular friends' satisfaction, as the long time it hath lain silent doth shew, but a copy, that was found among the late countess of Conway's papers, falling into the hands of a person that much frequented that family, he was earnest with me, both by himself and others, to have leave to publish it for a common good," &c. In this account are included several letters, epistles, and religious productions, written during his travels, to persons of eminence and others, whom he either visited in person, or writing. It is continued from the 22d of July, 1677, when he left home, to the 1st of November, when he returned to his habitation, at Worminghurst, in Sussex.

In this journal mention is made of his having religious meetings, or paying personal visits, at Rotterdam, Leyden, Haerlam, and Amsterdam; in which last place he made some stay, being employed there in assisting to regulate and settle the affairs of his religious society in that city; and from thence he wrote to the king of Poland, in favour of his persecuted and suffering friends, the Quakers, at Dantzic. He was also at Naerden, Osnaburgh, and Herwerden; in the last of which places he had religious meetings and agreeable conversation with the Princess Elizabeth Palatine and others. He visited Paderborn, Cassel, and Frankfort; where he made some stay, and wrote an epistle, "To the churches of Jesus throughout the world," &c. From thence he went through Worms to Crisheim, where he found a meeting of his friends, the Quakers; and wrote to the princess before mentioned, and the countess of Hornes, two Protestant ladies of great virtue and quality, at Herwerden. Thence by Frankenthal to Mannheim; from which place he wrote to the prince elector Palatine of Heydelburgh. He was likewise at Mentz and many other places on the Rhine; as Cullen, Duysburgh, &c. But, on account of his being a Quaker, he was prohibited to enter into Mulheim by the Graef, or earl of Bruch and Falkensteyn, lord of that country; on which occasion he wrote to him from Duysburgh, a sharp letter of reproof and advice; and to his daughter, the countess, a virtuous and religious lady, at Mulheim, on whose account his visit there was principally intended, he sent a consolatory epistle.

He then visited Wesel, Rees, Emrick, Cleve, Nimeguen, Lippenhusen, Groningen, Embden, Bremen, and the Hague; and many of these places several times, frequently writing letters of advice and religious comfort to religious persons of great quality and others. At the last-mentioned place he corrected and finished several long epistles, of a religious nature; which were written and intended for the press, both in his first and second journey in Germany; and which are now extant in his works. From the Hague he went to Delft, Wonderwick, and so to the Briel; and from thence by the packet, to Harwich, and so home.

After his return from Germany, the Quakers being harassed with severe prosecutions in the exchequer, on penalties of 20*l.* per month, or two-thirds of their estates, by laws made against Papists, but unjustly exerted upon them; Penn solicited the parliament for redress of those grievances, and presented petitions, on the occasion, both to the lords and commons; where, upon being admitted to a hearing before a committee, on the 22d of the month called March, 1678, he made the following speeches:—

"If we ought to believe that it is our duty, according to the doctrine of the Apostle, to be always ready to give an account of the hope that is in us,



and that to every sober and private inquirer; certainly much more ought we to hold ourselves obliged to declare, with all readiness, when called to it by so great authority, what is not our hope, especially wheu our very safety is eminently concerned in so doing, and that we cannot decline this discrimination of ourselves from Papists, without being conscientious to ourselves of the guilt of our own sufferings; for that must every man needs be, that suffers mutely, under another character than that, which truly and properly belongeth to him, and his belief. That which giveth me a more than ordinary right to speak, at this time, and in this place, is the great abuse, that I have received, above any other of my profession; for, of a long time I have not only been supposed a Papist, but a seminary, a Jesuit, an emissary of Rome, and in pay from the Pope, a man dedicating my endeavours to the interest and advancement of that party. Nor hath this been the report of the rabble, but the jealousy and insinuation of persons otherwise sober and discreet: nay, some zealous for the Protestant religion, have been so far gone in this mistake, as not only to think ill of us, and to decline our conversation, but to take courage to themselves, to prosecute us for a sort of concealed Papists; and the truth is, what with one thing, and what with another, we have been as the wool-sacks, and common whipping-stock of the kingdom; all laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design were not to reform, but to destroy us, and that not for what we are, but for what we are not. It is hard, that we must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment; but it is worse, that some men can please themselves in such a sort of administration.

"I would not be mistaken, I am far from thinking it fit that Papists should be whipped for their consciences, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists: no, for though the hand pretended to be lifted up against them, hath (I know not by what direction) lit heavy upon us, and we complain; yet we do not mean, that any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they must come in our room; for we must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves; for we have good will to all men, and would have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent, on any hand: and I humbly take leave to add, that those methods, against persons so qualified, do not seem to me to be convincing, or indeed adequate to the reason of mankind; but this I submit to your consideration.

"To conclude, I hope we shall be held excused of the men of that profession, in giving this distinguishing declaration, since it is not with design to expose them; but, first, to pay that regard, we owe to the inquiry of this committee; and, in the next place, to relieve ourselves from the daily spoil and ruin, which now attend and threaten many hundreds of families, by the execution of laws that we humbly conceive were never made against us."

He afterwards made a second speech to the committee as follows:—

"The candid hearing, our sufferings have received from the committee, and the fair and easy entertainment that you have given us, oblige me to add what ever can increase your satisfaction about us. I hope you do not believe, I would tell you a lie; I am sure I should choose an ill time and place to tell it in; but, I thank God it is too late in the day for that. There are some here that have known

me formerly; I believe they will say, I never was that man; and it would be hard, if after a voluntary neglect of the advantages of this world, I should sit down, in my retirement, short of common truth.

"Excuse the length of my introduction, it is for this I make it. I was bred a Protestant, and that strictly too: I lost nothing by time or study; for years, reading, travel and observations made the religion of my education the religion of my judgment: my alteration hath brought none to that belief; and though the posture I am in may seem odd, or strange to you, yet I am conscientious; and (till you know me better) I hope your charity will rather call it my unhappiness than my crime. I do tell you again, and here solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the profession I now make, and the society I now adhere to, have been so far from altering that Protestant judgment I had, that I am not conscious to myself of having receded from an iota of any one principle, maintained by those first Protestants and reformers of Germany, and our own martyrs, at home, against the Pope, and See of Rome.

"On the contrary, I do, with great truth, assure you, that we are of the same negative faith with the ancient Protestant church, and upon occasion, shall be ready by God's assistance to make it appear, that we are of the same belief, as to the most fundamental positive articles of her creed too. And, therefore it is, we think it hard, that though we deny, in common with her, those doctrines of Rome, so zealously protested against, from whence the name Protestants; yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with extreme severity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines, we do so deny. We choose no suffering, for God knows what we have already suffered, and how many sufficient and trading families are reduced to great poverty by it. We think ourselves a useful people: we are sure we are a peaceable people; but, if we still suffer, let us not suffer as Popish recusants, but as Protestant dissenters.

"But I would obviate another objection, and that none of the least, that hath been made against us, viz. 'That we are enemies to government in general, and particularly disaffected to this we live under.' I think it not amiss, but very seasonable, yea, my duty, now to declare to you (and that I do with good conscience, in the sight of the Almighty God), first, that we believe government to be God's ordinance; and next, that this present government is established by the providence of God, and law of the land, and that it is our Christian duty readily to obey it, in all just laws; and wherein we cannot comply, through tenderness of conscience, in all such cases, not to revile, or conspire against the government, but, with Christian humility and patience, tire out all mistakes about us; and wait their better information; who, we believe, do as undeservedly as severely treat us; and I know not what greater security can be given by any people, or how any government can be easier from the subjects of it

"I shall conclude with this; that we are so far from esteeming it hard, or ill, that the house hath put us upon this discrimination, that, on the contrary, we value it as we ought to do, for a high favour, (and cannot choose but see, and humbly acknowledge God's providence therein,) that you should give us this fair occasion to discharge ourselves of a burden we have, not with more patience

than injustice, suffered but too many years under; and I hope our conversation shall always manifest the grateful resentment of our minds, for the justice and civility of this opportunity; and so I pray God direct you."

The committee agreed to insert in a bill, then depending, a proviso, or clause, for relief, in the case complained of; and it passed the House of Commons: but before it had gone through the House of Lords, it was quashed by a sudden prorogation of the parliament.

About this time (1679) and the following year, the people's minds being disturbed with rumours of plots, apprehensions of a French invasion, and designs to subvert the Protestant religion, and introduce Popery, he wrote and published several pieces by way of advice to his friends, the Quakers, in particular; among which was published, in the year 1679, the excellent treatise, entitled, "An address to Protestants of all persuasions," &c. And in the year 1681, there being a fresh persecution against his friends, the Quakers, in the city of Bristol, he wrote them the following epistle (which is here inserted as a characteristic specimen of him and his style of writing):—

"To the friends of God in the city of Bristol.

"This sent to be read amongst them, when assembled to wait upon the Lord.

"My beloved in the Lord,

"I do hereby send amongst you the dear and tender salutation of my unfeigned love, that is held in the fellowship of the lasting Gospel of peace, that has many years been preached and believed amongst you, beseeching the God and Father of this glorious day of the Son of man, to increase and multiply his grace, mercy and peace among you; that you may be faithful, and abound in every good word and work, doing and suffering what is pleasing unto God; that you may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God; which it becomes you to be found daily doing; that so an entrance may be administered unto you abundantly into the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that is an everlasting kingdom. My beloved brethren and sisters, be not cast down at the rage of evil men, whose anger works not the righteousness of God; and whose cruelty the Lord will limit. Nothing strange, or unusual, is come to pass, it makes well for them, that eye the Lord in and through these sufferings: there is food in affliction, and though the instruments of it cannot see it, all shall work together for good to them that fear the Lord: keep your ground in the truth, that was, and is the saints' victory. They that shrink, go out of it; it is a shield to the righteous: feel it, and see, I charge you by the presence of the Lord, that you turn not aside the Lord's end towards you, in this suffering, by consulting with flesh and blood, in easing your adversaries; for that will load you. Keep out of base bargainings, or conniving at fleshly evasions of the cross. Our Captain would not leave us such an example: let them shrink that know not why they should stand; we know, in whom we have believed: he is mightier in the faithful, to suffer and endure to the end, than the world, to persecute: call to mind those blessed ancients, 'That by faith overcame of old, that endured cruel mockings and scourges, yea moreover, bonds and imprisonments, that accepted no deliverance (to deny their testimony), that they might obtain a better resurrection':— They were stoned; they were tempted; they were sawn asunder; they were slain with the sword;

but ye have not so resisted unto blood; and it sufficeth, I hope, to you, that the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment, to be punished; when it may be truly said, 'It shall go well with the righteous, but very ill with the wicked.' The Lord God, by his power, keep your hearts living to him; that it may be your delight to wait upon him, and receive the bounty of his love; that, being fed with his daily bread, and drinking of his cup of blessing, you may be raised above the fear and trouble of earthly things and grow strong in him, who is your crown of rejoicing; that, having answered his requirings, and walked faithfully before him, you may receive in the end of your days, the welcome sentence of gladness. Eternal riches are before you, an inheritance incorruptible: press after that glorious mark: let your minds be set on things that are above, and when Christ, that is the glory of his poor people, shall appear, they shall appear with him in glory; when all tears shall be wiped away, and there shall be no more sorrow, or sighing, but they that overcome, shall stand as Mount Zion, that cannot be removed.

"So, my dear friends and brethren, endure, that you may be saved, and you shall reap, if you faint not. What should we be troubled for? our kingdom is not of this world, nor can be shaken by the overturning here below. Let all give glory to God on high, live peaceably on earth, and show good will to all men; and our enemies will at last see they do they know not what, and repent, and glorify God our heavenly Father. O! great is God's work on earth. Be universal in your spirits, and keep out all straightness and narrowness: look to God's great and glorious kingdom, and its prosperity: our time is not our own, nor are we our own: God hath bought us with a price, not to serve ourselves, but to glorify him, both in body, soul and spirit; and, by bodily sufferings for the truth, he is glorified: look to the accomplishing of the will of God, in these things; that the measure of Christ's sufferings may be filled up in us, who bear about the 'dying of the Lord Jesus;' else our suffering is in vain. Wherefore, as the flock of God, and family and household of faith, walk with your loins girded, being sober, hoping to the end, for the grace and kindness, which shall be brought unto you, at the revelation of Jesus Christ, to whom you and your's are committed: his precious Spirit minister unto you, and his own life be shed abroad plenteously among you, that you may be kept blameless to the end. I am your friend and brother in the fellowship of the suffering for truth, as it is in Jesus,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Worminghurst, 24th of the twelfth month, 1681."

Having thus far pursued his biography, and having already, in the history of New Jersey, given an account of the share he took in settling that colony, we shall attend him in the settlement and colonization of his province of Pennsylvania.

*William Penn's chief design in the colonization of Pennsylvania—Cause and manner of obtaining the grant—King Charles II.'s royal charter to William Penn—Boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania, with the real extent and content of the latter—The King's declaration—Account of the province, terms of sale for land, and conditions of settlement published, with advice to the adventurers—Free society of traders, &c.*

On the death of Admiral Penn, there was a large

sum of money due from the government to him; much of which he himself had advanced for the sea service; and the rest was for arrears in his pay. In consequence of this debt, William Penn, in the summer of the year 1680, petitioned Charles II., that letters patent might be granted him, for a tract of land in America, lying north of Maryland; on the east, bounded by Delaware river; on the west limited as Maryland; and northward to extend as far as plantable.

(1681.) This was first laid before the privy-council, and afterwards the lords of the committee of trade and plantations. After several meetings on the occasion, in which the objections from the duke of York, by his agent, Sir John Werden, as proprietor of that tract of land, since called the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware; and from the Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, were fully heard and debated; the Lord Chief Justice North, and the attorney-general, Sir William Jones, being consulted both respecting the grant itself, and also the form, or manner of making it, the affair was at length decided in William Penn's favour; and he was, by charter, dated at Westminster, the 4th day of March, 1681, made and constituted full and absolute proprietor of all that tract of land and province, now called Pennsylvania, and invested with the powers of government of the same.

This charter is as follows:—

“The charter of Charles II., of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. unto William Penn, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania,

“Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to all, to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

“Whereas our trusty and well-beloved subject, William Penn, Esq., son and heir of Sir William Penn, deceased (out of a commendable desire to enlarge our British empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be of benefit to us and our dominions, as also to reduce the savage natives, by just and gentle manners, to the love of civil society, and Christian religion), hath humbly besought leave of us, to transport an ample colony unto a certain country; hereinafter described, in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted; and hath likewise so humbly besought our royal majesty to give, grant, and confirm all the said country, with certain privileges and jurisdictions, requisite for the good government and safety of the said country and colony, to him, and his heirs for ever.

“I. Know ye, therefore, that we (favouring the petition and good purpose of the said William Penn, and having regard to the memory and merits of his late father, in divers services, and particularly to his conduct, courage, and discretion, under our dearest brother, James, duke of York, in that signal battle and victory, fought and obtained against the Dutch fleet, commanded by the Heer Van Opdam, in the year 1665: in consideration thereof, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion) have given and granted, and, by this our present charter, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, all that tract, or part of land in America, with the islands therein contained, as the same is bounded, on the east by Delaware river, from twelve miles distance northwards of New Castle town, unto the 43d degree of northern latitude, if the said

river doth extend so far northward, but if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then, by the said river, so far as it doth extend; and from the head of the said river, the eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line, to be drawn from the head of the said river, unto the said 43d degree. The said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds; and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the 43d degree of northern latitude, and on the south by a circle, drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle, northward and westward, unto the beginning of the 40th degree of northern latitude; and then by a straight line westward to the limits of longitude above mentioned.

“II. We do also give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, the free, and undisturbed use, and continuance in, and passage unto, and out of all and singular ports, harbours, bays, waters, rivers, isles, and inlets, belonging unto, or leading to, and from, the country, or islands aforesaid, and all the soils, lands, fields, woods, underwoods, mountains, hills, fenns, isles, lakes, rivers, waters, rivulets, bays, and inlets, situated, or being within, or belonging to, the limits, or bounds, aforesaid, together with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeon, and all royal, and other fishes, in the seas, bays, inlets, waters, or rivers, within the premises, and all the fish taken therein; and also all veins, mines, minerals and quarries, as well discovered as not discovered, of gold, silver, gemms, and precious stones, and all other whatsoever, be it stones, metals, or of any other thing or matter whatsoever, found, or to be found, within the country, isles, or limits aforesaid.

“III. And him, the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, we do by this our royal charter, for us, our heirs and successors, make, create, and constitute the true and absolute proprietary of the country aforesaid, and of all other the premises; saving always to us, our heirs and successors, the faith and allegiance of the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, and of all other proprietaries, tenants and inhabitants, that are, or shall be, within the territories and precincts aforesaid; and saving also unto us, our heirs and successors, the sovereignty of the aforesaid country; to have, hold, possess, and enjoy the said tract of land, country, isles, inlets, and other the premises, unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns for ever, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, kings of England, as of our castle of Windsor, in the county of Berks, in free and common socage, by fealty only, for all services and not *in capite*, or by knight service: yielding and paying therefore to us, our heirs and successors, two beaver skins, to be delivered at our castle of Windsor, on the 1st day of January in every year; and also the fifth part of all gold and silver ore, which shall, from time to time, happen to be found within the limits aforesaid, clear of all charges. And of our further grace, certain knowledge, mere motion, We have thought fit to erect, and we do hereby erect, the aforesaid country and islands into a province and seigniory, and do call it Pensylvania, and so from henceforth will have it called.

“IV. And, for as much as, we have hereby made and ordained the aforesaid William Penn, his heirs and assigns, the true and absolute proprietaries of all the lands and dominions aforesaid, Know ye, therefore, that we (reposing special trust and con-



fidence in the fidelity, wisdom, justice, and provident circumspection of the said William Penn) for us, our heirs and successors, do grant free, full, and absolute power, by virtue of these presents, to him and his heirs, to his, and their deputies and lieutenants, for the good and happy government of the said country, to ordain, make, and enact, and, under his and their seals, to publish any laws whatsoever, for the raising of money for public uses of the said province, or for any other end, appertaining either unto the public state, peace, or safety of the said country, or unto the private utility of particular persons, according unto their best discretion, and with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen of the said country, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates, or deputies, whom, for the enacting of the said laws, when, and as often as need shall require, we will that the said William Penn, and his heirs, shall assemble, in such sort and form, as to him and them shall seem best, and the same laws duly to execute, unto and upon all people, within the said country and limits thereof.

“V. And we do likewise give and grant unto the said William Penn, and to his heirs, and their deputies and lieutenants, full power and authority to appoint and establish any judges and justices, magistrates, and other officers whatsoever, (for the probates of wills, and for the granting of administration within the precincts aforesaid, and with what power soever, and in such form, as to the said William Penn, or his heirs shall seem most convenient:) also to remit, release, pardon, and abolish (whether before judgment or after) all crimes and offences whatsoever, committed within the said country, against the laws (treason and wilful and malicious murder only excepted, and, in those cases, to grant reprieves, until our pleasure may be known therein), and to do all and every other thing and things, which unto the complete establishment of justice, unto courts and tribunals, forms of judicature, and manner of proceedings do belong, although, in these presents, express mention be not made thereof; and by judges, by them delegated, to award process, hold pleas, and determine, in all the said courts and tribunals, all actions, suits, and causes whatsoever, as well criminal as civil, personal, real, and mixt; which laws, so as aforesaid, to be published, our pleasure is, and so we enjoin, require, and command, shall be most absolute and available in law; and that all the liege people and subjects of us, our heirs and successors, do observe and keep the same inviolably in those parts, so far as they concern them, under the pain therein expressed, or to be expressed. Provided, nevertheless, That the same laws be consonant to reason, and not repugnant or contrary, but (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable to the laws and statutes, and rights of this our kingdom of England; and saving and reserving to us, our heirs and successors, the receiving, hearing, and determining of the appeal and appeals of all, or any person, or persons, of, in, or belonging to the territories aforesaid, or touching any judgment to be there made, or given.

“VI. And, for as much as, in the government of so great a country, sudden accidents do often happen, whereunto it will be necessary to apply remedy, before the freeholders of the said province, or their delegates, or deputies, can be assembled, to the making of laws; neither will it be convenient, that instantly upon every such occasion, so great a multitude should be called together: therefore (for the better government of the said country) we will

and ordain, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant unto the said William Penn and his heirs, by themselves, or by their magistrates and officers, in that behalf, duly to be ordained, as aforesaid, to make and constitute fit and wholesome ordinances, from time to time, within the said country to be kept and observed, as well for the preservation of the peace, as for the better government of the people there inhabiting; and publicly to notify the same to all persons whom the same doth, or may any ways concern. Which ordinances our will and pleasure is shall be observed inviolably within the said province, under the pains therein to be expressed, so as the said ordinances be consonant to reason, and be not repugnant nor contrary, but (so far as conveniently may be) agreeable with the laws of our kingdom of England, and so as the said ordinances be not extended, in any sort, to bind, change, or take away the right, or interest of any person, or persons, for, or in, their life, members, freehold, goods, or chattels. And our farther will and pleasure is, That the laws for regulating and governing of property within the said province, as well as for the descent and enjoyment of lands, as likewise for the enjoyment and succession of goods and chattels, and likewise as to felonies, shall be, and continue the same, as they shall be for the time being by the general course of the law in our kingdom of England, until the said laws shall be altered by the said William Penn, his heirs or assigns, and by the freemen of the said province, their delegates, or deputies, or the greater part of them.

“VII. And to the end that the said William Penn, or his heirs; or other the planters, owners, or inhabitants of the said province may not, at any time hereafter (by misconstruction of the power aforesaid) through inadvertency, or design, depart from that faith and due allegiance, which by the laws of this our realm of England, they and all our subjects, in our dominions and territories, always owe to us, our heirs and successors, by colour of any extent, or largeness of powers hereby given, or pretended to be given, or by force or colour of any laws hereafter to be made, in the said province, by virtue of any such powers; our further will and pleasure is, that a transcript or duplicate of all laws which shall be so, as aforesaid, made and published within the said province, shall, within five years after the making thereof, be transmitted and delivered to the privy-council, for the time being, of us, our heirs and successors: and if any of the said laws, within the space of six months after that they shall be so transmitted and delivered, be declared by us, our heirs and successors, in our, or their privy-council, inconsistent with the sovereignty, or lawful prerogative of us, our heirs and successors, or contrary to the faith and allegiance due to the legal government of this realm, from the said William Penn, or his heirs, or of the planters and inhabitants of the said province, and that thereupon any of the said laws shall be adjudged and declared to be void by us, our heirs and successors, under our or their privy seal, that then, and from thenceforth such laws, concerning which such judgment and declaration shall be made, shall become void: otherwise the said laws, so transmitted, shall remain and stand in full force, according to the true intent and meaning thereof.

“VIII. Furthermore, that this new colony may the more happily increase by the multitude of people resorting thither; therefore we, for us, our heirs

and successors, do give and grant by these presents, power, licence, and liberty unto all the liege people and subjects, both present and future, of us, our heirs and successors (excepting those, who shall be especially forbidden), to transport themselves and families unto the said country, with such convenient shipping, as, by the laws of this our kingdom of England, they ought to use, and with fitting provision; paying only the customs therefore due, and there to settle themselves, dwell and inhabit and plant, for the public, and their own private advantage.

"IX. And furthermore, that our subjects may be the rather encouraged to undertake this expedition, with ready and cheerful minds, know ye, That we, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, do give and grant, by virtue of these presents, as well unto the said William Penn, and his heirs, as to all others, who shall, from time to time, repair unto the said country, full licence to lade and freight in any ports whatsoever of us, our heirs and successors, according to the laws made, or to be made, within our kingdom of England, and unto the said country, by them, their servants or assigns, to transport all and singular their goods, wares and merchandizes, as likewise all sorts of grain whatsoever, and all other things whatsoever, necessary for food or clothing not prohibited by the laws and statutes of our kingdom and dominions, to be carried out of the said kingdom, without any let, or molestation of us, our heirs and successors, or of any of the officers of us, our heirs or successors; saving always to us, our heirs and successors, the legal impositions, customs, or other duties and payments for the said wares and merchandizes, by any law or statute, due, or to be due to us, our heirs and successors.

"X. And we do further, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, free and absolute power, to divide the said country and islands into towns, hundreds and counties, and to erect and incorporate towns into burroughs, and burroughs into cities, and to make and constitute fairs and markets therein, with all other convenient privileges and immunities, according to the merits of the inhabitants, and the fitness of the places, and to do all, and every other thing and things, touching the premises, which to him, or them, shall seem meet and requisite; albeit they be such, as of their own nature might otherwise require a more special commandment and warrant, than, in these presents, is expressed.

"XI. We will also, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do give and grant licence, by this our charter, unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, and to all the inhabitants and dwellers in the province aforesaid, both present and to come, to import or unlade, by themselves or their servants, factors, or assigns, all merchandizes and goods whatsoever, that shall arise of the fruits and commodities of the said province, either by land or sea, into any of the ports of us, our heirs or successors, in our kingdom of England, and not into any other country whatsoever: and we give him full power to dispose of the said goods, in the said ports; and, if need be, within one year after the unlading of the same, to lade the said merchandize and goods again, into the same or other ships, and to transport the same into any other countries, either of our dominions, or foreign, according to law; provided always, that they pay such customs and impositions, subsidies and duties for the same, to us, our heirs and successors, as the

rest of our subjects of our kingdom of England, for the time being, shall be bound to pay, and do observe the acts of navigation and other laws, in that behalf made.

"XII. And further more, of our ample and special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, full and absolute power and authority, to make, erect and constitute within the said province, and the isles and inlets aforesaid, such and so many sea-ports, harbours, creeks, havens, keys, and other places, for discharging and unlading of goods and merchandize, out of the ships, boats, and other vessels, and landing them unto such, and so many places, and with such rights, jurisdictions, liberties and privileges, unto the said ports belonging, as to him and them shall seem most expedient; and that all, and singular the ships, boats, and other vessels which shall come for merchandize and trade into the said province, or out of the same, shall be laden, or unladen, only at such ports as shall be created and constituted by the said William Penn, his heirs or assigns (any use custom or thing to the contrary notwithstanding). Provided that the said William Penn and his heirs, and the lieutenants and governors, for the time being, shall admit and receive in and about all such havens, ports, creeks and keys, all officers and their deputies who shall from time to time, be appointed for that purpose by the farmers, or commissioners of our customs for the time being.

"XIII. And we do further appoint and ordain, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, that he the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, may, from time to time, for ever, have and enjoy the customs and subsidies in the ports, harbours and other creeks, and places aforesaid, within the province aforesaid, payable, or due for merchandize and wares there to be laded and unladed, the said customs and subsidies to be reasonably assessed, upon any occasion by themselves and the people there, as aforesaid to be assembled, to whom we give power by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, upon just cause, and due proportion to assess and impose the same; saving unto us, our heirs and successors, such impositions and customs, as by act of parliament, are, and shall be appointed.

"XIV. And it is our further will and pleasure, that the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, shall, from time to time, constitute and appoint an attorney, or agent, to reside in, or near our city of London; who shall make known the place where he shall dwell, or may be found, unto the clerks of our privy-council for the time being, or one of them, and shall be ready to appear in any of our courts at Westminster, to answer for any misdemeanor, that shall be committed, or by any wilful default, or neglect, permitted by the said William Penn, his heirs or assigns, against the laws of trade and navigation; and after it shall be ascertained, in any of our courts, what damages we, or our heirs, or successors, shall have sustained by such default or neglect the said William Penn, his heirs or assigns, shall pay the same within one year after such taxation, and demand thereof from such attorney; or in case there shall be no such attorney by the space of one year, or such attorney shall not make payment of such damages, within the space of a year, and answer such other forfeitures and penalties, within the said

time, as by acts of parliament, in England, are and shall be provided according to the true intent and meaning of these presents; then it shall be lawful for us, our heirs and successors, to seize and resume the government of the said province or country, and the same to retain, until payment shall be made thereof: but notwithstanding any such seizure, or resumption of the government, nothing concerning the propriety or ownership of any lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, goods or chattels of any of the adventurers, planters or owners, other than the respective offenders there, shall any ways be affected or molested thereby.

“XV. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that neither the said William Penn, nor his heirs, nor any other, the inhabitants of the said province, shall, at any time hereafter, have or maintain any correspondence with any other king, prince or state, or with any of their subjects, who shall then be in war against us, our heirs and successors; nor shall the said William Penn, or his heirs or any other inhabitants of the said province, make war, or do any act of hostility against any other king, prince or state, or any of their subjects, who shall then be in league or amity with us, our heirs and successors.

“XVI. And because, in so remote a country, and situate near many barbarous nations, the incursions as well of the savages themselves, as of other enemies, pirates and robbers, may probably be feared; therefore we have given, and for us, our heirs and successors, do give power by these presents, to the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, by themselves, or their captains, or other their officers, to levy, muster and train all sorts of men, of what condition soever, or wheresoever born, in the said province of Pennsylvania for the time being, and to make war, and to pursue the enemies and robbers aforesaid, as well by sea as by land, even without the limits of the said province, and, by God's assistance, to vanquish and take them; and being taken, to put them to death by the law of war, or to save them, at their pleasure, and to do all and every other thing, which unto the charge and office of a captain-general of an army belongeth, or hath accustomed to belong, as fully and freely as any captain-general of an army hath ever had the same.

“XVII. And furthermore, of our special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, we have given and granted, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, full and absolute power, licence and authority, that he, the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, from time to time hereafter for ever, at his or their own will and pleasure, may assign, alien, grant, demise, or enfeoff of the premises so many, and such parts and parcels to him, or them, that shall be willing to purchase the same, as they shall think fit; to have and to hold to them, the said person or persons willing to take and purchase, their heirs and assigns, in fee simple, or fee tail, or for the term of life, lives, or years, to be held of the said William Penn, his heirs or assigns, as of the said seignior of Windsor, by such services, customs, or rents, as shall seem meet to the said William Penn, his heirs or assigns, and not immediately of us, our heirs or successors.

“XVIII. And to the same person or persons, and to all and every of them, we do give and grant, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, licence, authority and power, that such person or

persons, may take the premises, or any parcel thereof, of the aforesaid William Penn, his heirs or assigns, and the same to hold to themselves, their heirs and assigns, in what estate of inheritance soever, in fee simple, or in fee tail, or otherwise, as to him the said William Penn, his heirs or assigns, shall seem expedient: the statute made in the parliament of Edward, the son of King Henry, late King of England, our predecessor (commonly called the statute, ‘*Quia Emptores Terrarum*,’ lately published in our kingdom of England), in any wise notwithstanding.

“XIX. And by these presents, we give and grant licence unto the said William Penn and his heirs, and likewise to all, and every such person or persons, to whom the said William Penn, or his heirs, shall, at any time hereafter, grant any estate, or inheritance, as aforesaid, to erect any parcels of land, within the province aforesaid, into manors, by and with the licence, to be first had and obtained for that purpose, under the hand and seal of the said William Penn, or his heirs; and, in every of the said manors, to have and hold a court-baron, with all things whatsoever, which to a court-baron do belong, and to have and to hold view of frank pledge, for the conservation of the peace, and the better government of those parts, by themselves, or their stewards, or by the lords for the time being, of the manors to be deputed, when they shall be erected, and, in the same, to use all things belonging to the view of frank pledge. And we do further grant licence and authority, that every such person or persons, who shall erect any such manor or manors, as aforesaid, shall, or may, grant all, or any part of his said land to any person or persons, in fee simple, or any other estate of inheritance to be held of the said manors respectively, so as no further tenure shall be created, but that upon all further, or other alienations thereafter to be made, the said lands so aliened shall be held of the same lord and his heirs, of whom the alienor did then before hold, and by the like rents and services, which were before due and accustomed.

“XX. And furthermore, our pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do covenant and grant to and with the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, that we, our heirs and successors, shall, at no time hereafter set or make, or cause to be set or made, any imposition, custom, or other taxation, rate, or contribution whatsoever, in and upon the dwellers and inhabitants of the aforesaid province, for their lands, tenements, goods, or chattels, within the said province, or in and upon any goods and merchandises within the province, or to be laden, or unladen within the ports, or harbours of the said province, unless the same be with the consent of the proprietary, or chief governor, or assembly, or by act of parliament in England.

“XXI. And our pleasure is, and for us, our heirs and successors, we charge and command, that this our declaration shall be from henceforth, from time to time, be received and allowed, in all our courts, and before all the judges of us, our heirs, and successors, for a sufficient lawful discharge, payment and acquittance; commanding all the officers and ministers of us, our heirs and successors, and enjoining them upon pain of our highest displeasure, that they do not presume, at any time, to attempt any thing to the contrary of the premises, or that they do, in any sort, withstand the same; but, that they be, at all times, aiding and assisting, as is fitting, to

the said William Penn, and his heirs, and unto the inhabitants and merchants of the province aforesaid, their servants, ministers, factors, and assigns, in the full use and fruition of the benefit of this our charter.

“XXII. And our farther pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, charge and require, That, if any of the inhabitants of the said province, to the number of twenty, shall, at any time hereafter, be desirous, and shall, by any writing, or by any person deputed by them, signify such their desire to the bishop of London, for the time being, that any preacher, or preachers, to be approved of by the said bishop, may be sent unto them, for their instruction; that then such preacher, or preachers, shall and may reside within the said province, without any denial, or molestation whatsoever.

“XXIII. And, if perchance hereafter any doubt or question should arise concerning the true sense and meaning of any word, clause, or sentence, contained in this our present charter, we will, ordain, and command, that, at all times, and in all things, such interpretation be made thereof, and allowed, in any of our courts whatsoever, as shall be adjudged most advantageous and favourable unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns: provided always no interpretation be admitted thereof, by which the allegiance due unto us, our heirs and successors, may suffer any prejudice or diminution; although express mention be not made in these presents of the true yearly value, or certainty of the premises, or any part thereof, or of other gifts and grants, made by us, and our progenitors, or predecessors, unto the said William Penn: any statute, act, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint, heretofore had, made, published, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent: witness ourself, at Westminster, the 4th day of March, in the 33d year of our reign, annoque Domini, 1681. “By writ of privy seal, “Pigott.”

By the first section of this charter the extent and boundary of the province are expressed in such plain terms, that it might reasonably be supposed they could not easily be misunderstood: three degrees of latitude, included and bounded, between the beginning of the 40th, and the beginning of the 43d degree of north latitude, equal to about 208 English statute miles, north and south, with five degrees of longitude, westward from Delaware river, which, in the parallel of 41 degrees, are equal to nearly 265 miles, east and west, are as clearly and manifestly expressed to be granted to the proprietary of Pennsylvania, as words can do it; and we are otherwise sufficiently certified that the same space, or quantity of land, was intended by the king to be included in the said grant; yet the dispute between the proprietaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania, on this point, was afterwards remarkable, and of many years continuance; occasioned by each of the respective proprietaries claiming to himself the whole space, or extent of the land, contained in the 40th degree of latitude; which was the north boundary of Maryland, by patent of that province; and which, though prior to that of Pennsylvania, specifies, or assigns, no particular part of the said degree, for the boundary, as the Pennsylvania grant doth: which space, or degree, containing near 70 English miles in breadth, north and south, and in length westward, so far as Maryland extends, was no small matter to occasion a dispute.

But notwithstanding the clearness of the terms, by which the boundary between the said provinces is expressed in their respective charters, as above mentioned, yet this dispute was, at length, in the year 1732, finally settled, chiefly in favour of Maryland; by fixing the said boundary between the two provinces, only fifteen miles due south of the most southerly part of Philadelphia, or in the parallel of 39 degrees, 44 minutes nearly, instead of 39 degrees, or at the beginning of the 40th degree, as mentioned and intended by charter; which renders the real extent of Pennsylvania, north and south, only about 155 miles, instead of 208, and makes the square miles, in the province about 41,000, and the number of acres, 26,288,000.

In consequence of this charter, on the second day of the ensuing April, the king issued a declaration to the inhabitants and planters of Pennsylvania, expressive of the grant, describing the bounds of the province, and enjoining them to yield all due obedience to the proprietary, &c. according to the powers granted by the said charter.

Penn, having obtained these necessary requisites, immediately published such an account of the province as could then be given; with the royal charter, and other information, offering easy terms of sale for lands, viz. 40 shillings sterling for 100 acres, and one shilling per annum for ever; and good conditions of settlement, to such as chose to be adventurers in the new country.

To this offer and invitation to the people, he added such Christian advice, as indicated a real concern both for their temporal and eternal felicity, which he closed in these words:—

“To conclude, I desire all my dear country-folks, who may be inclined to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises, well as the inconvenience as future ease and plenty; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle, but from a solid mind; having, above all things, an eye to the providence of God, in the disposing of themselves; and I would further advise all such, at least, to have the permission, if not the good liking, of their near relations; for that is both natural, and a duty incumbent upon all. And by this will natural affections be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence between them; in all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us; that his blessing may attend our honest endeavours; and then the consequence of all our undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and all true happiness to us and our posterity. Amen.”

On publishing these proposals, a great number of purchasers soon appeared in London, Liverpool, and especially about Bristol; among whom were James Clappole, Nicholas Moore, Philip Forde, and others, who formed a company, called “The free society of Traders in Pennsylvania.” These last-mentioned persons, with William Sharloe, Edward Pierce, John Simcock, Thomas Bracey, and Edward Brooks, having purchased 20,000 acres of land, in trust for the said company, published articles of trade, and entered into divers branches themselves; which were soon improved upon by others.

*Conditions, or concessions published—Sailing of the first ship for Pennsylvania—Joseph Kirkbride, &c.—The proprietor's manner of treating the Indians—His letter to them—First frame of government and laws published—Part of the preface to the same—Purport of the frame, and one of the laws—Duke of*



*York's deed of release to William Penn—The territories obtained, &c.—Boundary between the territories and Maryland.*

The proprietary, having already made considerable sales of land, agreed with the adventurers and purchasers on the first deed of settlement, which itself may be regarded as an essay towards a constitution of government, according to the powers granted him by charter. It consists chiefly of certain rules of settlement, of treating the Indians with justice and friendship; and of keeping the peace, agreeable to the customs, usages, and laws of England, to be observed on their arrival in the country, and there to be altered as occasion should require. This compact was published under the title of "Certain conditions or concessions, agreed upon by William Penn, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania; and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in the same province, the 11th of July, 1681." One of the stipulations in this instrument very particularly shows the provident care and knowledge of the proprietary in a matter, whose continued neglect will doubtless in future be found more important to the country than has been imagined, viz.

"That in clearing the ground, care be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared, especially to preserve oak and mulberries for silk and shipping."

Three ships sailed for Pennsylvania this year; two from London, and one from Bristol. The John and Sarah, from London, commanded by Henry Smith, is said to have been the first that arrived there; the Amity, Richard Dimon, master, from the same place, with passengers, was blown off, to the West Indies; and did not arrive at the province till the spring of the next year; the Bristol Factor, Roger Drew, commander, arrived at the place where Chester now stands, on the 11th of December; where the passengers, seeing some houses, went on shore, at Robert Wade's landing, near the lower side of Chester Creek; and the river having been frozen up that night, the passengers remained there all the winter. Among the passengers in these ships were John Otter, Nathaniel Allen, and Edmund Lovett, with their families; and several servants of Governor Penn. Joseph Kirkbride, then a boy, being one of them, who afterwards became a person of importance in the province. He is an instance, among many others that might be given, in the early time of this country, of advancement from a low beginning to rank of eminence and esteem, through industry, with a virtuous and prudent conduct. The difficulties, hardships, and trials of many of the well-disposed early settlers, however low in the world, rather visibly tended to their promotion, and in some respects rendered them more useful and worthy members of society in this new country; while others, even possessed of handsome patrimonies at first, but more improvident, and less accustomed to encounter with such difficulties, more commonly went to ruin, or were reduced to indigence. And several worthy persons, who had not been used to labour, found, by grievous experience, that a dependence on such inheritances, even with otherwise prudent economy, in the early time of this country, where servants could scarcely be had, did not answer here, as in Europe; so that for a series of years, those of the more wealthy who emigrated, and had before been used to a different manner of life, sometimes lost much of what they had possessed, and were re-

duced to greater miseries and trials than the poorer and more laborious part of the settlers, who were generally more numerous, and got estates.

In one of these ships sailed also William Markham, a relation of the proprietary; whom he had appointed his deputy-governor, and joined with him certain commissioners, to confer with the Indians, or Aborigines of the country, respecting their lands; and to confirm with them a league of peace. These commissioners were strictly enjoined to treat the natives with all possible justice and humanity.

To cultivate a good understanding with these natives was a matter of sound policy; but Penn appears to have acted from higher and more disinterested motives; for he never received from the province any pecuniary advantage, during a period of near 37 years' continuance from this time; but even lost much of his other property by it. His ideas were too exalted to be confined within the narrow view of a temporary interest alone, and his conduct respecting these poor and savage people declared his regard for universal justice, and the natural rights of mankind; ever tending to impress on their minds a proper sense of eternal justice, and the happy effects of kindness and peace. A specimen of his manner of treating these people appears in the following letter which he sent them by his first deputy and commissioners:—

"London, the 18th of the eighth month, (Oct.) 1681.

"My Friends,—There is a great God and power, that hath made the world, and all things therein; to whom you and I, and all people owe their being, and well-being; and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in the world.

"This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help, and do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the king of the country, where I live, hath given me a great province therein; but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent; that we may always live together, as neighbours and friends; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us, not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that have been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world; who have sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you; which I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood; which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man; as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard towards you; and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall, in all things, behave themselves accordingly; and, if in any thing, any shall offend you, or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men, on both sides; that, by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

"I shall shortly come to you myself; at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters; in the mean time I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace; let me desire you to be kind to them, and the people, and receive

these presents and tokens, which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

"I am your loving Friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

In the beginning of the year 1682, Penn published his frame of government, and certain laws agreed on in England, by himself and the purchasers under him, entitled "The frame of the government of the province of Pennsylvania, in America; together with certain laws agreed upon in England by the governor, and divers freemen of the aforesaid province. To be further explained and confirmed there by the first provincial council that shall be held, if they see meet."

In the preface to this frame is exhibited a sketch of the author's sentiments on the nature of government, in general, his reflections on the different modes of it, and his inducement for forming his. After having quoted several parts of the Scriptures, relative to government, he proceeds, in the following words:

"This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends; first, to terrify evil-doers; secondly, to cherish those that do well; which gives government a life beyond corruption; and makes it as durable in the world as good men shall be. So that government seems to me a part of religion itself; a thing sacred in its institution and end. For, if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil; and is, as such, a lower, yet an emanation of the same divine power, that is both author and object of pure religion; the difference lying here; that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive in its operation: but that is only to evil-doers; government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness, and charity, as a more private society.

"They weakly err, that think there is no other use of government than correction; which is the coarsest part of it: daily experience tells us, that the care and regulation of many other affairs, more soft, and daily necessary, make up much the greater part of government; and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had Adam never fallen; and will continue among men, on earth, under the highest attainments, they may arrive at, by the coming of the blessed second Adam, the Lord from heaven."

As to the modes, he further observes,—"I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergencies have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government that shall serve all places alike." "Any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, tyranny, or confusion.

"There is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders, that, in good hands, would not do well enough; and history tells us the best, in ill ones, can do nothing that is great and good; witness the Jewish and Roman states. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them are they ruined too. Wherefore, governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But, if men be bad, let government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn."—"That, therefore, which makes a good government, must keep it,

viz. men of wisdom and virtue; qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth; for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders, and the successive magistracy, than to their parents, for their private patrimonies.

"These considerations" (several of which we omit) "of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing frame, and conditional laws, foreseeing both the censures they will meet with from men of differing humours and engagements, and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

"But, next to the power of necessity (which is a solicitor that will take no denial), this induced me to a compliance, that we have (with reverence to God, and good conscience to men), to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the frame and laws of this government, to the great end of government, viz. 'To support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power;' that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable, for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion; and obedience without liberty is slavery. To carry this evenness, is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy: where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: then, where both meet, the government is like to endure; which I humbly pray, and hope, God will please to make the lot of this of Pennsylvania. Amen."

The "frame" itself consisted of 24 articles; and the laws were 40. By the former the government was placed in the governor and freemen of the province, in the form of a provincial council, and general assembly. By them conjunctively all laws were to be made, all officers appointed, and all public affairs transacted. Seventy-two was the number of the council, to be chosen by the freemen; and though the governor, or his deputy, was to be perpetual president, he had but a treble vote. One-third part of them was, at first, to be chosen for three years, one-third for two years, and one-third for one year; in such manner, that there might be an annual succession of 24 new members, each to continue three years, and no longer. The general assembly was, the first year, to consist of all the freemen, afterwards of 200, and never to exceed 500. And this charter, or form of government, was not to be altered, changed, or diminished, in any part, or clause of it, without the consent of the governor, his heirs, or assigns, and six parts of seven of the freemen, in provincial council and assembly. And to the same power only was the alteration of the laws made subject: these laws were of the nature of an original compact between the proprietary and the freemen; and as such, were reciprocally received and executed: one of them was,

"That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged, in conscience, to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall, in no ways, be molested, or prejudiced, for their religious persuasion, or practice, in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent, or maintain, any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever."

Moreover, the proprietary, to prevent all future claim, or even pretence of claim, that might be made, of the province by the duke of York, or his heirs, obtained of him his deed of release for the same, dated the 21st of August, 1682.

Besides, as an additional territory to the province, he also this year, 1682, procured of the duke of York, his right, title and interest, in that tract of land, afterwards called "The three lower counties on Delaware," and since "The State of Delaware," extending from the south boundary of the province, and situated on the western side of the river and bay of Delaware, to Cape Henlopen, beyond, or south of Lewistown; which, by the duke, were made over to William Penn, his heirs and assigns, by two deeds of feoffment, dated August 24, 1682. The first deed was for the town of Newcastle, alias Delaware town, and a district of twelve miles round it, as far as the river Delaware; in the second, of the same date, was comprehended that tract of land, from twelve miles south of Newcastle to the Hoakills, otherwise called Cape Henlopen, divided into two counties, Kent and Sussex; which, with Newcastle district, were commonly called the territories of Pennsylvania; or the three lower counties upon Delaware.

These territories were a part of the country, called New Netherland, when in possession of the Dutch, and included in the duke of York's second patent for that country, after its surrender by treaty of peace to the English, in 1674, which extended westward of Delaware river.

The determining and fixing the precise boundary between this territory and Maryland, as well as that between the respective provinces, becoming afterwards a subject of dispute between William Penn and the Lord Baltimore, will hereafter more fully appear in the course of this history. For, though prior to making out the grant of both the province and territory, the Lord Baltimore was duly informed, fully heard, and all his objections answered, on the subject, before the lords of trade and plantations; where the precise southern boundary of Pennsylvania, as expressed in the charter, must necessarily have been mentioned to him, as appears by the minutes of the committee of the said board; yet he afterwards claimed not only the whole territory of the lower counties, but also one degree of north latitude included in the grant of Pennsylvania, as coming within his patent.

The boundary and extent of the former was determined by an order of council, the king being present, in November 1685; but it was long before it was put in execution, said to be occasioned principally by the delays and obstructions of the Lord Baltimore. But the line or boundary between the two provinces does not appear to have been precisely and finally fixed during the life of William Penn; or, till the year 1732; which will be mentioned in its proper place.

*Penn sails for Pennsylvania—Writes a valedictory epistle to his friends in England—Arrives in the Delaware—His reception in the country—Holds an assembly at Upland, (Chester)—Passes an act of union between the province and territory—Naturalizes the foreigners—Passes the laws agreed on in England, in form—Preamble to said laws with their titles—He visits New York and Maryland; and treats with the Lord Baltimore, respecting the boundaries—Extracts from two of his letters, respecting his employment in the country, and in vindica-*

*tion of himself from some undue reflections—The proprietor purchases lands of the Indians, and treats them with great justice and kindness.*

Penn had, for a considerable time past, been making preparation for his voyage to America; which being at last accomplished, in the month of August this year, (1682,) accompanied by a number of his friends, he went on board the ship *Welcome*, of 300 tons burden, Robert Greenaway, commander; and on the 30th of the same month, he wrote, from the Downs, "a valedictory epistle to England," containing "A salutation to all faithful friends."

The number of passengers in this ship was about 100, mostly Quakers; the major part of whom were from Sussex, the proprietary's place of residence. In their passage, many of them were taken sick of the small-pox; and about 30 of their number died. In this trying situation, the acceptable company of William Penn is said to have been of singular advantage to them, and his kind advice and assistance of great service, during their passage; so that in the main, they had a prosperous voyage; and in little more than six weeks, came in sight of the American coast, as is supposed about Egg Harbour, in New Jersey.

In passing up the Delaware, the inhabitants, consisting of English, Dutch and Swedes, indiscriminately met the proprietary, with demonstrations of joy. He lauded at Newcastle, on the 24th of October; and next day had the people summoned to the court-house; where, after possession of the country was legally rendered him, he made a speech to the old magistrates, and the people, signifying to them the design of his coming, the nature and end of government, and of that more particularly which he came to establish; assuring them of their spiritual and temporal rights; liberty of conscience, and civil freedoms; and, recommending them to live in sobriety and peace, he renewed the magistrates' commissions.

To form some idea of the proportion of the different sorts of people, on the west side of Delaware, about this time, or prior to William Penn's arrival, on the lands, granted him, it may be noted, that the Dutch then had a meeting place, for religious worship, at Newcastle; the Swedes, three; one at Christeen, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicocoea (now in the suburbs of Philadelphia). The Quakers had three, viz. one at Upland, or Chester, one at Shackamaxon, or about where Kensington now stands, in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and one near the lower falls of Delaware.

Penn proceeded to Upland, now called Chester; where, on the 4th December (about three months after his sailing from England) he called an assembly; which consisted of equal numbers of members for the province, and the three lower counties, called the territories; that is, for both of them, so many of the freemen as thought proper to appear, according to the 16th article of the frame of government.

This assembly chose Nicholas Moore, who was president of the free society of traders, for their chairman, or speaker; and received as ample satisfaction from the proprietary, as the inhabitants of Newcastle had done; for which they returned him their grateful acknowledgments. The Swedes, for themselves, deputed Lacy Cock to acquaint him, "That they would love, serve and obey him with all they had;" declaring, "that it was the best day they ever saw."

At this assembly an act of union was passed, annexing the three lower counties to the province, in legislation, on the 7th day of December, 1682; likewise an act of settlement, in reference to the frame of government which, with some alterations, was thereby declared to be accepted and confirmed.

The Dutch, Swedes, and other foreigners were then naturalized: and all the laws, agreed on in England, with some small alterations, were passed in form.

The preamble to and titles of these laws were as follow:—

“The great law: or, the body of laws of the province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging, passed at an assembly, held at Chester, alias Upland, the seventh day of the tenth month, called December, 1682.

“Whereas, the glory of God Almighty, and the good of mankind, is the reason and end of government; and therefore government itself is a venerable ordinance of God; and for as much as it is principally desired and intended by the proprietary and governor, and freemen, of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging, to make and establish such laws, as shall best preserve true Christian and civil liberty, in opposition to all unchristian, licentious and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, Cæsar, his due, and the people, their due, from tyranny and oppression, on the one side, and insolence and licentiousness, on the other; so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid, for the present and future happiness of both the governor, and the people of this province and territories aforesaid, and their posterity. Be it enacted by William Penn, proprietary and governor, by and with the advice and consent of the deputies of the freemen of this province, and the counties aforesaid, in general assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that these following chapters and paragraphs be the laws of Pennsylvania and territories thereof:—

“1. Concerning liberty of conscience.—2. Concerning qualifications of officers, &c.—3. Against swearing by God, Christ, or Jesus.—4. Against swearing by any other thing or name.—5. Against speaking profanely of God, Christ, Spirit or Scripture.—6. Against cursing.—7. Against defiling the marriage bed.—8. Against incest.—9. Against sodomy and bestiality.—10. Against rape, or ravishment.—11. Against bigamy.—12. Against drunkenness.—13. Against suffering drunkenness.—14. Against healths drinking.—15. Against selling, or exchanging, of rum, brandy, or other strong liquors to the Indians.—16. Against wilful firing of houses.—17. Against breaking into, or taking any thing out of houses.—18. Lands and goods of thieves and felons, &c. liable, &c.—19. Against forcible entry.—20. Against unlawful assemblies and riots.—21. Against assaulting or menacing of parents.—22. Against assaulting or menacing of magistrates.—23. Against assaulting or menacing of masters.—24. Against assault and battery.—25. Against duels.—26. Against riotous sports and practices, as plays, &c.—27. Against playing at cards, dice, lotteries, &c.—28. Against sedition.—29. Against speaking slightly, or abusing of magistrates or officers.—30. Against reporters, defamers, and spreaders of false news.—31. Against clamorous persons, scolders and railers.—32. Provision for the poor.—33. Prices of beer and ale.—34. Measures and weights.—35. Names of days and months.—36. Witnesses lying.—37. Pleadings, processes and records, to be in English.—38. Trials in civil and

criminal cases.—39. Fees and salaries, bribery and extortion.—40. Fines to be moderate, &c.—41. Numerous suits avoidable.—42. Arrest of a person departing the province, how.—43. Promises, bargains and agreements.—44. Charters, gifts, grants, conveyances, bills, bonds and specialties, deeds, &c how soon to be recorded.—45. What wills shall convey lands, as well as chattels.—46. Wills of *non compos mentis* void.—47. Registry for wills, &c.—48. Registry for servants, &c.—49. Factors, and their employ.—50. Against defacers, corrupters and embezzlers, of charters, conveyances and records, &c.—51. How lands and goods shall pay debts.—52. What prisoners available.—53. Jails and jailers.—54. Prisons to be work-houses.—55. Wrongful imprisonment.—56. Where the penalty is either a sum of money or imprisonment, the magistrate shall inflict which he will.—57. Freemen, who.—58. Elections.—59. No money or goods, by way of tax, custom or contribution, to be raised or paid, but by law.—60. Laws shall be printed and taught in schools.—61. All other things not provided for herein, are referred to the governor and freemen from time to time.”

The following extracts from a letter of Penn's dated, Chester on Delaware, 29th of the tenth month, 1682; are given as descriptive of the country, and as characteristic of its first benevolent legislator.

“I bless the Lord, I am very well, and much satisfied with my place and portion; yet busy enough; having much to do, to please all; and yet to have an eye to those, that are not here to please themselves.

“I have been also at New York, Long Island, East Jersey and Maryland; in which I have had good and eminent service for the Lord, &c.

“I am now casting the country into townships, for large lots of land. I have held an assembly; in which many good laws are passed; we could not safely stay till the spring for a government. I have annexed the lower counties (lately obtained) to the province; and passed a general naturalization for strangers; which hath much pleased the people. As to outward things, we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good, and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild fowl and fish; in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac and Jacob would be well contented with; and service enough for God; for the fields are here white for harvest. O, how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries and perplexities of woeful Europe; and God will thin her; the day hastens upon her,” &c.

“Blessed be the Lord, that of 23 ships none miscarried: only two or three had the small-pox; else healthy and swift passages, generally such as have not been known; some but 28 days, and few longer than six weeks: blessed be God for it: who is good to us, and follows us with his abundant kindness: my soul fervently breathes, that in his heavenly guiding wisdom, we may be kept; that we may serve him in our day, and lay down our heads in peace, &c.

“P. S. Many women, in divers of the ships brought to bed; they and their children do well.”

The meeting continued only three days; and notwithstanding the great variety of dispositions in, and the inexperience of this assembly, yet a perfect unanimity prevailed among them.

The proprietary, prior to his meeting this assembly, appears to have paid a visit to New York; and

immediately after the adjournment of it, he went to Maryland; where he was kindly received by the Lord Baltimore, and the principal persons of that colony. There the two proprietaries held a conference respecting the fixing and settling the boundaries between the two provinces: but the severe part of the season coming on, and there being no appearance of speedily determining the affair, after two days spent on the occasion, they appointed to meet again in the spring, and William Penn took his leave and departed, the Lord Baltimore accompanying him several miles, to the house of one William Richardson; from whence he proceeded two miles further, to a religious meeting of his friends, the Quakers, at the house of Thomas Hooker; and from thence to Choptank, on the eastern side of Chesapeake bay; where was an appointed meeting of persons of various ranks and qualities.

Penn thus proceeded with much fatigue, difficulty and expense to settle the province, establish the government, and cultivate a good understanding with his neighbours; though not without enemies and oppositions of different kinds, as will hereafter more fully appear; and that, even from some who had been his friends; as may be seen by the following extract from an old printed account of his life, viz.—“Nor was the advancement of himself, or family, in worldly wealth and grandeur, his aim in the administration of government; but, in the greatest honour of his public station, he still retained the meekness and humility of a private Christian; the sincerity of his intentions, and with what zeal and ardour he pursued a general good, are best expressed by his own words, in a letter written in Pennsylvania, the latter part of this year, (1682) to a person, who had unduly reflected on him, viz.

“I could speak largely of God’s dealings with me, in getting this thing; what an inward exercise of faith and patience it cost me in passing. The travail was mine, as well as the debt and cost; through the envy of many, both professors, false friends, and profane: my God hath given it me in the face of the world; and it is to hold it in true judgment, as a reward of my sufferings: and that is seen here, whatever some despisers may say or think. The place God hath given me; and I never felt judgment for the power I kept, but trouble for what I parted with. It is more than a worldly title, or patent, that hath clothed me in this place.

“Keep thy place; I am in mine; I have served the God of the whole earth since I have been in it; nor am I sitting down in a greatness, that I have denied. I am day and night spending my life, my time, my money, and am not six-pence enriched by this greatness: costs in getting, settling, transportation and maintenance, now in a public manner, at my own charge, duly considered, to say nothing of my hazard, and the distance I am from a considerable estate, and, which is more, my dear wife and poor children.

“Well,—the Lord is God of righteous judgment: had I sought greatness, I had stayed at home; where the difference between what I am here, and was offered, and could have been there, in power and wealth, is as wide as the places are:—No, I came for the Lord’s sake, and therefore have I stood to this day, well and diligent, and successful, blessed by his power. “Nor shall I trouble myself to tell thee what I am to the people of this place, in travails, watchings, speedings, and my servants every way freely, not like a selfish man; I have many witnesses To conclude, it is now in friends’

hands; through my travail, faith and patience it came.—If friends here keep to God, in the justice, mercy, equity, and fear of the Lord, their enemies will be their foot-stool: if not, their heirs and my heirs too, will lose all; and desolation will follow:” but blessed be the Lord, we are well, and live in the dear love of God, and the fellowship of his tender heavenly spirit; and our faith is for ourselves and one another, that the Lord will be with us, a king and counsellor for ever. Thy ancient, though grieved Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.’

“Chester, 5th of the twelfth month,  
(Feb.) 1682 (1683).”

The proprietary having now returned from Maryland to Coaquannock, the place so called by the Indians, where Philadelphia now stands, began to purchase lands of the natives; whom he treated with great justice and sincere kindness, in all his dealings and communications with them; ever giving them full satisfaction for all their lands, and the best advice for their real happiness; of which their future conduct showed they were very sensible; and the country afterwards felt the benefit.

It was at this time (1683), that he first entered personally into that lasting friendship with the Indians, which ever afterwards continued between them; and for the space of more than 70 years was never interrupted; or, so long as the Quakers, to whom, even long after his death, they always continued to show the greatest regard, retained power in the government sufficient to influence a friendly and just conduct towards them, and to prevent, or redress such misunderstandings and grievances, as occasionally happened between them, and any of the inhabitants of the province, &c. A firm peace was now reciprocally concluded between Penn and the Indians; and both parties mutually promised to live together as brethren, without doing the least injury to each other. This was solemnly ratified by the usual token of a “chain of friendship and covenant indelible, never to be broken, so long as the sun and moon endure.”

Of this kind of conference he afterwards had many others, and some on a religious account, during both times of his residence in the country. His conduct, in general, to these people, was so engaging, his justice in particular so conspicuous, and the council and advice which he gave them were so evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to them; and it made such a deep impression, that his name and memory will scarcely ever be effaced, while they continue a people.

That they retain a remembrance of these transactions, and hand them, by tradition, from father to son, many instances have since more particularly shown. At a conference between Governor Keith and the five nations, held at Conestogo, in Pennsylvania, in 1721, the chief speaker, with a countenance, which showed great respect, said:—

“They should never forget the council that William Penn gave them; and that though they could not write, as the English did, yet they could keep, in the memory, what was said in their councils;” and at the treaty renewed, in the year following, at Albany, they mentioned the name of William Penn with great affection, calling him a “good man;” and, as their highest compliment to Governor Keith, they used this expression, “we esteem and love you as if you were William Penn himself:” telling him, “Brother Onas,” (which in their language signifies a Pen, and by which name they call the governors of Pennsylvania ever since it was first settled by William Penn,) “we are glad to hear

the former treaties which we have made with William Penn repeated to us again."

Upon the governor's replying, "That he desired this visit, and the covenant-chain, which is hereby brightened, may be recorded in everlasting remembrance, to be sent down to your and our children, to last as long as the mountains and rivers, and while the sun and moon endure:"—they answered, "We desire that peace and tranquillity, which is now established between us, may be as clear as the sun, shining in its lustre, without any cloud or darkness; and that the same may continue for ever."

These instances, among many others, that might be given, together with the consequent corresponding behaviour of these people, may show what a grateful remembrance they retained of Penn's conduct towards them; and what a happy influence a just and friendly treatment has on the most savage minds.

*Arrivals of colonists in the first year, and early times, with their general character—Some of their settlements, and rapid improvements—Their difficulties and hardships—Part of the planter's speech to his neighbours and countrymen—Richard Townsend's testimony respecting the prosperity of Pennsylvania from the first settlement of it, for above 40 years.*

Within the first year, after the proper requisites for a regular settlement were obtained, between 20 and 30 sail of ships, with passengers, arrived in the province, including those which came before, and about the same time with the proprietary. The settlers amounted to such a large number, that the parts near Delaware were peopled in a very rapid manner, even from about the falls of Trenton, down to Chester, near 50 miles on the river; besides the settlements in the lower counties, which, at the same time, were very considerable: for the first settlements, for the most part, were made near the river, according to the different shares of land, which were respectively allotted for each settler; as may be seen in an old map of the first settled parts of the province.

As the first colonists, and those who followed, for a number of years afterwards, were more generally of the religious people called Quakers; and in their native country had suffered much on account of their religion, both in person and property, through the persecuting bigotry of those times; so, on their arrival, their great and primary concern is said to have been the continuance and support of their religious public worship, in every part of the country, where they made settlements, in such manner as their situation and circumstances then permitted; and though the generality of them were not ranked among the rich and great, yet many had valuable estates, were of good families and education; and were mostly sober, industrious, and substantial people, of low or moderate fortunes, but of good reputation and character.

The first most considerable English settlement in Pennsylvania proper, is said to have been near the lower falls of the river Delaware, in Bucks county; where the Quakers had a regular and established meeting for religious worship, before the country bore the name of Pennsylvania: some of the inhabitants there having settled by virtue of patents, from Sir Edmund Andross, governor of New York.

The early settlers appear in general to have been provident and cautious in their removal; so that rashness and inconsideration, so common in new attempts of this kind, was not very common among

them. Many of them brought servants, and had provided themselves with food and clothing for such a space of time after their arrival, as, it might be reasonably supposed their care and industry would afterwards procure necessary subsistence in the province: besides, sufficient quantities of household furniture, utensils, implements, and tools, and necessary trades and occupations, were previously provided and brought by not a few of them.

The nature of both their religious and civil system and conduct in general was so reasonable and liberal, that, as they became known, great numbers of people were induced to flock to the province from different parts of Europe, and in such a rapid manner, to colonize and improve it, as had scarcely ever been paralleled in any other country at so great a distance from the parent states, or civilized part of the world.

In this, and the two next succeeding years, arrived ships with passengers or settlers from London, Bristol, Ireland, Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, Holland, Germany, &c. to the number of about fifty sail.

Among those from Germany, were some Friends, or Quakers, from Krisheim or Cresheim, a town not far from Worms. They had been early convinced of the religious principles of the Quakers, by the preaching of William Ames, an Englishman; for which they had bore a public testimony there, till the present time; when they all removed to Pennsylvania, and settled about six or seven miles distant from Philadelphia, at a place which they called German Town.

"This removal," says Sewell, in his history of the Quakers, "did not seem to be without a singular direction of Providence: for not long after a war ensued in Germany, where the Palatinate was altogether laid waste by the French, and thousands of families were bereft of their possessions, and reduced to poverty."

Among those adventurers and settlers who arrived about this time were also many from Wales, of those who are called Ancient Britons, and mostly Quakers; most of whom were of the original or early stock of that society there. They had early purchased of the proprietary, in England, forty thousand acres of land.

Those who came at present took up so much of it on the west side of Schuylkill river, as made the three townships of Merion, Haverford, and Radnor; and in a few years afterwards, their number was so much augmented as to settle the three other townships of New Town, Goshen, and Uwchland. After which they continued still increasing, and became a numerous and flourishing people.

Notwithstanding the precaution which many of these adventurers had used, in bringing provisions and other necessities with them for a certain time, yet it cannot be reasonably supposed that the arrival of such a large number of people in a wilderness, within the space of two or three years, would not necessarily be attended with inconveniences and difficulties. Though the European inhabitants in the country, prior to their arrival, were kind and assisting, yet they were very few, mostly new settlers, and consequently were but meanly provided, either with provisions or other accommodations; inasmuch that sometimes, for many years afterwards, the scarcity which was experienced among them of the former caused very alarming apprehensions.

Amidst many minute accounts, the following may



give some idea of the early circumstances of the province:—

John Scarborough, of London, coach-smith, arrived in the country in 1682, with his son John, then a youth, and settled in Middletown in Bucks county, among the first in those parts, where he remained about two years, and then embarked for his native country, with intention to bring over his wife and family; having suffered much by persecution for his religion in England, being a Quaker.

During his residence in Pennsylvania, provisions were sometimes scarce in the part where he resided; but the wild pigeons came in such great numbers, that the air was sometimes darkened by their flight; and flying low, they were frequently knocked down, as they flew in great quantities, by those who had no other means to take them; whereby they supplied themselves, and having salted those which they could not immediately use, they preserved them both for bread and meat.

Thus they were supplied several times during the first two or three years, till they had raised by their industry food sufficient out of the ground; for the tilling of which at that time they used hoes, having neither horses nor ploughs. The Indians were remarkably kind, and assisted them, frequently supplying them with such provisions as they could spare, and other kindnesses.

John Scarborough, having placed his son under the care of a friend, sailed for England; but he never returned. His wife, who was not a Quaker, being unwilling to leave her native country, and persecution beginning to cease, he afterwards gave his possessions in Pennsylvania to his son, whom he had left in the province, with a strict charge, when it should be in his power, to be kind to the poor Indians for the favours he had received from them; which his son faithfully observed and complied with, and is said to have been a worthy man and of good character.

John Chapman came from England in 1684. The ship in which he came, by reason of bad weather, put into Maryland, where he met with Phineas Pemberton, whose father-in-law, James Harrison, had purchased in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, five thousand acres of land, part of it in Wright's town; hence Chapman getting intelligence of that part of the country, afterward settled there. He went from Maryland with his family, first to Phineas Pemberton's plantation, near the falls of Delaware, who had now made a convenient settlement, and entertained the new comers with much kindness. From hence Chapman went to his purchase in Wright's Town, where, within about twelve months afterwards, his wife had two sons at one time, whence he called the place Twins Borough.

At this time Chapman's place was the furthest back in the woods of any English settlement; and the Indians, being then numerous, much frequented his house in great companies, and were very kind to him and his family, as well as to those who came after him; often supplying them with corn and other provisions, which in those early times, more especially in that part of the country, were very scarce, and hard to be procured.

In one of these scarce times J. Chapman's eldest daughter, Mara, supplied his family by an incident unexpected. Being near Neshaminy creek, which runs into the Delaware, she heard an unusual noise, like that of something in distress; upon search, she found a large buck, which had disen-

gaged himself from a wolf that a little before had seized on him, and had fled to the creek for safety, under a high bank: the buck stood still till she took the halter from the horse on which she rode, and with a stick put it over his horns, whereby she secured him till assistance came, on which the wolf retired: such incidents as this in those times were considered as providential favours.

Abraham and Joseph Chapman, the twins before mentioned, when boys, about nine or ten years old, going out one evening to seek their cattle, met an Indian in the woods, who told them to go back, else they would be lost. Soon after this they took his advice, and went back; but it was quite night before they got home, where they found the Indian; who, being careful lest they should lose themselves, had repaired thither in the night to see if they had returned. And their parents, about that time going to the yearly meeting at Philadelphia, and leaving a young family at home (they being Quakers), the Indians came every day, to see whether any thing was amiss among them. Such, in many instances, was the kind treatment and behaviour of the natives or aborigines of this country to the English, in their first and early settlement of it.

The first business of the settlers after their arrival, was to land their property, and put it under such shelter as could be found; then, while some of them got warrants of survey, for taking up so much land as was sufficient for immediate settling, others went further into the woods, to the different places where their lands were laid out; often without any path or road to direct them; for scarce any were to be found above two miles from the water-side, nor any sign of a European ever having been there. As to the Indians, they seldom travelled so regularly as to be traced or followed by footsteps, except perhaps, from one of their towns to another; and their huntings were rather like ships at sea, without any track or path. So that all the country, further than about two miles distant from the river (excepting the Indians' moveable settlements), was an entire wilderness, producing nothing for the support of human life but the wild fruits and animals of the woods.

The lodgings of some of these settlers were, at first, in the woods; a chosen tree was frequently all the shelter they had against the inclemency of the weather, and this sometimes late in the autumn, and even in the winter season. The next coverings of many of them were, either caves in the earth, or such huts erected upon it as could be most expeditiously procured, till better houses were built; for which they had no want of timber.

It is impossible that these first adventurers and settlers could at once obtain a proper method of improving this wilderness; and it is equally certain, that the great difference between the finally cultivated and open countries, with the near connexions which many of them had left behind, and the appearance of a wild and woody desert, with which they had now to encounter among savages, must have created in them very forcible emotions, and made at first strong impressions on their minds. The consideration likewise of the long and painful labour, and inevitable disappointments and hardships, which, more or less, were naturally inseparable from such undertakings, and for a series of years must necessarily be endured, before a comfortable subsistence could be procured in the country, and a sufficient portion of land brought into proper order for that purpose, must undoubtedly have been very affecting to

a considerate people, in this new, remote, and solitary situation. But the soil was fertile, the air in general pure and healthy; the streams of water were good and plentiful, wood for fire and building in abundance; and, as they were a religious people, knowing their views in this their undertaking to be good, they cheerfully underwent all difficulties of this nature, and Providence blessed their industry.

In a short anonymous treatise, printed and published "by Andrew Sowle, in Shoreditch, 1684," the views and motives of some of these early colonists are detailed in a very characteristic manner. We give the introductory part, as a specimen of the modes of thought and habits of these modern patriarchs.

"The Planter's speech to his neighbours and countrymen of Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, and to all such as have transported themselves into new colonies, for the sake of a quiet and retired life.

"My dear friends and countrymen,

"Though it may seem very impertinent and unnecessary to go about to repeat to you the occasions and motives that inclined you to abandon the land of your nativity, and those comfortable outward employments and accommodations which most of you had there, and to adventure yourselves to the hazards of a long voyage at sea, to come to this remote part of the world; yet, lest you should forget those inducements—as often it happens, that men, by a slothful negligence, or ignorance, after some tract of time, fall from their first love, and blindly hurry themselves into the very same mischiefs which they intended to avoid, and build up again what they justly endeavoured to destroy, not foreseeing the future ill consequences of their present (supposed innocent) actions—I shall take leave briefly to mention some few of those weighty causes which I am confident, originally swayed your spirits to this transplantation, and those good ends, for the obtaining of which, you chiefly removed hither.

"The motives of your retreating to these new habitations, I apprehend (measuring your sentiments by my own) to have been,

"1. The desires of a peaceable life, where we might worship God, and obey his law with freedom, according to the dictates of the divine principle, unincumbered with the mouldy errors of fierce invasions of tradition, politic craft, covetous, or ambitious cruelty, &c.

"2. That we might here, as on a virgin elysian shore, commence, or improve, such an innocent course of life as might unload us of those outward cares, vexations, and turmoils, which before we were always subject unto, from the hands of self-designing and unreasonable men.

"3. That, as Lot, by flying to little Zoar, from the ungodly company of a more populous, magnificent dwelling, we might avoid both being grieved with the sight of infectious, as well as odious examples, of horrid swearings, cursings, drunkenness, gluttony, uncleanness, and all kinds of debauchery, continually committed with greediness; and also escape the judgments threatened to every land polluted with such abominations.

"4. That, as trees are transplanted from one soil to another, to render them more thriving and better bearers, so we here, in peace and secure retirement, under the bountiful protection of God, and in the lap of the least adulterated nature, might every one the better improve his talent, and bring forth

more plenteous fruits, to the glory of God, and public welfare of the whole creation.

"5. And lastly, That in order hereunto, by our holy doctrine, and the practical teachings of our exemplary, abstemious lives, transacted in all humility, sobriety, plainness, self-denial, virtue, and honesty, we might gain upon those thousands of poor dark souls scattered round about us, (and commonly, in way of contempt and reproach, called heathens,) and bring them, not only to a state of civility but real piety; which effected, would turn to a more satisfactory account, than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi, and might make the ambitious heroes, whom the world admires, blush for their petty and shameful victories, which only tend to make their fellow-creatures slaves to those that are already the devil's vassals: whereas hereby we might release millions from the chains of Satan, and not only teach them their rights as men, and their happiness when Christians, but bring them from the power of darkness into the marvellous light, and the glorious liberty of the sons of the Most High.

"These thoughts, these designs, my friends, were those that brought you hither; and so far only as you pursue and accomplish them, you obtain the end of your journey. If these be neglected, though your ports and rivers were full of trading ships, your land never so populous, and loaden with most vendible commodities, yet I would be bold to say, that your plantations were in a most unthriving condition; that like men in a fever, tumbling from one side of the bed to the other, you have shifted your dwelling, but not recovered your health; nor are one inch nearer your proposed happiness in America than in Europe; and have travelled some thousands of miles, to as little purpose as the Jesuits into Japan and China, or foolish pilgrims, in their tedious, vain, journeys to Compostella, Loretto, or Jerusalem.

"Our business, therefore, here, in this new land, is not so much to build houses, and establish factories, and promote trade and manufactories, that may enrich ourselves, (though all these things, in their due place, are not to be neglected,) as to erect temples of holiness and righteousness, which God may delight in; to lay such lasting frames and foundations of temperance and virtue, as may support the superstructures of our future happiness, both in this and the other world.

"In order to these great and glorious ends, it will well become, nay, it is the indispensable duty of all that are superiors amongst us, to make laws, and imitate customs that may tend to innocency, and a harmless life; so as to avoid and prevent all oppression and violence, either to men or beasts; by which we shall strengthen the principle of well-doing, and qualify the fierce, bitter, envious, wrathful spirit; which (as it is said of fire and water in the extremes,) is a good servant, but a bad master," &c.

In the remainder of this curious tract many particulars are proposed, as fundamentals for future laws and customs, tending principally to establish a higher degree of temperance, and original simplicity of manners. Every thing of a military nature, even the use of warlike implements, is not only disapproved, but also all violence, or cruelty towards, and the wanton killing of, the inferior living creatures, with the eating of animal food, are also strongly advised against. All which customs or laws are proposed, "to the end that a higher de-

gree of love, perfection and happiness might more universally be introduced and preserved among mankind."

The first comers after their arrival soon cleared land enough to make way for a crop of Indian corn, in the succeeding spring; and in a year or two, they began upon wheat and other grain; thus they went on improving, till they got into a comfortable way of living; so that many of them were blessed both with the necessities and conveniences of life beyond their expectation; and lived to a good old age. The following extract from the testimony of one of them, a Quaker, gives a lively idea of their circumstances.

"The testimony of Richard Townsend, showing the providential hand of God, to him and others, from the first settlement of Pennsylvania, to this day. (About the year 1727.)

"Whereas King Charles II. in the year 1681, was pleased to grant this province to William Penn, and his heirs for ever; which act seemed to be an act of Providence to many religious, good, people; and the proprietor, William Penn, being one of the people called Quakers, and in good esteem among them and others, many were inclined to embark along with him, for the settlement of this place.

"To that end, in the year 1682 several ships being provided, I found a concern on my mind to embark with them, with my wife and child; and about the latter end of the sixth month, having settled my affairs in London, where I dwelt, I went on board the ship *Welcome*, Robert Greenaway, commander, in company with my worthy friend, William Penn; whose good conversation was very advantageous to all the company. His singular care was manifested in contributing to the necessities of many, who were sick of the small-pox, then on board; out of which company about 30 died. After a prosperous passage of about two months, having had in that time many good meetings on board, we arrived here.

"At our arrival, we found it a wilderness; the chief inhabitants were Indians, and some Swedes; who received us in a friendly manner: and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of Providence was seen in a particular manner; in that provisions were found for us by the Swedes and Indians, at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts, that were inhabited before.

"Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our religious worship; and, in order thereunto, we had several meetings in the houses of the inhabitants; and one boarded meeting-house was set up, where the city was to be, near Delaware; and, as we had nothing but love and good-will, in our hearts, one to another, we had very comfortable meetings, from time to time; and after our meeting was over, we assisted each other in building little houses, for our shelter.

"After some time I set up a mill on Chester creek; which I brought ready framed from London; which served for grinding of corn, and sawing of boards; and was of great use to us. Besides, I, with Joshua Tittery, made a net, and caught great quantities of fish; which supplied ourselves and many others; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near 3000 persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about one shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and six-pence per bushel.

"And, as our worthy proprietor treated the In-

dians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of venison. As, in other countries, the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

"About a year after our arrival, there came in about twenty families from high and low Germany, of religious, good people; who settled about six miles from Philadelphia, and called the place Germantown. The country continually increasing, people began to spread themselves further back. 'Also a place called North Wales, was settled by many of the Ancient Britons, an honest inclined people, although they had not then made a profession of the truth as held by us, yet, in a little time, a large convictionment was among them; and divers meeting-houses were built.

"About the time in which Germantown was laid out, I settled upon my tract of land which I had purchased of the proprietor in England, about a mile from thence; where I set up a house and a corn-mill; which was very useful to the country, for several miles round: but there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles;—I remember one man had a bull so gentle, that he used to bring his corn on him, instead of a horse.

"Being now settled about six or seven miles from Philadelphia, where leaving the principal body of friends, together with the chief place of provisions as before mentioned, flesh-meat was very scarce with me for some time; of which I found the want. I remember I was once supplied by a particular instance of Providence, in the following manner.—

"As I was in my meadow mowing grass, a young deer came and looked on me; I continued mowing, and the deer in the same attention to me; upon which I laid down my scythe, and went towards him; upon which he ran off a small distance; I went to my work again, and the deer continued looking on me; so that several times I left my work, to go towards him; but he still kept himself at a distance; at last, as I was going towards him, and he looking on me did not mind his steps, but ran forcibly against the trunk of a tree, and stunned himself so much, that he fell; upon which I ran forward, and getting upon him, held him by the legs: after a great struggle, in which I had almost tired him out, and rendered him lifeless, I threw him on my shoulders, holding him fast by the legs, and with some difficulty, from his fresh struggling, carried him home, about a quarter of a mile to my house; where by the assistance of a neighbour, who happened to be there, and killed him for me; he proved very serviceable to my family. I could relate several other acts of Providence, of this kind, but omit them for brevity.

"As people began to spread, and improve their lands, the country became more fruitful; so that those, who came after us, were plentifully supplied; and with what we abounded we began a small trade abroad. And as Philadelphia increased, vessels were built, and many employed. Both country and trade have been wonderfully increasing to this day; so that, from a wilderness, the Lord, by his good hand of Providence, hath made it a fruitful field; in which to look back, and observe all the steps, would exceed my present purpose; yet, being now in the 84th year of my age, and having been in this country near 46 years, and my memory pretty clear, concerning the rise and progress of the province, I can

do no less than return praises to the Almighty, when I look back and consider his bountiful hand, not only in temporals, but in the great increase of our meetings; wherein he hath many times manifested his great loving-kindness in reaching to, and convincing many persons of the principles of truth; and those that were already convinced and continued faithful, were not only blessed with plenty of the fruits of the earth, but also with the dew of Heaven. I am engaged in my spirit, to supplicate the continuance thereof to the present rising generation; that, as God hath blessed their parents, the same blessing may remain on their offspring to the end of time: that it may be so is the hearty desire and prayer of their ancient and loving friend,

"RICHARD TOWNSEND."

*Foundation of the city of Philadelphia—Province and territory divided into counties—First general assembly at Philadelphia in 1683—Proceedings of the assembly—Second charter, or frame of government—A seal for each county; the first sheriffs—First grand and petit jury, with their business, &c.—Further account of the situation and plan of Philadelphia—Penn's letter to the free society of traders, giving an account of Pennsylvania at that time.*

In the latter part of this year, 1682, the proprietary having finished his business with the Indians, undertook, with the assistance of his surveyor-general, Thomas Holme, to lay out a place for the city: and the ground which was chosen for that purpose, was claimed by some Swedes; to whom he gave, in exchange for it, a larger quantity of land at a small distance.

The situation of this place, being where Philadelphia now stands, along the western side of the river Delaware, then exhibited an agreeable prospect; it had a high and dry bank next the water, with a high shore, ornamented with a fine view of pine trees growing upon it.

In this bank many of the first and early adventurers had caves, or holes for their residence, before any houses were built, or better accommodations prepared for them. The first house erected on this plot of ground, was built by George Guest, and was not finished at the time of the proprietor's arrival.

Soon afterwards many small houses were erected. Penn himself had a large mansion-house, built on his manor of Pennsbury, near the side of Delaware, a few miles below the falls of Trenton, and about 26 above the city: which appears to have been undertaken before his arrival, and intended for his reception. Here afterwards he sometimes resided, and had meetings and conferences with the Indians, both on a religious and civil account.

About this time also the proprietor, with the consent of the purchasers under him, divided the province and territories, each into three counties; those of the province were called the counties of Bucks, Philadelphia, and Chester; those of the territories, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex. For which having appointed sheriffs, and other proper officers in each county, he issued writs for the election of members of council and assembly, conformable to the constitution at that time.

He met the council on the 10th of March, 1683, O. S. at Philadelphia, and the assembly two days afterwards. The number of the members for both the council and assembly consisted of twelve, out of each county; three for the council, and nine for the

assembly, making in all 72. Those of the council were:—

William Markham, Christopher Taylor, Thomas Holme, Lacy Cock, William Haige, John Moll, Ralph Withers, John Simcock, Edward Cantwell, William Clayton, William Biles, James Harrison, William Clark, Francis Whitewell, John Richardson, John Hillyard.

The members of assembly for each county were:

For Bucks.—William Yardley, Samuel Darke, Robert Lucas, Nicholas Walne, John Wood, John Clowes, Thomas Fitzwater, Robert Hall, James Boyden.

For Philadelphia.—John Songhurst, John Hart, Walter King, Andros Binkson, John Moon, Thomas Wynne, Speaker, Griffith Jones, William Warner, Swan Swanson.

For Chester.—John Hoskins, Robert Wade, George Wood, John Blunston, Dennis Rochford, Thomas Bracy, John Bezer, John Harding, Joseph Phipps.

For Kent.—John Biggs, Simon Irons, Thomas Hassold, John Curtis, Robert Bedwell, William Windmore, John Brinkloe, Daniel Brown, Benony Bishop.

For Newcastle.—John Cann, John Darby, Valentine Hollingsworth, Gasparus Herman, John Dehoaf, James Williams, William Guest, Peter Alrick, Henrick Williams.

For Sussex.—Luke Watson, Alexander Draper, William Fletcher, Henry Bowman, Alexander Moston, John Hill, Robert Bracy, John Kipshaven, Cornelius Verhoof.

The following are the only particulars to be found respecting the characters of these members of this first provincial council and assembly, which met at Philadelphia.

Captain William Markham, from London, was a relation of the proprietor. He was afterwards sometimes his secretary, and sometimes his deputy-governor. He appears to have been a useful person, of good education, character and ability; and to have possessed the proprietor's confidence and esteem.

Christopher Taylor, who is said to have been a person of excellent character and ability, was born in Yorkshire, where he had a good education, and wrote well in the Latin language. He was an eminent preacher among the Quakers; and composed several works in defence of their religious principles in England, as well as his brother, Thomas Taylor. He died in 1696.

Captain Thomas Holme came from Waterford, in Ireland. He was a Quaker, and surveyor-general of the province, appointed by commission from the proprietor, of the 18th April, 1682.

Lacy Cock appears to have been one of the Swede settlers, prior to William Penn's arrival.

John Simcock came from Ridley, in Cheshire, England, where he had suffered much for his religion, being a Quaker preacher. He had a good education, was one of the proprietor's first commissioners of property, and one of his most trusty friends in the government. Sometimes he was speaker of the assembly; and is said to have been a very worthy and serviceable person, in the province till his death. He lived in Chester county; and died on the 27th of January, 1702.

William Biles was a preacher among the Quakers, among the first settlers there; where he appears to have taken up land, under Governor Andross, of New York, prior to William Penn's grant of the

province. He is said to have been a very useful person both in the civil and religious line; being often in the council and assembly, &c.

James Harrison, who came from Boulton, in Lancashire, was also one of the proprietor's first commissioners of property; and was for many years with him as agent at Pensbury; he was a man of good education, and a preacher among the Quakers.

William Haige had been a merchant in London.

Ralph Withers came from Bishop's Canning in Wiltshire; and Griffith Jones, from Surrey.

Francis Whitewell, who was counsellor for Kent county, is said to have been a very serviceable person in the government, among the first and early settlers; a preacher among the Quakers; and every way a very useful and worthy member of society. He died in the year 1684; and William Darval was chosen counsellor in his stead.

Thomas Wynne was speaker of the assembly, during the two first years, and was at other times a member of it. He was one of the people called Quakers, a preacher among them, and came from North Wales; a person of note and good character. He died in the latter part of the year 1692; and was the author of some works written in defence of the Quakers, in his native country.

John Moon was originally of Lancashire, in England, afterwards of Bristol; he also was an author of works in defence of the Quakers.

John Songhurst came from Sussex, in England, and was a preacher among the Quakers. He died in West Jersey, and was buried in Philadelphia, in 1688.

Though the charter of privileges, or frame of government, required a greater number than were now returned to serve in council and assembly, yet it was left to be explained and confirmed by the governor, his heirs and assigns, and by the freemen of the province and territories. And it being found inconvenient to return the full complement prescribed by the charter, the freemen depended upon the proprietor's construction of their choice in a favourable manner; and alleged their reasons, both in the sheriffs' returns, and also by petitions and addresses, for choosing only twelve for each county, as sufficient to compose both the council and assembly; and declared that the number returned, namely, three for the council, and nine for the assembly, from each county, had in them the power of the whole freemen of the province and territories, and consequently, of serving in these capacities.

It was accordingly requested of the governor, that this alteration might not deprive the people of the benefit of their charter, though it might seem to be returned to him again, by not being accepted so largely as granted. Upon which the governor answered, "That they might amend, alter, or add, for the public good; and that he was ready to settle such foundations as might be for their happiness, according to the powers vested in him."

These preliminaries being settled, the different branches of the legislature proceeded according to the method prescribed in their charter of privileges; namely, that the governor and provincial council should propose to the assembly, and prepare all bills, which they, at any time, should think proper to be passed into laws consistent with the powers granted in the king's letters patent.

In such popular and inexperienced councils, where every man may propose any thing, which he fancies will tend to the public good, it is no wonder

if extraordinary propositions should sometimes be made; and though many singularities of this nature do not appear to have occurred in this province, yet, probably, the two following, which are said to have been made, at this time, may be so considered. First, that young men should be obliged to marry at, or before a certain age. Second, that two sorts of clothes only should be worn; one for winter, and the other for summer. Of the propositions which were now made, some were agreed to, and some rejected: but the principal business transacted this session, was the alteration of the charter of liberties, called the frame of government, which had before been in agitation.

At a council held the 20th of March, the speaker, and two members of assembly attending with some bills which had been sent to them, the governor and council desired a conference with the whole house and freemen, about the charter. Upon their attending, the governor asked them, "Whether they chose to have the old charter, or a new one?" They unanimously requested a new one, with such amendments as had already been debated and agreed on. To which the governor consented, and made a speech to them on the occasion; in which he declared their duty, and his own willingness to oblige them. Next day the house sent Griffith Jones, and Thomas Fitzwater, two of their members, with a written message to the governor, containing their thankful acknowledgments for his kind speech, and gratefully embracing his offers, respecting what they desired to be inserted in their charter.

A committee of each house was thereupon appointed to draw up the charter, with amendments. Those of the council were, John Moll, for Newcastle; Francis Whitewell, for Kent; William Clark, for Sussex; James Harrison, for Bucks; William Clayton, for Chester; and Thomas Holme, for Philadelphia. The committee of assembly were: James Williams, for Newcastle; Benony Bishop, for Kent; Luke Watson, for Sussex; Thomas Fitzwater, for Bucks; Dennis Rochford, for Chester; and Thomas Wynne, the speaker, for Philadelphia county.

At a council held the 30th of March, this year, the charter being prepared and read, signed, sealed, and delivered by the governor, was received by James Harrison, Thomas Wynne, and another member, on behalf of the assembly and freemen, who returned the old one to the governor, with the hearty thanks of the whole house.

By this charter the provincial council was to consist of eighteen persons, three from each county; and the assembly was to be composed of 36; men of most note for virtue, wisdom, and ability; by whom, with the governor, all laws were to be made, officers chosen, and public affairs transacted, in the manner therein expressed.

This charter continued in force till after the revolution in England; and though in some parts, it was formed upon a generous plan; yet all the laws were thereby still to be prepared and proposed by the governor and council; and the number of assemblymen were to be increased at their pleasure. This charter, with another which followed in the year 1696, seemed to be only preparatory to the last charter of privileges, granted in 1701.

This was the last affair transacted at the session of 1683; which continued 22 days. The governor and council, among other regulations, established a seal for each county, viz. for Philadelphia an anchor; for Bucks a tree and vine; for Chester a

plough; for Newcastle a cassia; for Kent three ears of Indian corn; and for Sussex a wheat-sheaf.

The first sheriffs appointed for each county were: for Philadelphia, John Test; Chester, Thomas Usher; Bucks, Richard Noble; New Castle, Edmund Cantwell; Kent, Peter Bowcomb; Sussex, John Vines.

The first grand jury in Pennsylvania was summoned on the 2nd of May, this year (1683), upon some persons accused of issuing counterfeit silver money. The governor and council sat, as a court of justice, on the occasion. The names of those empanelled and attested to serve on the grand jury were, Thomas Lloyd, foreman, Enoch Flower, Richard Wood, John Harding, John Hill, Edward Louff, James Boyden, Nicholas Walne, John James, John Vanborson, Robert Hall, Valentine Hollingsworth, Alexander Draper, John Louff, John Wale, Samuel Darke, John Parsons, John Blunston, Thomas Fitzwater, William Guest, John Curtis, Robert Lucas, Henry Jones, and Caleb Pusey.

A bill or bills, being found by the grand jury, a petty jury was therefore empanelled and attested; whose names were: John Claypoole, foreman, Robert Turner, Robert Ewer, Andrew Binkson, John Barnes, Joseph Fisher, Dennis Rochford, William Howell, Walter King, Benjamin Whitehead, Thomas Rouse, and David Breintnall.

They convicted a person, whose name was Pickering, and two others, his accomplices, of coining and stamping silver in the form of Spanish pieces, with the alloy of too much copper in it. Upon which Pickering's sentence, as principal, was, "that for this high misdemeanor, whereof his country had found him guilty, he should make full satisfaction, in good and current pay, to every person, who should, within the space of one month, bring in any of this false, base, and counterfeit coin," which the next day was to be called in by proclamation, "according to their respective proportions; and that the money brought in should be melted down before it was returned to him; and that he should pay a fine of 40*l.* towards the building of a court-house, stand committed till the same was paid, and afterwards find security for his good behaviour."

This, and all other affairs before the council being finished, and the members returned to their habitations, the proprietary applied himself to finish his plan, and regulate the streets of his favourite city, Philadelphia.

This city is situated 40 degrees, or more precisely 39 degrees, 56 minutes, 54 seconds, north from the equator, and about 75 degrees, or more accurately 5 hours, 0 minutes, 35 seconds, west from London, on the west side of the river Delaware; which river, at this place, is near one mile broad, at the distance of about 40 leagues from the sea, along the course of the river and bay. The river Sculki, which is a branch of the Delaware, and here runs nearly parallel to it, at the distance of two miles westward, is broad and deep enough for large ships at this place; but, on account of a sand-bar at its mouth, where it enters the Delaware, about four miles below the city, its navigation for large vessels is obstructed: and it has falls about five miles above the city, to which the tide runs, and no further. Over which falls, or rocks, at certain times, in floods and freshes, boats and small craft pass down to the city, with country produce, as iron, wheat, flour, &c. from the interior parts of the province. The tide rises in the Delaware generally about six feet at the city, and flows near 30

miles above it, to the falls at Trenton, on the Jersey shore, and is navigable all the way for large shipping, as far as that place.

The original plan of this city, as confirmed by charter, dated October 25th, 1701, extends, in length, between the river Delaware, on the east, and Sculki, on the west of it, about two miles; and is, in breadth, one mile nearly on each river. The streets, which run right, and exactly parallel to each other, nearly east and west, from river to river, are nine in number, and they are intersected at right angles by 23 others, running nearly parallel with the rivers, north and south; none being less than 50, nor more than 100 feet broad.

The proprietor likewise assigned five squares within this plan for the public use of the city, with other beneficial regulations; whose future great importance to the city having since not been sufficiently considered and attended to, some of them have either been neglected or violated.

The largest public square, at the centre, it is said, was intended to contain ten acres of land; the other four eight acres each. In the original plan by Thomas Holme, surveyor-general, the proportions, dimensions, and situations of all the original squares and streets, with the names of the latter, then given them, and still generally retained, are exhibited, as well as in the following description of it, viz.

The distances of the streets from each other, from east to west, with their names and dimensions, are:—

	<i>feet.</i>
From Delaware Front-street to Second-street . . . . .	396
Second-street to Third-street . . . . .	496
Third to Fourth . . . . .	396
Fourth to Fifth . . . . .	396
Fifth to Sixth . . . . .	396
Sixth to Seventh . . . . .	396
Seventh to Eighth . . . . .	396
Eighth to Ninth . . . . .	396
Ninth to Tenth . . . . .	396
Tenth to Eleventh . . . . .	396
Eleventh to Broad-street . . . . .	528
Ten streets, 50 feet each . . . . .	500

Distance from Delaware Front-street to Broad-street . . . . .	5088
Distance from Sculki Front-street to Broad-street . . . . .	5088
Broad-street . . . . .	100

Distance on High-street, between the two Front-streets of Delaware and Sculki, exclusive of the said two streets, and their distances from each river, equal to two miles, wanting 304 feet . . . . . 10,276  
The distances, names, and dimensions of all the streets, from north to south, are:—

	<i>feet.</i>
From Vine-street to Sassafras-street . . . . .	612
Sassafras to Mulberry . . . . .	614
Mulberry to High . . . . .	663
High to Chestnut . . . . .	497
Chestnut to Walnut . . . . .	510
Walnut to Spruce . . . . .	821
Spruce to Pine . . . . .	468
Pine to Cedar . . . . .	652
Seven streets, 50 feet each . . . . .	350
High-street 100 feet, Mulberry-street, 66 feet . . . . .	166

Distance from Cedar-street to Vine-street, inclusive, equal to one mile and 73 feet, north and south nearly, including all the streets . 5353



Penn, having finished what related to this excellent plan by the latter end of August, or the beginning of September, to the general satisfaction of those concerned, wrote a letter to the committee of the "Free society of traders in London," giving some account of it, and the country in general, with such observations as the short space of time he had resided, and his hurry of business, in it, had permitted him to make.

As it exhibits a specimen of the author's capacity for attending to a variety of objects at the same time, and is the best account, though only an imperfect sketch, of the original state of the province, of its Aborigines, and its natural history, we insert it.

"A letter from William Penn, proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania, in America, to the committee of the free society of traders of that province, residing in London: containing a general description of the said province, its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, and the good increase thereof. With an account of the natives, or aborigines.

"My kind Friends,

"The kindness of yours, by the ship Thomas and Ann, doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the interest you take in my health and reputation, and the prosperous beginning of this province; which you are so kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myself, and the affairs of this province, as I have been able to make.

"In the first place I take notice of the news you sent me; whereby I find some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and, to mend the matter, dead a Jesuit too. One might have reasonably hoped, that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy; and, indeed, absence being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent as the dead; because they are equally unable, as such, to defend themselves: but they that intend mischief, do not choose to follow good rules to effect it. However, to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive, and no Jesuit; and, I thank God, very well. And, without injustice to the authors of this, I may venture to infer, that they that wilfully and falsely report, would have been glad it had been so. But I perceive many frivolous and idle stories have been invented since my departure from England; which, perhaps, at this time, are no more alive than I am dead.

"But, if I have been unkindly used by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came; an universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For, here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments; nor were the natives wanting in this; for their kings, queens, and great men, both visited and presented me; to whom I made suitable returns, &c.

"For the province, the general condition of it, take as followeth:—

"I. The country itself, its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as sand, yellow and black, poor and rich: also gravel, both loamy and dusty; and, in some places, a fast fat earth, like our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers: God, in his wisdom, having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided; the back lands being generally three to one richer than those that lie by

navigable rivers. We have much of another soil; and that is a black hazel-mould, upon a stony, or rocky bottom.

"II. The air is sweet and clear, the heavens serene, like the south parts of France, rarely overcast; and, as the woods come, by numbers of people, to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

"III. The waters are generally good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms; and in number hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, that operate in the same manner with Barnet and North Hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

"IV. For the seasons of the year having, by God's goodness, now lived over the coldest and hottest that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

"First, of the fall; for then I came in: I found it, from the 24th of October to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December, to the beginning of the month called March, we had sharp frosty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them, in England; but a sky as clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing, and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more clothes than in England. The reason of this cold is given, from the great lakes that are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was as mild, scarcely any ice at all; while this, for a few days, froze up our great river Delaware. From that month, to the month called June, we enjoyed a sweet spring; no gusts, but gentle showers, and a fine sky. Yet, this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant, spring and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer or winter. From thence, to this present month (August), which endeth the summer (commonly speaking), we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind, that ruleth the summer season, is the south-west; but spring, fall, and winter, it is rare to want the north-western seven days together. And whatever mists, fogs, or vapours, foul the heavens by easterly, or southerly winds, in two hours time are blown away; the one is followed by the other: a remedy that seems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants; the multitude of trees, yet standing, being liable to retain mists and vapours; and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

"V. The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chestnut, poplar, gum-wood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, as red, white, and black; Spanish chestnut, and swamp, the most durable of all. Of all which there is plenty for the use of man.

"The fruits that I find in the woods are the white and black mulberry, chestnut, walnut, plums, strawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape (now ripe), called by ignorance, the fox grape, because of the relish it hath with unskilful palates, is in itself an extraordinary grape; and by art, doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the Frontinac, as it is not much unlike in taste, ruddiness set aside; which, in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a white kind of Muskadel, and a

little black grape, like the cluster grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other; but they tell me when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful Vine-rons to make good use of them. I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman, this season, who shews some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches very good, and in great quantities; not an Indian plantation without them; but whether naturally here at first, I know not. However, one may have them by bushels, for little: they make a pleasant drink; and I think not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets, already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best, where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But, to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine, as any European countries of the same latitude do yield.

"VI. The artificial produce of the country is wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumpkins, water-melons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots, that our gardens in England usually bring forth."

Edward Jones, son-in-law to Thomas Wynne, living on the Skulil, had, with ordinary cultivation, for one grain of English barley, 70 stalks and ears of barley: and it is common in this country, from one bushel sown, to reap 40, often 50, and sometimes 60. And three pecks of wheat sow an acre here.

"VII. Of living creatures; fish, fowl, and the beasts of the woods; here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only: for food as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox; deer bigger than ours; beaver, raccoon, rabbits, squirrels; and some eat young bear, and commend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey (40 and 50 pounds weight) which is very great; pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and grey; brands, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curloe, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel; nor so good have I ever eat in other countries. Of fish, there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cats-head, sheeps-head, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers, trout, some say salmon, above the falls. Of shell-fish, we have oysters, crabs, coccles, conchs and muscles; some oysters six inches long; and one sort of coccles as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and that are natural to these parts, are the wild-cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, minx, musk-rat; and of the water, the whale, for oil; of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers; whose boats are built, will soon begin their work; which hath the appearance of a considerable improvement: to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

"VIII. We have no want of horses; and some are very good, and shapely enough; two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes with horses and pipe-staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle, and some sheep; the people plow mostly with oxen.

"IX. There are divers plants, that not only the

Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove, by swellings, burnings, cuts, &c. that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient; and, for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the other I know not what to call, but are most fragrant.

"X. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers, for colour, greatness, figure and variety. I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods: I have sent a few to a person of quality this year for a trial.

"Thus much of the country; next of the natives or aborigines.

"XI. The natives I shall consider, in their persons, language, manners, religion and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever; and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion black, but by design; as the gipsies in England. They grease themselves with bear's fat clarified; and using no defence against sun, or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight looked Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them: for I have seen as comely European like faces among them of both, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white; and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

"XII. Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew in signification, full; like shorthand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer: imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter, on any occasion; and I must say, that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness, or greatness in accent and emphasis than theirs; for instance, Octocockon, Rancocas, Oricton, Shak, Marian, Poquesien; all which are names of places; and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, 'anna', is mother; 'issimus', a brother; 'netcap', friend; 'usqueoret', very good; 'pano', bread; 'metsa', eat; 'matta', no 'hatta', to have; 'payo', to come; Sepassen, Passijon, the names of places; Tamane, Secane, Menanse, Secatereus, are the names of persons; if one ask them for any thing they have not, they will answer 'matta ne hatta', which to translate, is, 'not I have;' instead of, 'I have not.'

"XIII. Of their customs and manners there is much to be said; I will begin with children; so soon as they are born, they wash them in water; and while very young, and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers, to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a clout, they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board, to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly; they wear only a small clout round their waist, till they are big: if boys, they go a fishing, till ripe for the woods; which is about fifteen; then they hunt; and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry;

else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens; and they do well to use them to that young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

"XIV. When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads, for an advertisement, but so, as their faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please. The age they marry at if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen; they are rarely older.

"XV. Their houses are mats, or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn; but out of the power of the winds; for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on reeds or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day, wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them.

"XVI. Their diet is maize or Indian corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes roasted in the ashes; sometimes beaten and boiled with water; which they call 'homine;' they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and pease, that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their larder.

"XVII. If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place, and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an 'Itah,' which is as much as to say, good be to you, and set them down; which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages. If you give them any thing to eat or drink, well: for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

"XVIII. They are great concealers of their own resentments; brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practised among them. In either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country: a king's daughter thinking herself slighted by her husband in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground and ate it; upon which she immediately died: and for which, last week, he made an offering to her kindred, for atonement, and liberty of marriage; as two others did to the kindred of their wives, that died a natural death. For, till widowers have done so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage, for a portion; but when married, chaste. When with child they know their husbands no more till delivered; and during their month, they touch no meat they eat but with a stick, lest they should defile it; nor do their husbands frequent them, till that time be expired.

"XIX. But, in liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend: give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent. The most merry creatures that live, feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much: wealth circulateth like the blood; all parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with

several parcels of land: the pay, or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners; but the neighbouring kings, and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned, consulted what and to whom they shall give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity, that is admirable. Then that king subdivide it in like manner among his dependants, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects: and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little; and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us: if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery suits, and exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live; their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing and fowling; and this table is spread every where. They eat twice a day, morning and evening; their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep; that is their cry, 'some more, and I will go to sleep;' but when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

"XX. In sickness, impatient to be cured; and for it, give any thing, especially for their children; to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at those times, a teran, or decoction of some roots in spring water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman; and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love: their mourning is blacking of their faces; which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of their dead; for, lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass, that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

"XXI. These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, and have scarce the tradition of it: yet they believe a God and immortality, without the help of metaphysics: for they say, 'There is a great king that made them, who dwells in a glorious country, to the southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again.' Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico. Their sacrifice is their first fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill, goeth to the fire; where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony; but with such marvellous fervency, and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle that begin; and by singing, and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antick and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already; to which all come, that will. I was at one myself: their entertainment was a great

seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans; which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes; and after that they fall to dance. But they that go must carry a small present in their money; it may be sixpence; which is made of the bone of a fish: the black is with them as gold; the white, silver; they call it all wampum.

"XXII. Their government is by kings; which they call 'sachama;' and those by succession, but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him, who is now king, will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign; for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent, is, that their issue may not be spurious.

"XXIII. Every king hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation; which, perhaps, is 200 people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them; and which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them, upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: the king sits in the middle of a half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise, on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and, in the name of his king, saluted me; then took me by the hand, and told me, 'He was ordered by his king to speak to me; and that now it was not he, but the king, that spoke; because what he should say was the king's mind.' He first prayed me, 'To excuse them, that they had not complied with me, the last time, he feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English: besides it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time in council, before they resolve; and that if the young people, and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay.' Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which now is little and dear; that which would have bought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the old, grave; the young, reverent in their deportment. They speak little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say, the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise, that outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us, 'of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light;' which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the sachamakers, or kings; first, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them, 'To love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government; that many governors had been in the river; but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one, that had

treated them well, they should never do him, or his, any wrong.'—At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way.

"XXIV. The justice they have is pecuniary: in case of any wrong, or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts, and presents of their wampum; which is proportioned to the quality of the offence, or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For, in case they kill a woman they pay double; and the reason they render is, 'That she breedeth children; which men cannot do.' It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and, if drunk, they forgive it, saying, 'It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them.'

"XXV. We have agreed that, in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them. The worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians; who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived their sight, with all their pretensions to a higher manifestation. What good, then, might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the knowledge of the natives, by a fixt obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable, indeed, for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

"XXVI. For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean, of the stock of the ten tribes; and that, for the following reasons: first, they were to go to a 'land not planted, nor known;' which, to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and he that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia, to the westernmost of America. In the next place; I find them of the like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's-place, or Berry-street, in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in rites; they reckon by moons; they offer their first fruits; they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones; their mourning a year; customs of women, with many other things that do not now occur.

"So much for the natives; next, the old planters will be considered in this relation, before I come to our colony, and the concerns of it.

"XXVII. The first planters in these parts were the Dutch; and soon after them, the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffic; the Swedes and Finns to husbandry. There were some disputes between them some years; the Dutch looking upon them as intruders upon their purchase and possession; which was finally ended in the surrender made by John Rizeing, the Swedish governor, to Peter Styvesant, governor for the states of Holland, anno 1655.

"XXVIII. The Dutch inhabit mostly those parts of the province that lie upon, or near the bay; and the Swedes the freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them; who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people; yet have made no great

progress in culture or propagation of fruit-trees; as if they desired rather to have **enough**, than plenty, or traffic. But I presume the **Indians** made them the more careless, by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs, for rum, and such strong liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the English, who were few, before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behaviour to the English; they do not degenerate from the old friendship, between both kingdoms. As they are people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; **some six, seven or eight sons**. And I must do them that right; I see few young men more sober and laborious.

“XXXIX. The Dutch have a meeting place, for religious worship, at Newcastle; and the Swedes, three; one at Christina, one at Tenecum; and one at Wicoco, within half a mile of this town.

“XXX. There rests that I speak of the condition we are in, and what settlement we have made: in which I will be as short as I can; for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tried your patience with this long story. The country lieth bounded on the east, by the river and bay of Delaware, and eastern sea; it hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay; some navigable for great ships, some for small craft. Those of most eminency are, Christina, Brandywine, Skilpot, and Skulkil; any one of which have room to lay up the royal navy of England; there being from four to eight fathom water.

“XXXI. The lesser creeks or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burden, are Lewis, Mespilion, Cedar, Dover, Cranbrook, Ferversham and Georges, below; and Chichester, Chester, Toacawny, Pammapecka, Portquessin, Neshimenek and Pennberry, in the freshes; many lesser that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers; which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land: the planted part of the province and territories is east into six counties, Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, Newcastle, Kent and Sussex; containing about 4000 souls. Two general assemblies have been held, and with such concord and dispatch, that they sat but three weeks; and, at least, 70 laws were passed without one dissent, in any material thing. But of this, more hereafter, being yet raw and new in our gear. However, I cannot forget their singular respect to me, in this infancy of things; who, by their own private expences, so early considered mine, for the public, as to present me with an impost upon certain goods imported and exported. Which after my acknowledgment of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province, and the traders to it. And for the well government of the said counties, courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks, constables, &c., which courts are held every two months. But to prevent law suits, there are three peace makers chosen by every county court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences betwixt man and man. And spring and fall there is an orphans' court, in each county, to inspect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

“XXXII. Philadelphia, the expectation of those that are concerned in this province, is at last laid out, to the great content of those here, that are

any ways interested therein. The situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Skulkil; whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile; and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river; but the Skulkil, being 100 miles boatable above the falls, and its course north-east, towards the fountain of Susquahanna (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a platform will be shewn you by my agent; in which those who are purchasers of me, will find their names and interests. But this I will say, for the good providence of God, that, of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land, and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced, within less than a year, to about four score houses and cottages, such as they are; where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as fast as they can, while the country men are close at their farms; some of them got a little winter corn in the ground last season; and the generality have had an handsome summer crop, and are preparing for their winter corn. They reaped their barley this year in the month called May; the wheat in the month following; so that there is time, in these parts, for another crop of divers things before the winter season. We are daily in hopes of shipping to add to our number; for, blessed be God, here is both room and accommodation for them: the stories of our necessity being either the fear of our friends, or the scare-crows of our enemies: for the greatest hardship we have suffered, hath been salt meat; which by fowl in winter, and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison the best part of the year, hath been made very passable. I bless God, I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I got in it: for I find that particular content, which hath always attended me, where God in his providence hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be, at present, free of more than ordinary busines; and as such, I may say, it is a troublesome work. But the method things are putting in, will facilitate the charge, and give an easier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some men's duty to plow, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap; so it is the wisdom, as well as the duty of a man, to yield to the mind of Providence, and cheerfully, as well as carefully, embrace and follow the guidance of it.

“XXXIII. For your particular concern, I might entirely refer you to the letters of the president of the society; but this I will venture to say, your provincial settlements, both within and without the town for situation and soil, are without exception. Your city lot is a whole street, and one side of a street from river to river, containing near 100 acres, not easily valued; which is besides your 400 acres, in the city liberties, part of your 20,000 acres in the country. Your tannery hath such plenty of bark, the saw mill, for timber, and the place of the glass-house, are so conveniently posted for water carriage, the city lot, for a dock, and the whalery, for a sound and fruitful bank, and the town Lewis, by it, to help your people, that, by God's blessing, the affairs of the society will naturally grow in their reputation,

and profit. I am sure, I have not turned my back upon any offer, that tended to its prosperity; and though I am ill at projects, I have sometimes put in for a share with her officers, to countenance and advance her interest. You are already informed what is fit for you further to do; whatsoever tends to the promotion of wine, and to the manufacture of linen, in these parts, I cannot but wish you to promote; and the French people are most likely, in both respects, to answer that design. To that end I would advise you to send for some thousands of plants out of France, with some able Vinerons, and people of the other vocation. But because I believe you have been entertained with this, and some other profitable subjects by your President, I shall add no more, but to assure you, that I am heartily inclined to advance your just interest, and that you will always find me your kind cordial friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Philadelphia, the 16th of the sixth month, called August, 1683."

*The dispute between Penn and Lord Baltimore, respecting the boundaries between their territories—Penn's letter to the Lords of plantations—Lord Baltimore's commission to Colonel George Talbot, with a demand of the latter—William Penn's answer to said demand—Incursion from Maryland, attempting forcible entry—Difficulty to restrain the Indians from strong liquors.*

Penn's endeavours, on his first arrival, to cultivate a friendly understanding with his neighbour, the Lord Baltimore, and to get the boundaries between their respective provinces amicably determined, have already been mentioned; for which purpose likewise it appears he had appointed his relation and deputy, Captain William Markham, to treat with the said lord proprietor of Maryland, before he arrived himself; and afterwards repeatedly used attempts for the same end. But these endeavours had not all the desired success, which, so far as appears, might have been reasonably expected.

The anxiety of the proprietary of Pennsylvania for a good, convenient, and independent communication, by water, between his province and the sea, for the benefit of its trade, appears to have been his principal reason for fixing his southern boundary by charter, so far south, as the beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude, intending thereby to include, at least, so much of the head, or upper part, of Chesapeake bay, within his province, as would furnish, from thence, a good and sufficient communication to the ocean, as well as by the Delaware. The nature and state of the controversy, about this time, between the two proprietaries, on this subject, more fully appear from the following letter of Penn to the lords of the committee of plantations, in London; to which board the Lord Baltimore seems to have previously applied.

"Philadelphia, the 14th of the sixth month, 1683.

"Though it be a duty, I humbly own, to inform the lords of the committee of plantations, of what concerns his majesty's interest in the success of this province, I thought myself equally obliged to be discreet and cautious in doing it. To write, then, there was need, and not to trouble persons of their honour and business, with things trivial, at least, raw and unfinished for their view. This hitherto put me by giving any account of the state of our affairs, to say nothing of the mighty difficulties I have laboured under, in the settlement of six-and-twenty

sail of people, to content, within the space of one year; which makes my case singular and excusable, above any other of the king's plantations.

"But because my agent has informed me that the proprietor of Maryland has been early in his account of our conference about fixing our bounds, and made a narrative of my affairs, as well before, as at that time, a little to my disadvantage, and the rather, because my silence might be interpreted neglect, I am necessitated to make some defence for myself; which, as it will not be hard to make, so I hope it will be received as just.

"I humbly say, then, first, that it seemed to me improper to trouble the lords with my transactions with this proprietor, till we were come to some result; which we were not: for we parted till spring; and even then were but to meet about the methods of our proceedings.

"Next, This narrative was taken by the lord's orders, without my consent or knowledge, in a corner of a room by one of his own attendants.

"And, lastly, upon when notice was given of this usage, I complained to him, he promised, upon his word and honour, it should go not farther; and that it was for his own satisfaction he did it; I told him that mitigated the thing a little; but if he should divulge it before I saw and agreed to the copy, he must pardon me, if I looked upon it as a most unfair practice. What that lord has done, and what to call it, I leave to my betters; but the surprise and indigestion of the whole will, I hope excuse me of neglect, or disrespect: for though I am unceremonious, I would, by no means, act the rude, or undutiful.

"This said, I humbly beg that I may give a brief narrative of the matter, as it then passed, since has been, and now stands, without the weakness and tautology his relation makes me guilty of.

"So soon as I arrived, which was on the 24th of October last, I immediately dispatched two persons to the lord Baltimore, to ask of his health, offer kind neighbourhood, and agree a time of meeting the better to establish it. While they were gone of this errand, I went to New York, that I might pay my duty to the duke, in the visit of his government and colony. At my return, which was towards the end of November, I found the messengers, whom I had sent to Maryland, newly arrived, and the time fixed, being the 19th of December. I prepared myself in a few days for that province. The 11th of the month I came to west river; where I met the proprietor, attended suitable to his character; who took the occasion, by his civilities, to shew me the greatness of his power: the next day we had conference about our business of the bounds, both at the same table, with our respective members of council.

"The first thing I did was to present the king's letter; which consisted of two parts:—One, that the lord Baltimore had but two degrees; and the other, that beginning at Watkins's point, he should admeasure his said degrees, at 60 miles to a degree. This being read by him, first privately, then publicly, he told me, the king was greatly mistaken, and that he would not leave his patent, to follow the king's letter, nor could a letter void his patent; and by that he would stand.

"This was the substance of what he said from first to last, during the whole conference. To this I answered, the king might be misinformed rather than mistaken, and that I was afraid the mistake would fall on his side; for though his patent begins at Watkins's point, and goes to the fortieth degree



of north latitude, yet it presumed that to be in the 38th; else Virginia would be wronged, which should extend to that degree; however, this I assured him, that when I petitioned the king for five degrees north latitude, and that petition was referred to the lords of the committee of plantations; at that time it was urged by some present, that the Lord Baltimore had but two degrees; upon which the lord president, turning his head to me, at whose chair I stood, said, 'Mr. Penn, will not three degrees serve your turn?' I answered, 'I submit both the what and how, to the honourable board.'

"To this his uncle, and chancellor, returned, that to convince me his father's grant was not by degrees, he had more of Virginia given him, but being planted, and the grant intending only land not planted, or possessed, but of savage natives, he left it out, that it might not forfeit the rest, of which the Lord Baltimore takes no notice in his narrative, that I remember.—But, by that answer, he can pretend nothing to Delaware; which was at, and before the passing of that patent, bought and planted by the Dutch; and so could not be given:—but if it were, it was forfeited, for not reducing it, during twenty years under the English sovereignty, of which he held it; but was at last reduced by the king, and therefore his, to give as he pleaseth.

"Perceiving that my pressing the king's letter was uneasy, and that I had determined myself to dispose him with utmost softness to a good compliance, I waved that of the two degrees, and pressed the admeasurement only, the next part of the letter: for though it were two degrees and a half from Watkins's point to 40 degrees, yet let it be measured at 60 miles to a degree, and I would begin at 40 degrees, fall as it would:—my design was, that every degree being 70 miles, I should get all that was over 60, the proportion intended the Lord Baltimore, by the grant and computation of a degree, at that time of the day:—thus he had enjoyed the full favour intended him, and I had gained a door of great importance to the peopling and improving of his majesty's province.

"But he this also rejected;—I told him it was not the love or need of the land, but the water; that he abounded in what I wanted, and access and harbouring even to excess; that I would not be thus importunate, but for the importance of the thing, to save a province; and because there was no proportion in the concern; if I were a hundred times more urgent and tenacious, the case would excuse it; because the thing insisted on was more than ninety-nine times more valuable to me than to him; to me the head, to him the tail.—I added, that if it were his, and he gave it me, planting it would recompense the favours, not only by laying his country between two thriving provinces, but the ships, that come yearly to Maryland for tobacco, would have the bringing of both our people and merchandize; because they can afford it cheaper; whereby Maryland would, for one age or two, be the mart of trade. But this also had no other entertainment, but hopes that I would not insist on these things at our next meeting; after three days time we parted, and I returned to this province.

"When the spring came I sent an express to pray the time and place, when and where I should meet him, to effect the business, we adjourned to at that time. I followed close upon the messenger, that no time might be lost. But the expectation he twice had of the Lord Culpepper's visit, disappointed any meeting on our affairs, till the month

called May; he then sent three gentlemen to let me know he would meet me at the head of the bay of Chesapeake; I was then in treaty with the kings of the natives for land; but three days after we met ten miles from Newcastle, which is 30 from the bay. I invited him to the town, where, having entertained him, as well as the town could afford, on so little notice, and finding him only desirous of speaking with me privately, I pressed that we might, at our distinct lodgings, sit severally with our councils, and treat by way of written memorials; which would prevent the mistakes or abuses that may follow from ill designs, or ill memory; but he avoided it, saying, 'He was not well, and the weather sultry, and would return with what speed he could, reserving any other treaty to another season.'—Thus we parted, at that time. I had been before told by divers, that the said Baltimore had issued forth a proclamation, to invite people, by lower prices, and greater quantities of land, to plant in the lower counties; in which the duke's goodness had interested me, as an inseparable benefit to this whole province. I was not willing to believe it; and, the being in haste, I omitted to ask him: but I had not been long returned before two letters came from two judges of two of the country courts, that such a proclamation was abroad, that the people too hearken to it, but yet prayed my directions. I bade them keep their ground, and not fear, for the king would be judge. Upon this I dispatched to the Lord Baltimore three of my council, with the clerk of it: as they went they got an authentic copy, under the hand of one of his sheriffs, to whom an original had been directed: but, as the last civility, I would yield him, I forbade them to seem to believe any thing but what they had from his own mouth. Thus they delivered my letter.

"At first he denied any such proclamation, turning to two gentlemen of his council, who stood by, he asked them if they remembered any such thing? They also denied it. Upon which the persons I sent produced the attested copy; which refreshing their memories, they confessed there was such a proclamation.

"But the Lord Baltimore told them that it was his ancient form, and he only did it to renew his claim, not that he would encourage any to plant there. They then prayed him to call it in, lest any trouble should ensue: but he refused it.—This was during a civil treaty, without any demand made, and after the place had been many years in the quiet possession of the duke.—What to call this I still humbly refer to my superiors. For his pretensions to those parts I have thoroughly instructed my agent; who, I hope, will be able to detect them of weakness and inconsistency. This is a true, though brief, narrative of the entertainment, I have had from that lord, in the business between us.

"And because I have, as in duty joined, sent an agent extraordinary to wait upon the king and his ministers, in the affairs of this province (so soon as I could make any settlement in it) I shall only humbly pray leave to hint at two or three things, relating to the business depending between this lord and myself, about finding the 40th degree of north latitude.

"I. That I have common fame on my side grounded upon ancient and constant judges, that the 40th degree of north latitude lieth about Boles's Isle. This the Lord Baltimore himself hath not denied; and the country confesseth; and I shall, when required, prove by some able masters of ships.

"II. If this were an error, it is grounded upon such skill and instruments, as gave measure to the time in which his patent was granted:—and if he hath got upon Virginia by that error, he should not get upon me by an exacter knowledge, considering that Carolina, which endeth by degrees, would as much advance upon Virginia, if the reputed latitude of unprejudiced times should take no place; for, by advancing her bounds twenty miles, by a new instrument, beyond the place; which hath been generally taken for  $36\frac{1}{2}$  degrees; and Virginia not being equally able to advance upon Maryland, because of its being at a place certain, she will be greatly narrowed between both.

"III. I therefore most humbly pray, that the judgment of ancient times, by which persons at the distance of England from America, have governed themselves, may conclude that the lord's bounds, or that he may measure his two degrees according to the scale and computations of those times, which was 60 miles to a degree; or, if it be allowed that he had not his grant by degrees, that, at last, I might not lose the benefit of admeasurement, as before mentioned, from Watkin's-point, in whatever degree of latitude that shall be found, to the 40th degree of north latitude, which I humbly take the more courage to press, because a province lieth at stake, in the success of it.

"I have only humbly to add, that the province hath a prospect of an extraordinary improvement, as well by divers sorts of strangers, as English subjects; that, in all acts of justice, we name and venerate the king's authority; that I have followed the bishop of London's counsel, by buying, and not taking away the natives' land; with whom I have settled a very kind correspondence. I return my most humble thanks for your former favours, in the passing of my patent, and pray God reward you. I am most ready to obey all your commands, according to the obligations of them, and beseech you to take this province into your protection, under his majesty and him, whom his goodness hath made governor of it, into your favours, for that I am, with most sincere devotion, noble lords, your thankful, faithful friend and servant, to my power,

"WILLIAM PENN."

The nature and state of this controversy, about this time, further appear by the following papers, viz:—

"Charles, Lord Baltimore, absolute lord and proprietary of the province of Maryland and Avalon, &c. To our dear cousin and counsellor, Colonel George Talbot, Esq., (L.S.)

"Reposing special confidence in your wisdom and integrity, I hereby nominate and appoint, and empower you to repair forthwith to the Skulkil at Delaware; and, in my name, to demand of William Penn, Esq., or of his deputy, all that part of the land on the west side of the said river, that lieth to the southward of the 40th degree, northern latitude, according to an east line, run out from two observations, the one taken the 10th of June, 1682, and the other the 27th of September, 1682, in obedience to his majesty's commands, expressed in a letter of the 2d of April 1681; which commands were, at that time, rejected by the agents of the said Penn (notwithstanding that by several letters and writings under their hands, it may appear they promised a compliance with his majesty's commands aforesaid), and for which you shall do herein, this shall be to you a sufficient power.—Given under

my hand and seal, the 17th day of September, anno 1683.

"C. BALTIMORE.

"*Vera copia attestata per me,*

"GEORGE TALBOT."

"By virtue of his lordship's commission, whereof the above is a true copy, I, George Talbot, do, in the name of the right honourable Charles, Lord Baltimore, absolute lord and proprietor of Maryland and Avalon, demand of you, Nicholas Moore, deputy to William Penn, Esq., all the land lying on the west side of Delaware river, and to the southward of the 40th degree of northerly latitude, according to a line run east, from two observations, the one taken the 10th of June, 1682, and the other on the 27th of September, 1682, in obedience to his majesty's commands, expressed in a letter, the 2d of April, 1681; which commands were at that time rejected by the said William Penn's agents, notwithstanding that by several letters and other writings, under their hands, it appears that they promised compliance to his majesty's commands aforesaid.—The land so claimed by me for the Lord Baltimore's use, being part of the said province of Maryland, granted to his lordship's father by King Charles I. of sacred memory, and now wrongfully detained by the said William Penn, from his lordship. And, in witness, that I make this demand, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 24th day of September, 1683. GEORGE TALBOT. (L. S)"

Penn, being at New York, at the time of this demand, after his return, made the following answer, viz.

"An answer to a demand made to Nicholas Moore, as my deputy, by Colonel George Talbot, the 24th of September, 1683, in pursuance of a commission, from the Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland and Avalon, dated the 17th of the same month.

"The demand being grounded upon the commission, I will take things in their order, and begin with the commission.

"The Lord Baltimore doth commissionate Colonel Talbot to go to the west side of the Skulkil to demand of William Penn, Esq., or his deputy, all that part of land on the west side of that river that lieth to the south of the 40th degree of northerly latitude.

"I. I answer, it seems very slight, abrupt, and unprecedented for any person that is in the quality of a proprietary of a country, to send to another in the same circumstance, any extraordinary messenger, agent, or commissioner, without some letter or memorial, to state the demand, with the reasons of it; the practice of the greatest princes, and might therefore (I conceive) be the condescension of lesser seigniories.

"II. In the next place, William Penn, Esq., and the said Penn (the language of the commission), is not my American style, nor that which belongs to me, in the matter in question; for, as such, I keep no deputies.

"III. I live not on the west side of Skulkil, nor any deputy of mine; and I conceive Colonel Talbot could not, by that commission, come to the east side, to make his demand; which yet he did.

"IV. I was absent, and at New York, when this commissioner came; and I never did, nor never will, commission any deputy to treat and conclude away my inheritance, without my particular direction and command; though, if I were to go for England, I would not disown the laws he should make in my absence, for public good, when I came back.

"V. Colonel Talbot is directed, in the commission, to make the demand, according to a line, said to be run, in obedience to his majesty's command, in his letter of the 2d of April, 1681; but I say that no line is yet run in obedience to his majesty's command; for the letter expressly saith, that the Lord Baltimore, or his agent, shall, together with my agent, agree to the latitude, and then run the line, and bound the provinces accordingly; which is not yet done: for those observations, and the line run by them, are performed by the Lord Baltimore, and his agents only, and therefore not according to his majesty's command, in his letter of the 2d of April, 1681, nor, in my opinion, common equity; for I knew nothing of them.

"VI. To say (as his commission doth) that my commissioners refused to comply with the said letter, is hard for me to do; since the chiefest of them brought it in my favour. But the truth is (if they say true, and circumstances favour them), the thing is improbable; for the Lord Baltimore would have had them agreed to have taken an observation upon the river Delaware, when as the king's letter (stating my bounds as they are expressed in my patent) begins twelve miles above Newcastle, upon the west side of Delaware river, and so to run to the 43d degree of north latitude upon the said river; which makes it impossible that the Lord Baltimore could come within those limits to take an observation, or run a line in pursuance of his majesty's commands, in the said letter; since taking an observation on Delaware river (which, say they, he pressed) is a plain violation of it. They further say, that they never refused, but pressed the taking of an observation according to his majesty's letter, which is grounded on the bounds of my patent; and when the Lord Baltimore and my agent had agreed to meet at Newcastle, and to proceed according to his majesty's letter, it is true that my agent came not, and as true, saith he, that the reason was the Lord Baltimore called immediately at Chichester, alias, Marcus Hooks, as he went to Newcastle, and forbade the inhabitants to pay me quit-rent, and named the place by a new name, before any line was run, or any observation agreed; which being a declared breach of the king's commands, and their treaty, in the opinion of my agent, he refused to meet the next day about a matter, the Lord Baltimore had in such a manner already determined.

"VII. But what fault soever they were in, sure I am, that before an observation was agreed, or any line was run, I came in, and suddenly after waited upon the Lord Baltimore. I presented him with another letter from his majesty, which he was so far from complying with, that he looked upon the king as mistaken, and set his patent in direct opposition; and to this day would never hear of complying with it in either of the two points it related to; that is to say, his having but two degrees, and that beginning them at Watkins's point, he should admeasure them, at sixty miles to a degree, to terminate the north bounds of his province. Now, in my opinion, it was not proper to ground his proceedings upon a former letter, in neglect of a later advice and command from his majesty: nor doth it look very just to make the caution or neglect of an agent, in the absence of his principal, a reason to proceed against his principal, when present with other instructions, without due regard had to him or his allegations. And I must say, that at Newcastle, when I pressed the Lord Baltimore to sit in one house with his council, and I would sit

with mine in another, that we might treat by written memorials under our hands, to prevent mistakes, ill memory, or ill will, he refused, alleging he was not well; I did then tell him I would waive what force or advantage I thought I had by the second letter, and proceed to meet him at the place he desired, which was the head of Chesapeak bay, and there try to find the fortieth degree of north latitude, provided he would first please to set me a gentlemanly price; so much per mile, in case I should have no part of the bay by latitude; that so I might have a back port to this province. This I writ, according to his desire, and sent after; him to sell he refused, but started an exchange of part of that bay for the lower counties on the bay of Delaware. This, I presume, he knew I could not do, for his royal highness had the one half, and I did not prize the thing I desired at such a rate. Soon after this meeting, I understood that he had issued forth a proclamation some time before, to invite people to plant those parts in my possession, under his royal highness; and that also before any demand had been made, or our friendly treaty ended; which I took so ill, in right of his royal highness, and that which his goodness had made mine, that I sent commissioners (first to know the truth of it from his own mouth, before I would credit the intelligence I had received, and, if true) to complain of the breach of our friendly treaty, and that it might be repaired; which he hath taken so ill (how deservedly let the whole world judge), that he hath sent me letters of a very coarse style, such as indeed could not be answered without those terms which unbecome men in our public stations, who, in the midst of all disagreements, ought to manage themselves with coolness and exact civility; and if in this I have at any time been short, let me but know it, and I, that think it a meanness of spirit to justify an error when committed, am not too stiff to ask him pardon. Here I left him, expecting his news when he came to the head of the bay, in September, as I thought he promised me; but instead of that, an observation is taken, a line run, and trees marked, without my notice, and a demand made thereupon, and all grounded on his majesty's letter of the 2d of April, 1681; in which I must again say, I find no such direction, which bringeth me to the demand itself.

"VIII. To the demand, viz., Of all that land on Delaware river to the south of the 40th degree of north latitude, I have this to say, that it is very odd the demand should be made several months after the proclamation was put forth, to encourage people to plant most of the parts demanded; but much more strange, that after the Lord Baltimore had declared under his hand, that he did not by that intend to break our amicable treaty, he should, without further provocation given, proceed to demand those parts! Certainly, this was not intended to continue our friendship; nor did it look with common decency, that Colonel Talbot should not think me worth leaving a letter at my house, where he lodged, when he went away, as well as the land worth such a demand. But, indeed, his carriage all along shews he came to defy me, not treat me like either a neighbour or gentleman. A sudden change amusing the king's people, under my charge, by threats, or drawing them off their obedience by degrading mine, and invitations to the Lord Baltimore's government. This I found at my return in his conduct (though not in his commission) as some of the people do aver.

"IX. But, in the next place, the Lord Baltimore hath no warrant to run his line to the river of Delaware, neither by the king's letter nor his own patent, if he peruseth them well, where he will find the bay, but not the river, of Delaware.

"X. The land demanded is not a part of the province of Maryland, as is expressed in the demand; for it is in the jurisdiction of Delaware (alias Newcastle) which is by several acts of the assembly of Maryland, distinguished and disowned from being any part of that province.

"XI. The Lord Baltimore hath no land given him by patent, but what was unplanted of any but savage nations; and this west side of the river Delaware, before, and at the passing of his patent, was actually bought and possessed by a civil and Christian people, in amity with the crown of England; and by the treaty of peace in 1653, between the English and Dutch, it was part of one article of the treaty, that the Dutch should enjoy those territories, in America, of which this was a member; and we do know, foreign actions of that time and kind continued firm after his majesty's restoration; for Jamaica still remains to us; and Dunkirk itself was not rendered, but sold.—To be short, I conceive, it is more for the Lord Baltimore's honour and safety, that it should be so, as I say, than otherwise:—for if he claimeth what was possessed of the Dutch, on Delaware river, south of the 40th degree of north latitude, as what was lawfully under the English sovereignty, how cometh he to suffer part of his province to remain under a strange and foreign sovereignty to that, under which he held his claim.

"XII. But, if the Lord Baltimore had a just pretence to this river, and former possession too, which he never had, yet being by the Dutch taken, and by the king taken from the Dutch, it becomes the conqueror's:—for, it is known, that, if any of our English merchants ships be taken, and possessed but 24 hours, by an enemy, if retaken by the crown, they are prize: and this place was more than 24 years in the hands of the Dutch. This made his royal highness take out fresh patents, upon the opinion of council (since the last conquest) for his territories in America. Nor is the Lord Baltimore in the condition of an ordinary subject (in whose favour something might be alledged); for he hath regalia, principality, though subordinate to the king, as his style shews; and I conceive he is bound to keep his own dominions, or else lose them; and if lost to a foreigner, and taken by the sovereign, the sovereign hath the right; another conqueror could plead. This is the present *jus gentium*, and law of nations; which in foreign acquets prevaileth; and the king accordingly has granted it, under his great seal of England, to his royal highness. And, if there were no truth in this, but the Lord Baltimore's patent were title good enough for what was actually another's before, and which he never enjoyed since, Connecticut colony might put in for New York, as reasonably as the Lord Baltimore can for Delaware, their patent having that part of the Dutch territories within its bounds, on the same mistake.

"XIII. I shall conclude with this, that the king, by articles of peace, between him and the states of Holland, is the allowed owner of all that territory in America, once called New Netherland; of which this is a part. He hath been graciously pleased to grant it by two patents, and this, in controversy, by one, under the great seal of England, to his

dearest brother, James, duke of York and Albany, &c. And his royal highness, out of his princely goodness, and singular regard, he was pleased to have, to the services and losses of my deceased father, hath interested me in part of the same; so that he is lord, (and I am tenant) of him I hold, and to him I pay my rent; and for him I improve, as well as myself; and, therefore, I must take leave to refer the Lord Baltimore to his royal highness; who is a prince, doubtless, of too much honour to keep any man's right, and of too great resolution, to deliver up his own; whose example I am resolved to follow."

"Philadelphia, 4th of October, 1683."

Such appears to have been the state of this controversy, at this time. The year 1684 commenced with an incursion of a party of people from Maryland, making forcible entry on several plantations into the "Lower counties:" upon which the governor and council, at Philadelphia, sent a copy of the preceding answer to the Lord Baltimore's demand, with orders to William Welch, to use his influence, for reinstating the persons, who had been dispossessed; and in case mild measures would not do, he was directed legally to prosecute the invaders: but the former method appears at present to have answered the intention; for no more of this kind of conduct was heard of till the next month; when some of the inhabitants were again threatened with the same outrages, in case of their refusal to yield obedience to Lord Baltimore. The government issued a declaration, showing Penn's title, and such other requisites as were thought most likely to prevent such illegal proceedings in future.

It is likewise observable about this time, that the methods then used, and the law, which had been made, to prevent strong liquors from being sold to the Indians, did not fully answer the intention; for these people, notwithstanding, through some unprincipled persons among the European settlers, in a clandestine manner, still procured them. The governor, therefore, seeing the great difficulty, if not the absolute impossibility, of debarring them from these liquors, called a number of them together, and proposed, that, on condition they would be content to be punished, as the English were, in consequence of drunkenness, they should not be hindered from the use of them? This they readily agreed to; and would probably have been willing to endure much greater punishment on these terms; so great is their love of strong liquors. The best methods that prudence could dictate, had been used, as it was thought, and much advice given them to inculcate an abhorrence of the vice of drunkenness, but too generally without that effect, which was desired; their appetite having so much the prevalency over their reason, and their sensual desires, above their better understanding, that while they saw and acknowledged the means used for their real interest in this affair, to be good, they lived in the continued violation of them.

*The proprietary obliged to return to England—Commissions the provincial council to act in his absence, &c.—His letter at his departure—Oldmixon's account—Thomas Langhorne—Death of Charles II., and succession of James II. to the crown of England, with Penn's interest and service at court—The dispute between Penn and Lord Baltimore, respecting the boundary of the territories decided, &c.—Boundary lines between the counties of the province ascertained—Proceedings of the assembly*

*against N. Moore, J. Bridges and P. Robinson—Means used to instruct the Indians—State of the province.*

(1684.) Penn continued in Pennsylvania and sometimes in the adjacent province of New Jersey, and other neighbouring places, till the beginning of the summer this year, settling and establishing the government, and assisting his friends, the Quakers, in regulating the affairs and economy of their religious society; and he most probably would have continued to reside here much longer, had not the dispute, between him and the Lord Baltimore, and other important affairs, called him to England where his enemies, taking the advantage of his absence, had thrown his affairs into a critical situation, and rendered his presence absolutely necessary.

Upon this he signed a commission, empowering the provincial council to act in the government in his stead; of which Thomas Lloyd was president; who also had a commission to keep the great seal. Nicholas Moore, William Welch, William Wood, Robert Turner, and John Eckley, were commissioned to be provincial judges for two years. The commission was as follows:—

“William Penn, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging,

“To my trusty and loving friends, Nicholas Moore, William Welch, William Wood, Robert Turner, and John Eckley, greeting:

“Reposing special confidence in your justice, wisdom, and integrity, I do, by virtue of the king's authority, derived unto me, constitute you provincial judges for the province and territories, and any legal number of you, a provincial court of judicature, both fixt and circular, as is by law directed; giving you, and every of you, full power to act therein according to the same, strictly charging you, and every of you, to do justice to all, and of all degrees, without delay, fear, or reward; and I do hereby require all persons within the province and territories aforesaid, to give you due obedience and respect, belonging to your station in the discharge of your duties: this commission to be in force during two years, ensuing the date hereof; you, and every of you, behaving yourselves well therein, and acting according to the same. Given at Philadelphia, the 4th of the sixth month, 1684, being the 36th year of the king's reign, and the fourth of my government,

WILLIAM PENN.”

Thomas Lloyd, James Clappoole, and Robert Turner, were empowered to sign patents, and grant warrants for lands; and William Clark had a general commission, to be justice of the peace throughout the province and territories. Other justices being likewise appointed, and all things settled in a promising and prosperous condition, the proprietary, on the 12th of the sixth month, 1684, sailed for England.

Oldmixon says, “the friendship and civility of the Pennsylvanian Indians are imputed to Mr. Penn, the proprietor's extreme humanity and bounty to them; he having laid out some thousands of pounds, to instruct, support, and oblige them. There are ten Indian nations within the limits of his province; and the number of souls of these barbarians is computed to about 6000.—The number of the inhabitants of Swedish, or Dutch extraction may be about 3000 souls.”—“Having made a league of amity with nineteen Indian nations, between them and all

the English in America; having established good laws, and seen his chief city so well inhabited, that there were then near 300 houses, and 2,500 souls in it, besides twenty other townships, he returned to England, leaving William Markham, Esq., secretary, Mr. Thomas Holme, surveyor-general; and the administration in the hands of the council, whose president was Thomas Lloyd, Esq., who, by virtue of his office, held the government several years,” &c.

But prior to his entirely leaving the country, he wrote from on board the ship, in which he sailed, the following most affectionate farewell, to be communicated to those whom he left behind; which, as a memorial of the father of this country, among many others, may, in part, show to posterity his real concern for the true happiness of the people, both in their temporal and spiritual capacity, and the prosperity of the country in every respect.

“For T. Lloyd, J. Clappoole, J. Simcock, C. Taylor, and J. Harrison, to be communicated in meetings in Pennsylvania, &c. among friends:—

“Dear Friends,

“My love and my life is to you and with you; and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out, or bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me, and near to me, beyond utterance. I bless you, in the name and power of the Lord; and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace and plenty, all the land over. Oh, that you would eye him in all, through all, and above all the works of your hands; and let it be your first care how you may glorify God in your undertakings: for to a blessed end are you brought hither; and if you see and keep but in the sense of that Providence, your coming, staying, and improving will be sanctified; ‘but if any forget God, and call not upon his name, in truth, he will pour out his plagues upon them; and they shall know who it is that judgeth the children of men.’

“Oh, now you are come to a quiet land, provoke not the Lord to trouble it. And now liberty and authority are with you, and in your hands, let the government be upon his shoulders, in all your spirits; that you may rule for him, under whom the princes of this world will, one day, esteem it their honour to govern and serve, in their places. I cannot but say, when these things come mightily upon my mind, as the Apostles did, of old, ‘What manner of persons ought we to be, in all godly conversation!’ Truly, the name and honour of the Lord are deeply concerned in you, as to the discharge of yourselves, in your present stations; many eyes being upon you: and remember, that, as we have been belied about disowning the true religion, so, of all government, to behold us exemplary and christian, in the use of that, will not only stop our enemies, but minister conviction to many, on that account, prejudiced. Oh, that you may see and know that service, and do it, for the Lord, in this your day:—

“And, thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been, to bring thee forth, and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee!

“Oh, that thou mayest be kept from the evil, that would overwhelm thee; that, faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness, thou mayest be preserved to the end: my soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and

thy people saved by his power; my love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eye! The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee, to his glory and thy peace.

"So, dear friends, my love again salutes you all, wishing that grace, mercy, and peace, with all temporal blessings, may abound richly among you; so says, so prays, your friend and lover in the truth,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"From on board the Ketch Endeavour,  
the sixth month, 1684."

In England, on the sixth of February, 1685, King Charles II. died; and was succeeded by his brother, James, duke of York, a professed Papist. The people were thereupon filled with great apprehensions and fears, lest, according to the usual practice of those religious devotees, who would compel all people under their power to their own mode of religion, as in the persecuting days of Queen Mary, he should endeavour, by the ruin of the Protestant, to establish the Popish, power and hierarchy in the nation. So that had the proprietary of Pennsylvania at this time fomented the general uneasiness, by encouraging multitudes, then greatly alarmed, he most probably might, as himself said, "Have put many more thousands of people into his province, as well as pounds into his pocket than he did."

But the actions of Penn appear to have had more noble and generous motives than those of private interest, or of a party only; and, from that friendship and intimacy which he had with the king while duke of York, he now employed his interest with him, not only for the relief of his suffering friends, the Quakers (who then had long filled the gaols through the nation, on account of their religion), but also for the benefit of such other persons as were in distress or difficulty, without distinction of sect or party. He also, there is no doubt, in his private and friendly capacity advised the king both for his own real interest, and for that of the nation in general; however much real advice was perverted or neglected by that infatuated monarch.

For his more convenient attendance, therefore, at court, and for the easier performance of these acts of humanity, friendship, charity, and general service to his country, as well as his own private concerns, in the year 1685, he fixed his residence near Kensington; all which gave occasion to the ignorant, and his malicious enemies, to impute to him things in which he was no way concerned.

Lord Baltimore's agent had, in the year 1683, petitioned Charles II., that no fresh grant of land, in the territories of Pennsylvania, might pass in favour of Penn, till that nobleman's case had been heard. This petition was referred to the lords of the committee of trade and plantation; which, after many attendances and examinations of both parties, made a report to James II; who, in November 1685, by an order of council, determined the affair between them; by ordering a division to be made of all that tract of land between Delaware and Chesapeake bay, from the latitude of cape Henlopen, to the south boundary of Pennsylvania, into two equal parts; of which that share on Delaware was assigned to the king; and that on Chesapeake, to the Lord Baltimore.

This division was, by the king, in council, ordered immediately to be made; but its execution being many years delayed, Queen Ann was twice petitioned for a further hearing; which being ob-

tained, the first order of council, of 1685, was, by the queen, ratified and confirmed, in all its parts, and commanded to be put in execution, without further delay.

In consequence, this territory, which before had been divided by William Penn, into the three counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, became bounded on the east, by the river and bay of Delaware, and partly by the ocean; on the south, by an east and west line, drawn a few miles south of the Indian river, in latitude about thirty-eight and a half; which line extends half-way between the ocean, on the east, and Chesapeake bay on the west, 35 miles; and from thence on the west of the said counties, by a right line nearly in a north direction to the south boundary of Pennsylvania; which is in a parallel of about fifteen miles due south of Philadelphia; so that the said line touches the arch of a circle, drawn at twelve miles distance from Newcastle to the river Delaware; and thence from the end of the said line, on the north-eastward, to the river Delaware, by the said arch.

Hence the breadth of these counties, east and west, continues to decrease from their south boundary, where it is 35 miles, till it is only about twelve miles, at, or near the border of Pennsylvania. The said north and south line, from latitude 38 degrees, 30 minutes, to 39 degrees, 41 minutes, is about 85 miles; but, in consideration of the space, included in the north part of the circle's arch, the whole territory may probably be near 90 miles in length; this, multiplied by 23, the mean breadth, gives 2070 square miles; which last number, multiplied by 640, the number of acres in one square mile, produces 1,324,800, or above one million and a quarter of acres, in this territory; now known as the state of Delaware.

At a council held in Philadelphia, on the first day of the second month, 1685, present Thomas Lloyd, president, and nine others, the lines of separation between the county of Philadelphia and those of Bucks and Chester were confirmed, according to the proprietary's desire, signified to some of his friends before he left the province.

Nicholas Moore, from London, one of the provincial judges, being first in commission, took place, as prior judge; or in the style of later times, as chief justice of the province, and was a member of assembly. Though he appears to have been a person of good and useful abilities, and esteemed by the proprietary, yet being accused of mal-practices, he fell under the displeasure of the house; and they impeached him in form, by a declaration exhibited to the council on the 15th of May, this year, consisting of ten articles; besides saving to themselves the liberty of adding more; and concluded with a request, that he might be removed from his great offices and trust, and be made to answer to the crimes and misdemeanors which were brought against him.

The council having received the assembly's charge against Moore, ordered several of their members to acquaint him with the accusation, and to request his appearance before the council next day; but he not appearing at the time appointed, the articles against him were read a second time, and notice given to the Assembly, that they were willing to hear their proofs. The speaker, John White, Abraham Man, Thomas Usher, John Blunston, William Barry, and Samuel Gray, were appointed managers, for the house on the occasion; who supporting the charge, the president and council sent a second notice to



Moore to appear at the council-chamber on the 19th; but he still neglecting, after some time of delay, notice was again sent him by a council convened on the 2d of the fourth month following, "That he desist and cease from further acting, in any place of authority, or judicature, till the articles of impeachment exhibited against him by the assembly, be tried, or, that satisfaction be made to the board."

There does not appear to be any record of what these articles, or crimes and misdemeanors were; which, undoubtedly, could not be without real foundation: but, from circumstances, it seems reasonable to apprehend there might have been some animosities and disagreement, or misunderstanding among some of the persons in authority at this time, by which things might have been exaggerated: this appears, in part, from Moore's obstinacy, in refusing to appear before the council, and also from some letters of the proprietary, in which he seems not to have been well pleased with part of these proceedings against him: for N. Moore, after this, was instituted and continued by the proprietary, in 1686, and 1687, one of his commissioners of government, a place of the highest honour and trust, till his death, about two years after this time; in which office there appears no objection from any party against his conduct.

The assembly had before this, on the 13th of May, showed an instance of their own authority, in expelling, or rather suspending one of their members, during the session, viz. John. Bridges, of Kent county, for contemptuous language to the house, expressed in assembly, and refusing to make submission; but upon his altering his mind the next day, and making acknowledgment, &c. for his offence, he was reinstated.

And on the 18th Patrick Robinson, clerk of the provincial circular courts, being admitted into the house of assembly, and requested to produce the records of said courts; but he denying the same, and joining with Moore, was for his contempt of the authority of the house, disobedience to their orders, and abusing the assembly, committed to the sheriff's custody, during the pleasure of the house, and voted "A public enemy to the province of Pennsylvania and territories thereof, and a violator of the privileges of the freemen, in assembly met."

The following are extracts from the letters referred to; in one of which, dated, Worminghurst, the 1st of February, 1687, to Thomas Lloyd, he says,—

"Since my return from Germany and Holland, where I had blessed service for the Lord, I have visited the north and north-west parts of this kingdom; as Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Darbyshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Bishoprick and Yorkshire; and the Lord was with me, in a sweet and melting life, to my great joy and friends' refreshment."

"I rejoice that God has preserved your health so well, and that his blessings are upon the earth; but grieved at the bottom of my heart for the heats and disorders among the people," &c.—"This quarrel about the society," (meaning the free society of traders, of which N. Moore was president) "has made your great guns heard hither: I blame nothing, nor the society here, to be sure; but I could wish Dr. Moore and P. R. could have been softened, and that J. Cl. (probably J. Claypoole) had been more composed;"—"that may be a mighty political vice, that is not a moral one."—"Because thy commission may expire, in the opinions of some, as

to president of the council, with thy membership, I have considered how to supply that defect, and that of thy absence; and that is another sort of deputation than before; which comes by the bearer, Edward Blackfan. I entreat thee to consider of the true reason of our unhappiness, of that side, among our magistrates: is it not their self-value, and slighting power in one another? Oh, this preference is, in religious and civil societies, the bane of concord, that is the means of true happiness. Men should be meek, humble and grave: that draws reverence and love together: this wise and good men will do. Is any out of the way? They should not so much look at his infirmity, as take care, they are not also overtaken, eying how many good qualities the offender has to serve the public; and not cast a whole apple away, for one side being defective. The Lord God of peace and power, by his blessed grace, teach and lead his people, in his own blameless path to the end."

In another to the same, dated Worminghurst, 6th of June, 1687, he speaks thus:—

"Though I write in general, I was willing to salute thee in particular, hoping that this will find thee and thine well, and at your ease, in poor Pennsylvania, where nothing on my part, in my power, shall be wanting to make you so: I do beseech thee to travail in the spirit of meekness, and of the precious, gentle wisdom of God, that is easily entreated, and works its way through the hardest rocks, to quiet and calm and determine; and leaving things to my coming too much: next, remember this, that though the politic ancients overlooked many ill things rather than, by the severity of punishment, to discourage planting their new colonies, or any sort from settling among them; yet, we, that have our eye to another home, whose due we have been taught to look for, as the reason of all true prosperity; and that it has ever been according to our faith, are to act, as in his sight, and discharge ourselves as righteous men, against all unrighteousness; wherefore, pray, let the law have its course;—as for Dr. Moore and P. Robinson, the persons esteemed the most unquiet and cross to friends, try what is possible to quiet them; endeavour by private visits and admonitions to sweeten them; much good may come of it. The Lord God of endless power bless you, and furnish you, to his praise."

On the 14th of September, James Harrison, James Claypoole, and Arthur Cooke were nominated by the council, to be provincial judges; but Harrison and Cooke refusing to serve, and Claypoole being prevented by sickness, the council, in order to answer the expectation of such persons as were concerned in appeals, agreed to receive them, and to sit for the decision of differences themselves, at the time appointed for the court to sit; which was on the 24th. After this, at their triennial election, according to charter, being in part new chosen, they, by fresh commissions, appointed the several officers of government.

In this year, 1685, the Quakers, in their yearly meeting, at Burlington, in West Jersey, took additional measures to prevent all persons in their society, from selling strong liquors to the Indians. About the same time, by particular appointment, they also had a religious meeting with them, as they frequently had before; to inform and instruct them in the principles of Christianity, and the practice of a true Christian life.

The Indians generally heard patiently what was

said to them on this subject, and seemed affected with it for a time; but, for the most part, it appeared to make no very durable impression, on their minds, for the proper regulation of their passions and appetites; which, at last, too generally seemed to prevail over convictions of this nature, and their better knowledge.

Many preachers of this religious society, from abroad, often had meetings, and serious discourse with them for this purpose; as well as those who had settled in the country, particularly, Samuel Jennings, Thomas Olive, William Penn and others, from time to time, laboured to inculcate into them a just sense of the benefit of a Christian life and conduct.

The following letter from the proprietary to the magistrates, concerning ordinaries, with some others about this time, indicate the existence of some irregularities and abuses in the province, and his anxiety to have them redressed, viz:—

“Friends,

“There is a cry come over into these parts against the number of drinking-houses, and looseness, that is committed in the caves.” [Note, these caves were some of the first habitations of the new settlers, under William Penn, till they got better erected; they were made in the bank, along the side of Delaware, where the city now stands, which then was higher ground.] “I am pressed in my spirit, being very apt to believe too many disorders, in that respect, strictly to require, that speedy and effectual care be taken:—First, to reduce the number of ordinaries, or drinking-houses; and that without respect to persons:—Such to be continued, that are most tender of God’s glory, and the reputation of the government; and that all others, presuming to sell, be punished according to law:—I desire you to purge these caves in Philadelphia; they are mine by licence and time:—The three years are expired;—I would have the suspected forthwith ordered to get up housing elsewhere; and the empty caves to accommodate the poor families, that may come over; though they must not stand long before men’s doors. Whatever you do, let virtue be cherished, and those that show to fear God, by a life according to it, be countenanced, and the evil person rebuked; that God, who blesseth those that fear him, and call upon his name in all lands, may bless and preserve you.—And though this be particularly addressed to you, let the magistrates of other towns have it to read among them. I add no more, but my desires to the God of all our tender mercies to be with you all, in your duties and places, to his glory, and your praise and peace Amen.  
Your very loving friend,  
WM. PENN.”

The following was endorsed on the copy of the above letter, viz.

“These are to certify, that notwithstanding several within this county of Philadelphia, keep ordinaries, and sell strong liquors by retail, yet not one of them hath any licence for their so doing.

“WILLIAM MARKHAM.”

The following is an extract from an original letter, in the proprietary’s own hand-writing, dated, “sixth month 1685,” and directed to Thomas Lloyd, John Simcock, Christopher Taylor, James Harrison, and Robert Turner.—Speaking of some persons in the government, and certain disorders, he says,—

“I am sorry at heart for your animosities; cannot more friendly and private courses be taken, to set matters to right, in an infant province, whose

steps are pumbered and watched? For the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not so governmentish, so noisy, and open, in your dissatisfactions;—some folks love hunting in government itself.”—“It is an abominable thing to have three warrants for one purchase; ’tis oppression that my soul loaths; I do hereby require it, that P. L. be called to account for requests and warrants, &c. for town-lot, liberty-lot, and the rest of the purchase. Why not one warrant for all, at least, for liberty-lot, and the remainder? This is true and right oppression: besides, several things and sums are set down, that are not in law, nor in my regulations,” &c.

*Penn’s employment in Europe—Emigrants from Holland and Germany—Five commissioners of state created—The proprietor’s instructions to them—His beneficent employment in England for the Quakers, &c.—Letter to Lloyd—False alarm of an Indian insurrection—Caleb Pusey—Captain John Blackwell, Deputy Governor—The proprietary’s instructions to him—He meets the assembly, disagrees with the council, and returns to England—Institution of the first public grammar-school in Pennsylvania.*

In the year 1686 Penn published a further account of the province of Pennsylvania, wrote several pieces on religious subjects, chiefly in defence of toleration in religion, (extant in his works) and appears to have been in Germany and Holland, as well as much engaged in various services for his friends, the Quakers, and in promoting religion and virtue in different places, personally, in his native country; at the same time continuing his care and endeavours for the benefit, happiness, and prosperity of his province, though absent, by means of written directions and advice, from time to time, for the prevention of disorders, and the redressing of such things as appeared inconsistent with the real interest of the colony.

But his great expense and generosity, in the original settlement of the province, as well as afterwards, were so very considerable, compared to his private fortune, that, even before this time, he began to feel the effects to such a degree, that in his letters to some of his friends there, he was obliged to complain of the slowness and deficiency of the returns.

In answer to a remonstrance and address to him, respecting the front and bank lots in Philadelphia, dated “3d six month, 1684,” he says,—“I have made the most purchases, and been at the greatest charge of any proprietary and governor in America,” &c.

In a letter dated Bristol, “5th of nine month, 1695,” directed to A. Cook, J. Simcock, S. Carpenter, J. Goodson, S. Richardson, R. Turner, Ph. Pemberton, and D. Lloyd, Pennsylvania, he declares,—“I must say, that what I have spent upon the province, as governor and planter, is the foundation of my present incumbrance; as P. F. (Philip Ford) knows, and asserted to the lords of plantations lately, to be 4,000*l.* more than the whole that I ever received for lands, besides what it has cost me here,” &c.

In a letter to Thomas Lloyd, dated “seventh month, 1686,” he complains, that at that time “his quit-rents were at least 500*l.* per annual value, and then due, though he could not get one penny.”—“God is my witness,” says he, in the same letter, “I lie not; I am above 6000*l.* out of pocket, more than ever I saw by the province, and throw in my pains, care, and hazard of life, and leaving of my family and friends, to serve them,” &c.

In a letter to James Harrison dated, London,

"23d of seventh month, 1686," speaking of his going to his province, he says,—“ Besides, that the country think not on my supply, and I resolve never to act the governor, and keep another family and capacity upon my private estate; if my table, cellar, and stable may be provided for, with a barge and yatch, or sloop, for the service of governor and government, I may try to get hence; for, in the sight of God, I can say I am 5000*l.*, and more, behind hand, more than ever I received, or saw, for land, in that province,” &c.—“ There is nothing my soul breathes more for in this world, next my dear family's life, than that I may see poor Pennsylvania again;”—“ but I cannot force my way hence, and see nothing done on that side, inviting,” &c.

In, or about this year, 1686, arrived in the province many Friends, or Quakers, and others from Holland and Germany; who settled among their friends at German-town, near Philadelphia, and increased that settlement, which was begun in 1683. Some of those who now came, having suffered considerably by fire, soon after their arrival, were assisted by the Friends, in the city and county of Philadelphia.

The proprietary found much inconvenience arose from his commission of the power of government to so many persons as the council consisted of, and, not being well pleased with part of their conduct, or management, declared, “that the charter was forfeited, if he would take advantage at it;”—“ and in another letter to the same, about this time, he complains,—“ That the provincial council neglected, or slighted, his letters to them; that he had religiously consecrated his pains in a prudent manner, but it was not valued, understood, or kept to; so that the charter was over and over again forfeited, if he would take advantage at it;—that they entirely neglected the supply which they had promised him; which, in consequence of his great expense, on account of the province, was one cause that kept him from Pennsylvania; declaring, “ That he would not spend his private estate to discharge a public station.” Hence, in the latter part of the year 1686, by a fresh commission, he contracted the number of his representatives, or of the executive part of the government, to five persons only, viz. Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas Moore, James Claypoole, Robert Turner, and John Eckley, constituting and styling them commissioners of state, or, of the government of Pennsylvania.

Both the cause of their institution, and the nature of their office, in part, appear from the following instructions:—

“ William Penn, proprietor and governor,  
“ To my trusty and well beloved friends, Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas Moore, James Claypoole, Robert Turner, and John Eckley, or any three of them at Philadelphia:—

“ Trusty, and well-beloved, I heartily salute you; lest any should scruple the termination of President Lloyd's commission, with his place in the provincial council, and to the end that there may be a more constant residence of the honorary and governing part of the government, for the keeping all things in good order, I have sent a fresh commission of deputation to you, making any three of you a *quorum*, to act in the execution of laws, enacting, disannulling, or varying of laws, as if I myself were there present, reserving to myself the confirmation of what is done, and my peculiar royalties and advantages.

“ First, You are to oblige the provincial council to their charter attendance; or to take such a

council as you think convenient, to advise and assist you in the business of the public: for I will no more endure their most slothful and dishonourable attendance, but dissolve the frame, without any more ado: let them look to it, if further occasion be given.

“ Secondly, That you keep to the dignity of your station, in council and out; but especially to suffer no disorder in the council, nor the council and assembly, or either of them, to entrench upon the powers and privileges remaining yet in me.

“ Thirdly, That you admit not any parleys, or open conferences, between the provincial council and assembly: but one, with your approbation, propose, and let the other consent or dissent, according to charter.

“ Fourthly, That you curiously inspect the past proceedings of both, and let me know in what they have broken the bounds, or obligations of their charter.

“ Fifthly, That you, this very next assembly general, declare my abrogation of all that has been done since my absence; and so, of all the laws, but the fundamentals; and that you immediately dismiss the assembly, and call it again; and pass such of them afresh, with such alterations as you and they shall see meet; and this, to avoid a greater inconvenience; which I foresee, and formerly communicated to Thomas Lloyd.

“ Sixthly, Inspect the qualifications of members in council and assembly; and see they be according to charter; and especially of those that have the administration of justice; and whatever you do, let the point of the laws be turned against impiety, and your severe brow upon all the troublesome and vexatious, more especially trifling, appellars.

“ You shall shortly have a limitation from the king; though you have power with the council and assembly to fix the matter and manner of appeals as much as to do any justice, or prevent any disorder in the province at all.

“ Seventhly, That till then I have sent you a proclamation to that effect, according to the powers of ordinance making, and declared in my letters patent, which you may expose as you please.

“ Eighthly, Be most just, as in the sight of the all-seeing, all-searching God; and before you let your spirits into an affair, retire to him (who is not far away from every one of you; by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice) that he may give you a good understanding, and government of yourselves, in the management thereof; which is that which truly crowns public actions, and dignifies those that perform them. You shall hear further from me by C. King; the ship is ready to sail, so shall only admonish you in general, that, next to the preservation of virtue, have a tender regard to peace, and my privileges, in which enact from time to time. Love, forgive, help, and serve one another; and let the people learn by your example, as well as by your power, the happy life of concord. So commending you to God's grace and keeping, I bid you heartily farewell. Given at Worminghurst, in Old England, the first of the twelfth month, 1686.”

During most of the time of Penn's absence from his province, till the reign of William III., though not many public transactions, nor proceedings of much importance and notoriety, appear to have passed in Pennsylvania besides those which respect the labour and advantages of an industrious people, in the colonisation of the country, and laying a foundation for future greatness, by facilitating and

multiplying the reasonable enjoyments and blessings of life; yet its eminent founder was not the less active and beneficial to mankind in another department; and his suffering friends, the Quakers, in Great Britain, experienced the effect of his attendance and solicitations at court in their favour: where his frequent access to the king brought him into suspicion of being a disguised Jesuit, and under unjust censures and imputations; as if he had been an adviser, and contributed to those arbitrary measures which that impolitic king, James II., pursued: whereas his generous plan of liberty, so far as his power extended, and his otherwise well known principles of government, were as contrary to those of the king as could possibly be, and his religion no less opposite.

Nevertheless he was not only infamously aspersed and abused in print, on these accounts, by many illiberal and slanderous works, published against him, and some of them, even, in his own name, but also censured by some persons of good understanding and character; who, in many respects, were his friends, but not thoroughly knowing him, fell into the like suspicions. An instance of which appears in Dr. Tillotson, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; but by means of a friendly epistolary correspondence between them on the subject, in the year 1686, as appears in Penn's life prefixed to his printed works, Dr. Tillotson was fully convinced of, and as freely acknowledged his mistake.

Penn continued to distinguish himself in the cause of an impartial toleration in religion, both in writing, and also by assiduous personal solicitations at court, as a strenuous and unwearied advocate for that undoubted right of mankind; of which he, and his friends, the Quakers, had, through the persecution and bigoted spirit of those times, been long unjustly deprived. Hence, in the fore part of this year, in consequence of the king's proclamation for a general pardon, "about 1300 of these people, most of whom had been imprisoned divers years, for their religion, were set at liberty." And in April, the next following year, 1687, came forth the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, suspending the execution of all penal laws, in matters ecclesiastical.

For this temporary relief from cruel suffering, by the intolerant and unjust laws of those times, they who had endured most oppression and persecution, undoubtedly had the greatest reason to be thankful: and whatever were the supposed views of the government thereby, in too much favouring a Popish party, yet, for the Quakers to refuse, or reject the restitution of that natural right of mankind, and all peaceable subjects, merely because it might be made an ill use of by others, and was not done in due form, would certainly have been the highest absurdity: and for those, who had suffered more deeply than all others, not to acknowledge and commend the redress of such a crying and intolerable grievance and affliction, as they had endured in respect to themselves, so long and so laboriously solicited by them, of the preceding king and parliament, in vain, would have showed the greatest ingratitude and insensibility; more especially, as it was scarcely possible for them to be in a much worse condition, even under a Popish hierarchy itself, than they had for many years endured, both under Cromwell, Charles II. and their parliaments, to this time, without being able to obtain redress any other way: wherefore, at their next annual assembly, held in

London in the third month, this year the Quakers drew up an address of thanks to the king, and deputed Penn and others to present it.

In the summer of the year 1687, W. Penn, by some of his letters to his friends in Pennsylvania, seems to have been with the king, in a progress through Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, and Hampshire: during which journey he had several religious meetings with the people; and in some places, where the king appears to have been present, particularly in Chester.

While Penn was thus variously and importantly employed in England, his province needed his presence; and Thomas Lloyd, who ever since the proprietary's departure had chiefly presided in the public affairs, and sustained the weight and care of them, under the different appointments, excepting two short intermissions, in which Thomas Holme and William Clark supplied his absence, wanted to be discharged from the burden; and, before this time had solicited to be released, by the appointment of another person in his room: but a suitable person for such an appointment was not easy to be found; and the proprietary appears to have been sensible of it, by his manner of writing at different times, to his friends in the province, expressing his ardent desire for his prosperity, and to reside in it himself; in one of which to Thomas Lloyd, about this time, he says, "No honour, interest, or pleasure, in this part of the world, shall be able to check my desires to live and die among you; and, though to my grief, my stay is yet prolonged on private and public accounts, yet, depend upon it, Pennsylvania is my worldly delight, and end of all places on the earth."

"Now, though I have, to please thee, given thee a *quietus* from all public business, my intention is to constitute thee deputy-governor, and two, in the character of assistants; either of whom and thyself, to be able to do all as fully as I myself can do; only I wait thy consent to the employment; of which advise me," &c.; and again, "by all that is reverent, tender, and friendly, I beseech thy care, condescension and help, for that poor province. I am here, serving God and friends, and the nation; which I hope God will reward to mine and you," &c.

Notwithstanding the friendly disposition which, from the beginning, had been wisely cultivated and established by the proprietary and inhabitants, or first settlers, of the province, with the Indians, and afterwards pursued in such manner, as to leave no reasonable cause for fears and suspicions between them; yet, as in all countries turbulent persons are found, whose delight is, if possible, to disturb the public tranquillity; so we find, in the infancy of this colony, when justice, peace, and harmony so universally predominated, it was possible, nevertheless, for idle reports, and groundless rumours, to take place, and gain so far on ungarded minds, as to create very alarming apprehensions respecting the Indians. The consideration of their large numbers at that time, in proportion to the fewness of the European settlers, rather favouring such apprehensions; of which we have the following instance.

In, or about the year 1688, the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and places adjacent, were alarmed with the report of an intended insurrection of the Indians to cut off all the English on an appointed day. This was communicated by two Indian women of West Jersey, to an old Dutch inhabitant near Chester, to be on the next fourth day of the week. Several Friends, or Quakers, upon hearing this re-

port, being conscious of their just conduct towards the Indians, and sensible of nothing that could reasonably disgust them, endeavoured to appease the people's fears. The fourth day having arrived, about ten o'clock in the night, a messenger arrived at Chester, out of the woods, and told the people, that three families about nine miles distant, which he named, were all cut off by the Indians. This report coming to a Friend, then at Chester, about midnight he took with him two young men on horseback, to the place, in order to examine into the truth of the affair. They found the three houses, but no body in them, and yet no signs of murder; their inhabitants, alarmed in a similar manner, had fled to the houses of their parents, at Ridley creek, about a mile from thence. The master of one of these families being from home, had been informed 500 Indians were actually collected at Naaman's creek, in pursuit of their design to kill the English; and as he was hastening to his house, he thought he heard his boy crying out, and saying, "What shall I do, my dame is killed!" Upon which, instead of going home, to know the certainty of the affair, he ran off, to acquaint the government at Philadelphia; but being met by a person of more prudence than himself, before he got to the city, he was persuaded by him to return.

The report notwithstanding soon arrived at the city; and was told with such alarming circumstances, that a messenger was immediately dispatched to Marcus Hook, near the said Naaman's creek, to inquire the truth of it. He quickly returned and confirmed the report, but with this variation; that it was at Brandywine creek, at an Indian town, where the 500 Indians were assembled; and, that they, having a lame king, had carried him away with all their women and children. These circumstances rendered the affair still more alarming, and, with many, amounted to a certainty.

The council were at that time sitting at Philadelphia on other affairs, when one of them, a Quaker, supposed to be Caleb Pusey, a much esteemed public man, who lived in Chester county, voluntarily offered himself to go to the place, provided they would name five others to accompany him, without weapons; which being soon agreed on, they rode to the place; but, instead of meeting with 500 warriors, they found the old king quietly lying with his lame foot along on the ground, and his head at ease on a kind of pillow, the women at work in the field, and the children playing together.

When they had entered the wigwam, the king presently asked them very mildly, "What they all came for?" They told him the report which the Indian women had raised; and asked him, whether the Indians had any thing against the English? He appeared much displeased at the report, and said, "The women ought to be burnt to death; and that they had nothing against the English;" adding, "'Tis true there are about 15<sup>l</sup>, yet behind of our pay for the land, which William Penn bought, but as you are still on it, and improving it, to your own use, we are not in haste for our pay; but when the English come to settle it, we expect to be paid." This, the messengers thinking very reasonable, told him, they should undoubtedly be paid for their land.

One of the company further expressed himself to the Indian king, in the following manner: "That the great God, who made the world, and all things therein, consequently made all mankind, both In-

dians and English; and as he made all, so his love was extended to all; which, was plainly shown, by his causing the rain and dews to fall on the ground of both Indians and English alike; that it might equally produce what the Indians, as well as what the English sowed or planted in it, for the sustenance of life; and also by his making the sun to shine equally on all, both Indians and English, to nourish them; and that seeing the great Being, which made them all, extended his love thus to all, so they were mutually bound to love one another."

The king answered, "What they had said was true; and as God has given you corn, I would advise you to get it in; (it being then harvest time) for we intend you no harm." They parted amicably; and the messengers, returning, put an end to the people's fears.

In consequence of a request from Thomas Lloyd, to be released from the public affairs of the government, in the latter part of the year 1688, Captain John Blackwell succeeded to his office of lieutenant-governor. He was a person whom Penn seems to have highly esteemed; and, at the time of his appointment, was in New England. His commission was transmitted to him with the following document.

(L. s.) "Instructions for Lieutenant Governor Blackwell, or whom else they may concern.

"I. That things be transacted in my name, by the style of my patent only, viz. absolute proprietary of Pennsylvania, &c. if not contrary to the charter and laws of the province, as I suppose not.

"II. That commissions signed and sealed by me here shall be sufficient warrants and directions to pass them under the great seal.

"III. To collect the laws that are in being, and end them over to me, in a stitched book, by the very first opportunity; which I have hitherto often, and so much, in vain, desired.

"IV. To be careful that speedy, as well as thorough and impartial justice be done; and virtue in all cherished, and vice in all punished.

"V. That fines be in proportion, both to the fault and ability of the party, that so they may be paid.

"VI. That feuds between persuasions, or nations, or countries, be suppressed and extinguished, if any be; and, if none, that by a good conduct, they may be prevented.

"VII. That the widow, orphan, and absent may be particularly regarded, in their rights; for their cry will be loudest in all ears; but, by absent, I mean such as are so of necessity.

"VIII. To countenance the commissioners of property, where land is unseated, or people are unruly in their settlements, or comply not with reasonable obligations, about bounds, banks, timber, &c. For though we come to a wilderness, it was not that we should continue it so.

"IX. That the sheriffs of their respective counties be charged with the receipt of my rents, fines, &c. as they do in England, and give security to the receiver-general, for the same.

"X. To have a special care, that sheriffs and clerks of the peace impose not upon the people; and that the magistrates live peaceably and soberly;—for I could not endure one loose, or litigious person in authority.—Let them be men having some fear of God, and hating covetousness, whatever be their persuasion: to employ others is to profane an ordinance of God.

"XI. That care be taken of the roads and highways in the country; that they might be straight and commodious for travellers; for I understand they are turned about by the planters; which is a mischief that must not be endured.

"XII. Consider by what means, or methods, the good and prosperity of the plantation may be promoted; what laws, in being, are unnecessary or defective, and what are wanting; and in each particular hereof let me have advice as distinctly, and as speedily as may be.

"XIII. Rule the meek meekly; and those that will not be ruled, rule with authority; and God Almighty prosper all honest and prudent endeavours. Given at London, this 25th of the seventh month, 1688.

WILLIAM PENN."

Blackwell met the assembly in May 1689; but on account of some misunderstanding or dissension between him and some of the council, the public affairs were not managed with the desired harmony and satisfaction; and but little was done during his administration, which continued only till the February following, when he returned to England; and the government of the province, according to charter, devolved again on the council, Thomas Lloyd being president.

The appointment of Blackwell, who was not a Quaker, to be deputy-governor, appears by the proprietary's letters to his friends, in the province, to have been, because no suitable person, who was of that society, would undertake the office; that his views thereby were more for the public good, than his own private interest; which, he declares, he was sorry were not answered according to his expectation; and that notwithstanding he was apprehensive occasion had been given by some particulars in the province, for this misunderstanding, yet that he had duly regarded their complaints, and afforded them suitable relief.

The year 1689 gave rise to the Friends' public school in Philadelphia; which afterwards, in the year 1697, upon the petition of Samuel Carpenter, Edward Shippen, Anthony Morris, James Fox, David Lloyd, William Southby, and John Jones, in behalf of themselves and others, to Deputy Markham, was first incorporated by charter; and, after that, confirmed by a fresh patent from William Penn, dated the 25th of October, 1701; and also by another, dated the 22d of the fifth month, 1708; whereby the corporation was, "For ever thereafter to consist of fifteen discreet and religious persons, of the people called Quakers, by the name of 'The overseers of the public school, found in Philadelphia, at the request, cost, and charges of the people called Quakers;'" but its last and present charter, from William Penn, confirming all the preceding charters, and further extending the corporation with larger powers and privileges, &c. is dated the 29th of November, 1711; wherein the overseers, nominated and appointed, were Samuel Carpenter, the elder, Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, Anthony Morris, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, Jonathan Dickinson, Nathan Stanbury, Thomas Masters, Nicholas Waln, Caleb Pusey, Rowland Ellis, and James Logan; by which charter the overseers were afterwards to be chosen by the corporation.

This was the first institution of the kind in Pennsylvania, intended not only to facilitate the acquisition of the more generally useful parts of knowledge, but to promote a love of more extensive learning. The poorer people were instructed gratis.

For these laudable purposes, a number of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, being Quakers, in July of this year, agreed with George Keith, who then resided at Freehold (now called Monmouth) in New Jersey, to undertake the charge. He accordingly removed to Philadelphia, and was the first master of that school; but continued only about one year. He was a native of Aberdeen, in Scotland, a man of learning, and had gained a celebrity among the Quakers. He came to East Jersey many years before this time; was afterwards surveyor-general of that division; and, in 1687, he ascertained and marked the line of division between East and West Jersey. His salary for officiating in this school was 50*l.* per annum, with a house for his family to live in, a school-house provided, and the profits of the school beside, for one year. For two years more his school was to be made worth 120*l.* per annum, if he thought fit to stay so long; he was to teach the poor gratis. He continued in this station about one year, and then his usher, Thomas Makin, was, at his desire, appointed to succeed him.

The terms for teaching at this period appear, by the following extract from the journals of council. "Tenth month, 26th, 1683, Enoch Flower undertakes to teach school in the town of Philadelphia on the following terms, viz.—

"To learn to read English, four shillings by the quarter; to write, six shillings by ditto; to read, write, and cast accounts, eight shillings by the quarter: boarding a scholar, that is to say, diet, lodging, washing, and schooling, 10*l.* for one whole year."

*Penn's difficulties after the revolution in England—Disagreement between the province and territories—Declaration of the council, and other proceedings relating to the difference—Two deputy-governors—The proprietor's concern at this difference—Further proceedings of the province—A promulgated bill—Letter to the proprietary, &c.*

It has already been observed that, during most of the time since the proprietary's return to England, in 1684, much of his public action and service were in that nation; and that his intimacy at court, and friendship with James II., which his great obligation to that royal family, and the situation of his own circumstances, may easily account for, exposed him to many unjust censures; but in the year 1688, upon the change of government, his affairs there began to have a very different, and more unfavourable aspect. The attempts which had been made by the king, in favour of popularity and arbitrary power, had occasioned the measures of the revolution, which now began to take place in the government there, by means of the prince of Orange, "who," says Penn's biographer, "landed at Torbay, in Devonshire, on the 5th of November, 1688, to the great joy of the English nation. Many of King James's officers and army soon joined the prince; and the king, perceiving the hearts of the people alienated from him, withdrew himself, and went over to France. Hence, by a convention, called shortly after, the said prince of Orange, and the Princess Mary, his consort, King James's daughter, were declared king and queen of England, &c., and were proclaimed on the 13th of February, 1688-9.

"Upon this turn of the times, Penn's late friendship at court having rendered him suspected of disaffection to the present government, on the 10th of



December 1688, when he was walking in Whitehall, he was sent for by the lords of the council, hthen sitting; though nothing appeared against him, and he himself assured them,—‘That he had done nothing, but what he could answer before God, and all the princes in the world; that he loved his country, and the Protestant religion above his life, and never acted against either; that all he ever aimed at, in his public endeavours, was no other than what the prince himself had declared for; that King James was always his friend, and in gratitude, he was the king’s, and did ever as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest.’ Notwithstanding they obliged him to give securities for his appearance the first day of the next term, which he did; and he was then continued on the same security, to Easter-term following; on the last day of which, nothing having been laid to his charge, he was cleared in open court.

“In the year 1690, he was again brought before the lords of the council, upon an accusation of holding a correspondence with the late King James; and they requiring sureties for his appearance, he appealed to King William himself; who after a conference of near two hours, inclined to acquit him, but, to please some of the council, he was held upon bail for a while; and, in Trinity-term, the same year, was again discharged.

“He was attacked a third time, and his name inserted in a proclamation, dated July the 18th, 1690; wherein he, with divers others, to the number of eighteen, were charged with adhering to the kingdom’s enemies; but proof failing respecting him, he was again cleared by order of the King’s bench court, at Westminster, in the last day of Michaelmas-term, 1690.

“Being now again at liberty, he proposed to go a second time to Pennsylvania, and published proposals in print, for another settlement there. He had so far prepared for this transportation that an order for a convoy was granted him by the secretary of state, when his voyage was prevented by a fresh accusation against him, backed with the oath of one William Fuller, a wretch, afterwards by parliament declared a cheat and impostor; and a warrant was thereupon granted for his apprehension; which he narrowly escaped, at his return from the funeral of George Fox, the first preacher among the Quakers, on the 16th of January, 1691.”

In a letter to Thomas Lloyd, dated “England, the 14th of June, 1691,” he writes as follows:—

“Dear Friend,

“My love in the unchangeable truth salutes thee and thine, and the friends and family of God in those parts, desiring your temporal and everlasting welfare, with an unfeigned affection.

“By this time thou wilt have heard of the renewal of my troubles, the only let of my return, being in the midst of my preparations, with a great company of adventurers, when they fell upon me. The jealousies of some, and unworthy dealing of others have made way for them; but under and over it all, the ancient rock has been my shelter and comfort; and I hope yet to see your faces, with our ancient satisfaction. The Lord grant, if it be for his glory, whose I desire to be, in all conditions; for this world passeth away, and the form and beauty of it fadeth; but there are eternal habitations for the faithful; among whom I pray that my lot may be, rather than among the princes of the earth.

“I hope I need not urge my circumstances to excite thy love care and concern for me and my

suffering interest in that country. I know thou hast better learned Christ and Cato, if I may so say, and wilt embrace such an opportunity to chuse to express thy friendship and sincerity; nor is uncertainty and changeableness thy fault; therefore I will say no more, but desire that my afflictions may cease, if not cure your animosities, or discontents within yourselves, if yet they have continued; and that thou wilt both in government, and to my commissioners of property, yield thy assistance all thou canst. By all this God may prepare me to be fitter for future service, even to you there. I ask the people forgiveness for my long stay; but when I consider how much it has been my great loss, and for an ungrateful generation, it is punishment! It has been 20,000*l.* to my damage in the country, and above 10,000*l.* here, and to the province 500 families; but the wise God, that can do what he pleases, as well as see what is in man’s heart, is able to requite all; and I am perswaded, all shall yet work together for good, in this very thing, if we can overlook all that stands in the way of our views Godward, in public matters. See that all be done prudently and humbly; and keep down irreverence and looseness, and cherish industry and sobriety. The Lord God Almighty be with you, and amongst you, to his praise and your peace. Salute me to John Simcock, R. Turner, A. Cook, T. Janny, Ph. Pemberton, S. Richardson, W. Yardly, the Welch Friends, and Plymouth Friends, indeed to all of them.

“Thou hast heard of our great loss of dear John Burnyeat, and Robert Lodge, one in Ireland, and t’other in England, in about the same week; and Robert Barclay, Th. Salthouse, and dearly beloved George Fox since: he died at Henry Gouldney’s, by Gracious-street meeting-house; where he preached his farewell the first-day, and departed the third, at night, between nine and ten. I was with him; he earnestly recommended to me his love to you all; and said, ‘William, mind our poor Friends in America;’ he died triumphantly over death, very easily foresaw his change; he was buried on the sixth-day; like a general meeting; 2000 people at his burial, Friends and others:—I was never more public than that day; I felt myself easy; he was got into his Inn, before the storm that is coming overtook him; and that night, very providentially I escaped the messenger’s hands:—I shall add only, that the Friends have had an extraordinary time, this general meeting; so that God supplied that visible loss with his glorious presence. R. Davies there, but not thy brother. In sincere love I bid thee, thy wife and family, and friends farewell.

“Thy true friend,

“WILLIAM PENN.”

Though the proprietary had, both by charter and otherwise, endeavoured to connect the province and territories of Pennsylvania, in legislation and government, so as to form one general assembly; yet the jealousies, and difference of sentiment in some cases, which afterwards arose between the representatives of each part, in their legislative capacity, tended to create separate interests; and these dissensions between them, were frequently the occasion of great uneasiness to him; whose view was always to keep them united, judging it most for their interest as well as his own.

The irregularities which ensued, or were attempted, in the year 1690, after Blackwell’s departure for England, in consequence of this difference, appear by the following declaration of the council, and other public proceedings

(L.S.) "By the President and Council of Pennsylvania and counties annexed.

"Present,

"Thomas Lloyd, President.

John Simcock,	Samuel Richardson,
William Clark,	Griffith Jones,
Arthur Cook,	Thomas Duckett,
William Stockdale,	Griffith Owen.
William Yardley,	

"Whereas, the provincial council, according to the powers of the present commission of government, have, at their first sitting, chosen a president, and have since, in a legislative council, continued him, till they should see cause to alter their choice; and having likewise ordered the succeeding councils to be called by him, or, in his absence, by notice sent by six members from this place; yet, notwithstanding, these members, William Clark, Luke Watson, Griffith Jones, John Brinkloe, John Cann, Johannes D'Haes, did privately meet together, in the council-room, upon the 21st instant, without signifying the least syllable of their intentions of having a council, either to Thomas Lloyd, the elected and continued president, or to any member of the province; and there in an irregular and undue manner, have presumed to act, as a council, and have issued forth pretended commissions, for constituting provincial judges, contrary to the express letter of the laws, and have nominated some therein, who, under their present circumstances, are unqualified for that station; as, upon occasion, shall be made appear; and have voted extravagant and contradictory orders. This board, having well considered their disorderly and unprecedented way of meeting, cannot but entirely disallow and disown their so clandestine meeting, to be a council; for should such a proceeding be in the least countenanced, the consequence thereof would unavoidably introduce a rupture and confusion in the present frame of government: for, by the same reason that any six members privately met, without notice had from, or given to, any of the rest, may represent the governor and council in this place, by the same methods, two other six members elsewhere may represent two governors and councils more, at the same time, in this government; which is an absurdity not to be tolerated. And further, this council being under an obligation of asserting the governor's power and authority, lodged in a regular provincial council, and for the undeceiving of many well-minded persons, who otherwise may be abused by their late sitting, have unanimously, by this instrument in writing, declared this to be our sense and judgment, that all entries, orders, and commissions made and given forth by the aforesaid six members, at the council-room, upon the 21st instant, are hereby deemed null, and of no force. Whereof all magistrates, officers, and other persons concerned in this government, are to take notice accordingly. Given at Philadelphia, 25th of the ninth month, 1690. THOMAS LLOYD, President."

This disagreement appears afterwards to have increased, and, in the fore part of the year 1691, proceeded to greater extremes. The following proposals, said to be made to the provincial council by Griffith Jones and William Clark, in behalf, and for the ease and satisfaction of the inhabitants of the three lower counties, or the territories, may further show the views of the members for the said counties, in this affair, viz. —

"I. That there be forthwith a writ issued forth,

for choosing a member of council for the county of Sussex, in the room of Thomas Clifton.

"II. That the commissions given out by both councils, for judges, be wholly laid aside; and that the inhabitants of the three lower counties may recommend to the council two persons to be commissioned for judges, to act the next spring, and that to continue no longer.

"III. That, at the next legislative council, a bill be proposed by the council, to enable the nine members of the lower counties, or any six of them, to appoint three judges to act in that station, in the said three counties, and that there be also three for the province always provided; that the judges do act by the laws of Pennsylvania.

"IV. That for the ease of the charge there be a dispensing with the meeting of the assembly, unless it be for the confirming of these alterations.

"V. That all other officers be, from time to time, appointed by the said nine members of the three lower counties, or any six of them, to act there; and that no other officers may be imposed upon them.

"VI. That the fairs for Newcastle be confirmed unto them. All which being by you granted, we hope may be a means to keep things quiet; which shall be diligently endeavoured by your real friends, although otherwise represented or suspected."

The proprietary, whether to gratify, or indulge the humour of the colony, and thereby induce a coalescence of the two parties, or with whatever other design, (which, no doubt, was well intended,) had left to the choice of the council three different methods, or modes, of the executive part of government, viz. either that of the council, of five commissioners, or of a deputy-governor. This affair, with other matters, being about that time agitated in council, and the province, or the majority, inclining to the last of these methods, seven members, for the lower counties, viz. William Clark, John Cann, John Brinkloe, John Hill, Richard Halliwell, Albertus Jacobs, and George Martin, drew up and signed a formal protest, or declaration, directed to the members of council, of the province of Pennsylvania; dated "Philadelphia, the first of the second month, 1691;" in which they declared, —

"I. That the mode of the five commissioners was the most agreeable to them, or to the counties which they represented.

"II. That the commission of the council was the next, though much less convenient, than that of the five commissioners; on account of the encroachments thereby made upon their rights and privileges by the province, in imposing officers upon them, without their consent or approbation.

"III. That the method of a deputy-governor was the most disagreeable and grievous of any; on account of the choice of all officers being placed in a single person, and the expense or charge of his support: therefore they would not agree to accept of that commission.

"IV. But that, rather than the country should be without government, they would consent to that of the council; provided no officers whatever were imposed upon any of the three lower counties, without the consent of the respective members of council for these counties.

"V. That they desired to excuse themselves for not agreeing to have these things put to the vote; which, they said, they had experienced, the members for the province would scarce ever do, till they were sure it would go against them.

"VI. That they, in behalf of the lower counties,

protested against the acceptance of any commission, but that of the five persons, and resolved, that should the province act otherwise, they would govern themselves by the commission, then in force, till the proprietary's pleasure should be known therein." And thereupon they immediately withdrew their attendance.

What just or sufficient cause they had for this conduct, does not clearly appear: it gave many of the members of the provincial council, as well as the proprietary himself, much concern and uneasiness; and great endeavours were used, and much pains taken by both, to reconcile them; but not with all the desired success: their greatest ostensible objection against this commission of a deputy-governor, which the province most inclined to, appeared to be the expense of his support, and their jealousy of having their officers removed; and, to relieve their apprehensions in these respects, at President Lloyd's request, John Simcock, John Bristow, John Delavall, with David Lloyd, went after them to Newcastle, to endeavour to obtain their return, but in vain.

Hence, upon the province preferring the choice of a deputy-governor, contrary to the wish of the territories, and Thomas Lloyd being preferred to that office, (which he appears to have accepted with some reluctance,) the proprietary appointed him governor of the province; and the secretary, William Markham, who appears to have joined and retired with the protesting members in their abrupt separation, was appointed over the lower counties, under certain restrictions.

This division of the legislature appears to have been much against the proprietary's mind; who seems to have apprehended dangerous, if not fatal consequences from it. He blamed, or, at least, appeared displeased with Thomas Lloyd's conduct in accepting of a partial choice, or that of the province only, as if it were in his power to have prevented this division; but the provincial council excused him in a letter to the proprietary, and entirely exculpated him from being accessory to, or in any manner promoting this disagreement; throwing the whole blame on the territory men: they declared, that, instead of being a gainer by any public offices, which he had held, Thomas Lloyd had wasted, or considerably injured his estate thereby; that, as he was well known to be a lover and promoter of concord and union, and preferred a private life, so, "He never accepted of that commission, but by the importunity of his friends, or, at the earnest request of the province itself." This letter was signed by Arthur Cook, John Simcock, Samuel Richardson, James Fox, George Murrie, and Samuel Carpenter.

The province and territories continued in this manner, about two years; or, till the arrival of Governor Fletcher of New York, in April 1693; and though they managed better in this situation than the proprietary at first seems to have expected from it, and with more harmony than they had done for some time before; nevertheless, it will hereafter appear that the continued refractoriness of the territories, in their refusing to accept of the new charter, in 1701, was at length the occasion of their total separation from the province in legislation.

The revolution and measures taken by the province, in consequence of this conduct of the territories, with the form of the legislative proceeding, in the deputyship of Governor Lloyd, which commenced about May 1691, and under the charter then in

force are, in part, exhibited by the following promulgated bills, which appear to have been passed into laws, in the same year.

"The deputy-governor and freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, in council met at Philadelphia, on the 17th day of the sixth month, 1691, have prepared and published, according to law and charter, these following bills, for the notice and concurrence of the freemen in assembly to meet, the tenth day of the seventh month next, at Philadelphia aforesaid, in the form and style of laws, then and there to be confirmed, amended, or rejected, as the general assembly in their wisdom shall see meet.

"At an assembly held at Philadelphia, the tenth day of the seventh month, anno dom. 1691.

"Whereas, by an act of general assembly held at Chester, alias Upland, in the tenth month, 1682, it is, among other things, enacted by the proprietary and governor of this province of Pennsylvania, with the advice and consent of the deputies of the freemen of the same province and counties annexed, in the said assembly met, that the counties of Newcastle, Jones and Whorekills, alias Deal, should be annexed, and are thereby annexed, unto the province of Pennsylvania, as of the proper territory thereof; and the people therein should be governed by the same laws, and enjoy the same privileges, in all respects, as the inhabitants of Pennsylvania did, or should, enjoy from time to time, as by the same act, more at large appears: but, lest the said proprietary and freemen of the said province should, by the said union, be deprived of the immunities and powers then before invested in them, apart from the said annexed counties, by virtue of the king's letters patent, and first charter of liberties, or should otherwise be impeded or obstructed, in any act of government, which might relate to the public-good, justice, peace and safety of the said province, which might not so immediately concern the territories, it was at the same general assembly, further enacted, that all matters and things, not therein provided for, which should, or might concern the public good, justice, peace and safety of the said province, and the raising and imposing taxes, customs, duties, or charges whatsoever, should be, and are, thereby referred to the order, prudence and determination of the governor and freemen of the said province, from time to time; which said laws have been since continued in, and by, the succeeding general assemblies. Now, for as much as the present state and emergency of this government requires some speedy provision, for the support and safety thereof, and for the better establishing the justice and peace of the same, by reason of the breach, that the representatives of the said annexed counties have lately made, in wilfully absenting themselves from their charteral attendance in the last legislative council and assembly, and declining their other incumbent duties and services to the present constitutions of this province; as also, in opposing and tumultuously preventing the election of new members to supply the neglect of the said absenting representatives, withstanding all provincial acts of government, and denying the powers of the same: therefore, for preventing all doubts and scruples concerning the meeting, sitting and proceeding of this present general assembly, 'Be it declared and enacted,' and it is declared and enacted by the deputy-governor, with the assent of the representatives of the freemen of the said province, in general assembly met, by the king and

queen's authority, that the meetings of council, since the dissent and refusal aforesaid, of the representatives of the said annexed counties, and the meetings of the deputy-governor and representatives of the province, in provincial council and assembly met, on the tenth day of the third month last past, at Philadelphia, and now sitting in this present general assembly, are the provincial council and assembly of this province of Pennsylvania; and are hereby declared, enacted and adjudged so to be, to all intents, constructions and purposes, notwithstanding the absence of the representatives of the said counties annexed. And, for removing all objections that may arise concerning the validity, force and continuation of the laws of this government, 'be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid,' that all these laws, that were made, continued and stood unrepealed at the last general assembly, held at Newcastle, in the year 1690, are hereby declared and enacted to stand in force, and be continued respectively, until the publication of other laws, which shall be made by the next general assembly of this province. Ex per David Lloyd, Cl. Council."

As this division had occasioned much anxiety to the proprietary, of which both parties were sensible, so to relieve him, at least in part, from his apprehensions and uneasiness on that account, in the fore part of the year 1692, the two deputies and their councils unitedly wrote to him the following letter:

From the council-room at Philadelphia, the 6th of the second month, 1692.

"Worthy Governor,

"These few lines we hope may much ease thy mind in reference to thy exercises, concerning the affairs of thy government here, by informing thee, that, with unanimous accord, we rest satisfied with thy two deputations, sent for executive government of the province, and counties annexed: and thy deputies concurring amicably at this time, to act as one general government, in legislation, we have proceeded in the preparing jointly some few bills; that thereby our present united actings may be as well published, as the respective services of the government answered. What particular transactions of moment, which have occurred upon our calm debates of the choice of three, we refer to the minutes for thy satisfaction. We heartily wish thee well; and, with longing expectations, desire thy speedy return unto us; where, we doubt not, but thou wilt find a most grateful reception and better face of affairs, than may seem to thee there, at this distance: so bidding thee adieu, at this time we remain,

"Thy faithful and well-wishing friends,

"THOMAS LLOYD,

"WILLIAM MARKHAM.

"Arthur Cook, John Cann, Jos. Growdon, John Delavall, Rich. Halliwell, Griffith Owen, George Martin, Wm. Jenkins, John Bristow, Alburus Jacobs, Hugh Roberts, Sa. Gray, Samuel Lewis, Richard Wilson, William Biles."

*Schism and separation between George Keith and the Quakers—His conduct afterwards—Some judicial proceedings against him, &c.—The magistrates' declaration of the reasons for these proceedings—Penn apprized of the government by King William and Queen Mary—Their commission to Fletcher, governor of New York—Fletcher's letter to Deputy Lloyd*

In the year 1691 an affair happened among the Quakers, in this part of the world, which gave them much uneasiness and trouble in their religious ca-

pacify, more especially in this province, and the neighbouring places. This was the difference and separation between them and George Keith before mentioned. He had been an eminent preacher and writer among them for many years; and had published several well-written treatises in defence of their religious principles, yet extant. He was a man of quick natural parts, and considerable literary abilities; acute in argument, and very ready and able in logical disputations, and nice distinctions, on theological subjects; but was said to be of an irritable temper, and overbearing disposition; not sufficiently indued with the moderation and charity that is the distinguishing characteristic of true Christianity: of which he himself had not only made strong profession, but also, in his younger years, as appears by his writings, had a good understanding. His great confidence in his own superior abilities seems to have been one, if not the chief introductory cause of this unhappy dispute. He is said to have had too much virulence in argument and disputation on religious points of controversy, and sometimes to have exhibited an unbecoming vanity on gaining any advantage over his opponents, even prior to the schism between him and his friends: for having, some time before, been on a visit to New England, he is represented as having indulged his natural propensity, among the preachers and inhabitants there, in a very extravagant manner: which disposition of mind, from that time forward, appeared to have so far got the ascendancy over him, that, on his return, he began to exhibit the same, even among his friends, beginning with finding fault, proposing and urging new regulations, in the society, in respect of the discipline of it, and complaining, "There was too great a slackness therein." Upon his friends not readily joining with him and his proposals, in the manner he expected, he became still more captious, and more disposed to seek matters of reproach and offence against many in the society, and to make the worst of them; charging some of his friends, who were generally well esteemed and approved ministers, with preaching false doctrine; and it is said, even in points contrary to what himself had formerly held and declared in his writings, in defence of the Quakers and their principles. He found fault with his friends being in the magistracy, and their executing the penal laws against malefactors, as being inconsistent with their religious profession; and, in short, contended that he and such as joined with him, were the true Quakers, and all the rest, who opposed him, were apostates.

These were the principal allegations, which, in the beginning of the dispute, he appears to have made against the Quakers. The principal errors, if not the whole, with which we find him charged by them, at that time, appear to be his overbearing temper, and unchristian disposition of mind, in grossly vilifying and disparaging certain members of the society, who were universally and highly approved among them, and entirely rejecting their advice and judgment; the consequence of an over heated and intemperate zeal: which, at last, proceeded so far as to occasion such a breach, that, on the 20th of June, 1692, "a declaration, or testimony of denial," was drawn up against him, at a meeting of the ministers of the society at Philadelphia: wherein both he and his conduct were publicly disowned by them. This declaration was confirmed at the next following general yearly meeting, held at Burlington, the 7th of September.

He drew off a large number of people with him, some of considerable account, in the society; and set up separate meetings, in several places. These called themselves Christian Quakers and Friends, boasted of their large numbers, and looked upon the rest as apostates; many books were written, and much altercation and dispute ensued, on both sides.

He appealed, or complained, to the yearly meeting of the society, in London, against the Quakers of Pennsylvania, who had disowned him, and appeared there in person; where he was confronted by divers from the province. But, in this place, it is said, his passion and violence so far prevailed over him, and his demeanour was so indecorous and outrageous, that notwithstanding all possible endeavours for a reconciliation, his denial was there finally confirmed.

He thenceforward became a public and bitter enemy, as far as in him lay, against the Quakers, in general; preaching and writing against them with all imaginable virulence: in which he appeared afterwards to be employed by their adversaries, for that purpose; for having joined with the episcopal clergy in England, and served there for some time, as a vicar, ordained by the bishop of London, he afterwards returned to America; where, as a clergyman, in orders, he officiated in his new function for about twelve months; and, having there given the Quakers all the annoyance in his power, he returned again to England by way of Virginia. In this visit, it is said, he was generally slighted, both by those who before had been his adherents, and others; and that his conduct was so glaringly inconsistent with his former pretensions, and his behaviour towards the Quakers so manifestly arising from a malignant disposition of mind, and disappointed malice, that notwithstanding his superior abilities, he was universally despised.

After his return to England, he was fixed in a benefice in Sussex; and continued to write against his former friends, as a bitter enemy; but, as far as appears, with a sinking reputation. At last, on his death-bed, from a well authenticated account, it is asserted, he thus expressed himself: "I wish I had died when I was a Quaker; for then I am sure it would have been well with my soul."

This schism made a great disturbance in the province for a time, and in some other places, among the Quakers; yet many, or the major part, of those persons, who had thus separated themselves, through the conduct of this person, are said to have returned soon after to the society.

But because Keith had, by abusive language and printed publications, vilifying several persons in the magistracy, drawn upon himself some judicial proceedings; some persons have been disposed to charge the Quakers "with persecution for religion;" and as this appears to be the only case, in which their enemies pretend to have just ground to accuse them of this evil, we shall therefore endeavour to lay before the reader such an account of this transaction, as the accounts remaining of it will permit.

In the beginning of the year 1691, a person named Babit, with some others, stole a small sloop from a wharf in Philadelphia; and in going down the river with it, committed many robberies; of which intelligence being early given to the magistrates, three of them gave out a warrant, in the nature of a hue and cry to take them, in order to bring them to a legal trial and punishment; and by virtue of which they were taken, and brought to justice. The ma-

gistrates who granted this warrant being Quakers, George Keith, and his party, soon after took occasion from thence to represent it as inconsistent with their principles against fighting. He called Thomas Lloyd, the deputy-governor, who was accounted a person of a mild temper and deportment, good sense, and unblemished character, and whose unwearied endeavours to serve him, are said to have merited a different treatment, "An impudent man, and a pitiful governor;" asking him, "Why he did not send him to gaol?" and telling him, "His back had long itched for a whipping; and that he would print and expose them all over America, if not over Europe;" and one of the magistrates, who was well known to be a modest and peaceable man, he opprobriously called, "An impudent rascal."

In addition to this, he had published several virulent pieces; one of which indecently reflected on the above-mentioned transaction, and on several of the principal magistrates in their judicial capacity; and thereby lessening the authority of the magistracy, in the view of the lower sort of people, who began thereupon to take greater liberties; wherefore the printers, William Bradford and John M'Comb, who had published it, were by a warrant from five magistrates, viz. Arthur Cook, Samuel Jenings, Samuel Richardson, Humphrey Murray and Robert Ewer, taken up, examined, and upon their contemptuous behaviour to the court and justices in their examination, and upon their refusal to give security, to answer at court, the usual practice in all similar occasions, they were committed; and though they were under no confinement, being entirely at large, on their bare word only, yet, (which seems to have been done by them, to answer some particular design) at a certain time, having occasion to sign a paper, when they could not be admitted into the prison itself, it is said, they got into the entry of it, and there dated, and signed the said paper, as from the prison. But they were soon discharged, without being brought to a trial.

George Keith and Thomas Budd were also presented by the grand jury of Philadelphia, as authors of another book, of the like tendency, in the following words, viz. "We, of the grand jury, do present George Keith and Thomas Budd, as authors of a book, entitled, 'The plea of the innocent,' where in page third, about the latter end of the same, they, the said George Keith and Thomas Budd, defamingly accused Samuel Jenings, he being a judge and a magistrate of this province, of being too high and imperious in worldly courts, calling him impudent, presumptuous and insolent man, greatly exposing his reputation, and of an ill precedent, and contrary to the law, in that case made and provided."

The lenity of the magistracy is said to have been very remarkable towards the actions and behaviour of all these people, when compared with the provocations given; which, by apparent design, had not only been, but also still continued to be, so extremely notorious and abusive, as well as derogatory to the principal persons in authority, in their judicial capacity, that, it is said, the rabble became greatly encouraged thereby, to despise and inveigh against the acts of government, and to render it more and more difficult to bring offenders to justice; it was, therefore, thought proper that this presentment should be prosecuted; so the matter was brought to trial, and the parties fined 5*l.* each; but the fines were never exacted.

All possible art and means were said to be used,

by the enemies to the Quakers, the disaffected to the administration, and the more libertine part of the people, to magnify these judicial proceedings, and to represent them as being on a religious account; and with great assiduity and artifice, they were by these propagated as such, both at home and abroad; upon which the magistrates published the reasons of their conduct, in the following paper, viz:

"At a private sessions held for the county of Philadelphia, the 25th of the sixth month, 1692, before Arthur Cook, Samuel Jenings, Samuel Richardson, Humphrey Murray, Anthony Morris, Robert Ewer, justices of the county.

"Whereas the government of this province being, by the late king of England's peculiar favour, vested, and since continued, in Governor Penn, who thought fit to make his, and our worthy friend, Thomas Lloyd, his deputy-governor, by, and under whom the magistrates do act, in the government; and whereas it hath been proved before us, that George Keith, being a resident here, did, contrary to his duty, publicly revile the said deputy-governor, by calling him an impudent man, telling him, 'He was not fit to be a governor, and that his name would stink;' with many other slighting and abusive expressions, both to him and the magistrates; (and he that useth such exorbitancy of speech towards our said governor may be supposed will easily dare to call the members of council and magistrates impudent rascals, as he hath lately called one, in an open assembly, that was constituted by the proprietary to be a magistrate), and he also charges the magistrates, who are ministers here, with engrossing the magisterial power into their hands, that they might usurp authority over him; saying also, 'He hoped in God he should shortly see their power taken from them;' all which he acted in an indecent manner.

"And further, the said George Keith, with several of his adherents, having, some few days since, with unusual insolence, by a printed sheet, called 'An appeal,' &c. traduced and vilely misrepresented the industry, care, readiness, and vigilance of some magistrates and others here, in their late proceedings against the privateers, Babit and his crew, in order to bring them to condign punishment; whereby to discourage such attempts for the future; and have thereby also defamed and arraigned the determinations of the principal judicature, against murderers; and not only so, but also by wrong insinuations, have laboured to possess the readers of their pamphlet, that it is inconsistent for those who are ministers of the Gospel to act as magistrates; which, if granted, will render our said proprietary incapable of the powers given him by the said king's letters patent; and so prostitute the validity of every act of government, more especially in the executive part thereof, to the courtesy and censure of all factious spirits, and male-contents, under the same.

"Now, forasmuch as we, as well as others, have born, and still do patiently endure, the said George Keith and his adherents, in their many personal reflections against us, and their gross revilings of our religious society, yet we cannot without the violation of our trust to the king and government, as also to the inhabitants of this government, pass by or connive at such part of the said pamphlet and speeches, that have a tendency to sedition and disturbance of the peace, as also to the subversion of the present government, or to the aspersion of the magistrates thereof.

"Therefore, for the undeceiving of all people, we

have thought fit, by this public writing, not only to signify that our procedure against the persons now in the sheriff's custody, as well as what we intend against others concerned, (in its proper place) respects only that part of the said printed sheet which appears to have the tendency aforesaid, and not any part relating to differences in religion; but also these are to caution such who are well affected to the security, peace, and legal administration of justice in this place, that they give no countenance to any revilers or contemnors of authority, magistrates or magistracy; as also to warn all other persons that they forbear the further publishing and spreading of the said pamphlets, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

"Given under our hands, and seal of the county, the day, year, and place, aforesaid."

This affair of George Keith gave much concern to Penn, who appeared at first rather to have censured part of these proceedings against him; whom he regarded as his old friend, more especially his trial, at which by some of his letters, he appeared to be much displeased: but after he was made fully acquainted with the nature and circumstances of the whole transaction, and was convinced of George Keith's change of conduct, he appears to have been as active as others in endeavouring to clear the society from the imputation of being the cause of the unhappy schism. But the difference between the province and territories continued still much to affect him, and to increase his apprehensions of very disagreeable consequences, as appears by his manner of writing to some of the principal persons in the administration about this time.

It cannot reasonably be imagined that the court of King William could be very favourably disposed to a person, who had been so much in the friendship of the late king; and although King William himself seems to have had a great regard for him, and although his known general great humanity and Christian spirit, rendered him respected among men of opposite principles, both in religion and politics; yet his enemies, when his young colony most needed his presence, managed in the year 1692 to deprive him of the government of Pennsylvania and the territories; the king granting the following commission to Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, dated October the 21st, 1692, to take them under his government.

"William and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

"To our trusty and well-beloved Benjamin Fletcher, Esquire, our Captain-general and Commander-in-chief of our province of New York, and the territories depending thereon, in America, greeting:—

"Whereas, by our commission, under our great seal of England, bearing date the eighteenth day of March, in the fourth year of our reign, we have constituted and appointed you, the said Benjamin Fletcher, to be our captain-general and governor-in-chief, in and over our province of New York, and the dependencies thereon in America; and have thereby granted unto you full power and authority, with the advice and consent of our council, as need shall require, to summon and call general assemblies of the inhabitants, being freeholders within the said province, according to the usage of the province of New York; and that the persons thereupon duly elected by the major part of the freeholders of the respective counties and places, and so



returned, and having before their sitting taken the oaths appointed by act of parliament, to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribed the test; and without taking and subscribing whereof none shall be capable of sitting, though elected, shall be called the general assembly of that our said province, and have thereby granted unto you, the said Benjamin Fletcher, by and with the consent of our said council and assembly, or the major part of them, full power and authority to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances for the public peace, welfare, and good government of our said province, and of the people and inhabitants thereof; which said laws, statutes, and ordinances are to be, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws and statutes of this our kingdom of England; provided that all such laws, statutes, and ordinances be, within three months or sooner after the making thereof, transmitted unto us, under our seal of New York, for our approbation or disallowance of the same; and in case any, or all of them, not before confirmed by us, shall at any time be disallowed and not approved, and so signified by us, our heirs and successors, under our or their sign manual or signet, or by order of our or their privy-council unto you, the said Benjamin Fletcher, or to the commander-in-chief of the province of New York, for the time being, then such and so many of them as shall be so disallowed and not approved, shall from thenceforth cease, determine, and become utterly void, and of none effect: and to the end that nothing may be passed or done by our said council and assembly to the prejudice of us, our heirs, and successors, we have hereby willed and ordained that you, the said Benjamin Fletcher, shall have and enjoy one negative voice in the making and passing of all laws, statutes, and ordinances, as aforesaid; and that you shall and may, from time to time, as you shall judge it necessary, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve all general assemblies aforesaid.

"We, therefore, reposing special trust and confidence in the prudence, courage, and loyalty of you, the said Benjamin Fletcher, to be our captain-general and governor-in-chief, in and over our province of Pennsylvania, and in the country of Newcastle, and all the tracts of land depending thereon in America, and we do accordingly, by these presents, command and require you to take the said province and country under your government, and for the better ordering, governing, and ruling over said province and country, and the tracts and territories depending thereon, we do hereby give and grant unto you, the said Benjamin Fletcher, all and every the like powers and authorities, as in our said commission, bearing date the eighteenth day of March, in the fourth year of our reign, are given, granted, and appointed you, for the ruling and governing our province of New York, to be exercised in like manner by you, the said Benjamin Fletcher, in and over our said province of Pennsylvania, and the country of Newcastle, and the territories and tracts of land, depending thereon in America."

Governor Fletcher, who received this commission in the commencement of 1693, immediately repaired to his new government, having first notified his intention by the following letter.

"To the honourable Thomas Lloyd, Esq., deputy-governor of Pennsylvania.

"Sir,—Having received their majesties' commission, under the great seal, for the government of

Pennsylvania, and being required to make a speedy repair to that province, I think fit to acquaint you, that I propose to begin my journey from home, on Monday, the 24th instant, and desire the council, and principal freeholders may have notice; that their majesties' commands may be communicated to them, so soon as I arrive, which, I hope, may be the 29th, "I am, Sir, your very loving friend,

"BENJAMIN FLETCHER.

"New York, April the 19th, 1693."

*Governor Fletcher arrives at Philadelphia—Council's address to the governor—Proceedings of the governor and assembly, &c.—The defence of Albany—Assembly's address to the governor, with his answer—The assembly's remonstrance, with other proceedings—A law for the support of government, &c.—Assembly's petition to the governor—Resolve of the assembly, and protest of some of its members—Governor Fletcher dissolves the assembly, appoints William Markham his deputy, and departs for New York—Death of the former deputy-governor, Thomas Lloyd.*

(1693.) Colonel Fletcher arrived at Philadelphia with more of ceremony than had been usually seen before in Pennsylvania; and the persons in the present administration appear to have given up the government to him, without any notification, or order to them, either from the crown, or the proprietary; for which, afterwards, in a letter to certain of them, Penn seems to have blamed their conduct, especially that of his Deputy Lloyd; but yet conceiving they intended for the best, he excused them. He likewise wrote to Fletcher himself, cautioning him to beware of meddling with it, in the present circumstances, and reminding him of his particular obligation to him.

This the proprietary having mentioned in a letter to his friends in the province; the following answer, respecting the governor of New York, was returned by six of them, viz. Arthur Cook, John Simcock, James Fox, Samuel Richardson, George Murrie, and Samuel Carpenter, dated Philadelphia, the 18th of January, 1694, "That if the said letter (to Fletcher) had come in time (as we are informed), he would hardly have proceeded so far in taking this government; and, therefore, we could have wished it had come sooner, if haply it had been a means to prevent so great trouble and loss to thee and us; who are (as we stand related) great sharers with thee, in all things tending to the hurt of the province."

Governor Fletcher, soon after his arrival, called an assembly: prior to which, a dispute, arising between him and the council, respecting the mode of electing and convening them, occasioned the following address to him, from the members of the council, delivered on the 29th of April, viz:—

"To Benjamin Fletcher, captain-general, and governor-in-chief," &c.

"The humble address of the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, presented by their delegates, members of the provincial council, sheweth,

"That, whereas the late King Charles II., in the 33d year of his reign, by letters patent, under the great seal of England, did, for the consideration therein mentioned, grant unto William Penn and his assigns, this colony, or tract of land, erecting the same into a province, calling it Pennsylvania, and constituting the said William Penn absolute proprietary of the said province, saving (among other things) the sovereignty thereof, with power also, by virtue of the said royal charter, to the said

William Penn, his deputies and lieutenants, to make laws, with the advice and assent of the freemen of the said province, or the greatest part of them, or of their delegates, or deputies, whom, for the enacting of the said laws, when, as often as need required, he, the said William Penn, should assemble, in such sort, as to him should seem best, with divers other great powers, immunities and privileges, in the same charter contained, which, relation being thereunto had, may more at large appear.

"By virtue, and in pursuance whereof the said proprietary, William Penn, with the advice and consent of the freemen of this province, in general assembly met, at Philadelphia (in 1683), did enact, that the time for the meeting of the freemen, to choose their deputies, to represent them in provincial council, and general assembly, should be on the 10th day of the first month, yearly; and the members chosen for the provincial council (consisting of three persons out of each county), should give their attendance within twenty days after election, in order to propose bills; and the members of assembly, being six out of each county, should meet on the tenth of the third month, called May, yearly, in order to pass those proposed bills into laws; but in case any of the said members should either be of ill fame, or wilfully absent from their service, or happen to die, it is provided by another law (made in 1684), that it shall be lawful for the proprietary and governor, within ten days after knowledge of the same, to issue out a writ to the sheriff of the county, for which the party was chosen immediately to summon the freemen to elect another member, &c.

"Now, forasmuch as the present emergency of affairs in this province may require a general assembly to be speedily called, and since we conceive it hath pleased the king and queen so far to countenance our laws and constitution as to direct the present governancy to rule thereby, until the laws be duly made, to alter or amend the same;

"We therefore earnestly desire, that no other measures may be taken for electing, or convening, our legislative power, than our recited laws and constitutions of this government prescribe, the rather for that the said king did, by his letters patent, enjoin, require, and command, that the laws made, as aforesaid, should be most absolute and available in law, and that all the liege people and subjects of the said late king, his heirs and successors, should observe and keep the same inviolable in these parts. Joseph Growdon, John Bristow, John Delavall, John Simcock, Hugh Roberts, Samuel Lewis, Richard Hough."

The assembly, being met on the 16th of May, presented their speaker, Joseph Growdon, to the governor for his approbation; who being accepted, the oaths and tests were presented to the whole house, in the manner of other governments, under the immediate administration of the crown: but some of the members being scrupulous of taking oaths, and refusing to be sworn, were indulged with subscribing to the declarations and professions, mentioned in the act of parliament, for liberty of conscience, made in the first year of King William and Queen Mary. This the governor told them was an act of grace, and not of right, so as to be drawn into precedent in future.

It does not appear that either the proprietary, or the people of Pennsylvania, had forfeited those rights and privileges, whose enjoyment had been the compact of their settlement of the province; of which privileges, those which respected their religious or

conscientious scruples were the chief; but the contrary rather is manifest. For, notwithstanding what was alleged for depriving the proprietary of the government, it was well known that the suspicion of his adhering too much to King James was the chief, if not the only cause for rendering him incapable of attending so properly to it, as it seemed at that time to require: but nothing was ever proved to confirm what was alleged against him, in that respect; though it injured him so far as to oblige him for a time to secrete himself, and to be absent too long from his province; from which some disorders occurred, that in all probability would otherwise have been prevented; but none of such magnitude as to prevent the regular administration of justice, as seems to have been alleged by the enemies of the prosperity of the province; much less to give just occasion for depriving the colonists of their dearly bought rights and privileges, granted by charter, confirmed by laws, and familiarized by custom; though it might be called a favour to enjoy them where power alone has the rule, without having any regard to justice. For notwithstanding the governor was changed, yet it was presumed the government, or constitution, was not to be violated or altered, and that the inhabitants of Pennsylvania had as just a right to be governed according to the usages of Pennsylvania, and their own laws then in force, as those of New York had to be governed according to the usage of that province, though their usages were different, so long as justice was equally well administered by the former, as by the latter, and in a manner more agreeable to them.

The assembly, however, in consideration of the present circumstances of affairs, thought it most prudent to submit, though not consistent with a privilege, to which, in their apprehension, they had a right, and below the justice of their claim; and, for the present, acknowledged the same as an act of grace and favour proceeding from the justice and kindness of the governor.

The assembly being qualified, the governor communicated to them a letter, which he had received in the last year from the queen, setting forth, that the expense for the preservation and defence of Albany against the French, had been intolerable to the inhabitants there; and that, as it was a frontier by which several of the other colonies were in some measure defended, it was thought reasonable that those colonies should assist the government of New York in the maintenance and defence of it during the war.

The first question put by the assembly after their meeting, was, "How far the laws of the province, and constitution of the government, founded on the powers of the king's letters patent to the proprietary, William Penn, were in force?" upon which it was unanimously resolved, "That the laws of this province, that were in force and practice before the arrival of this present governor, are still in force; and that the assembly have a right humbly to move the governor for a continuation or confirmation thereof." Accordingly the following address was drawn up and presented to the governor:—

"To Benjamin Fletcher, Esquire, Captain-general and Governor-in-chief, of the province of Pennsylvania, and country of Newcastle,

"The humble address of the freemen of said province and country, Sheweth,

"That since it hath pleased the king and queen, that the absence of our proprietary's personal attendance in this government should be superseded by

thee, or thy lieutenant, we, the representatives of the freemen of the said province and territories (with due respect to the powers of thy commission, and hearty acknowledgment of thy good-will, care, and tenderness towards us), do readily acquiesce with the king's pleasure therein, earnestly beseeching that our procedure in legislation may be according to the usual method and laws of this government, founded upon the late king's letters patent; which we humbly conceive to be yet in force, and therefore we desire the same may be confirmed unto us, as our rights and liberties. And we, with all faithfulness and sincerity, do give what assurance we are capable of, in the present circumstances we are, to answer the queen's letter, and thy request, according to our ability.

"Third month 17th, 1693."

To which the governor returned the following answer:—

"Gentlemen,

"I, with the council, have considered your address, and am sorry to find your desires grounded upon so great mistakes. The absence of the proprietary is the least cause mentioned in their majesties' letters patent, for their majesties asserting their undoubted right of governing their subjects in this province. There are reasons of greater moment; as, the neglects and miscarriages in the late administration; the want of necessary defence against the enemy, and the danger of being lost from the crown.

"The constitution of their majesties' government, and that of Mr. Penn, are in a direct opposition one to the other; if you will be tenacious in sticking for this, it is a plain demonstration—use what words you please—that indeed you decline the other.

"I shall readily concur with you in doing any thing that may conduce to your safety, prosperity, and satisfaction, provided your requests are consistent with the laws of England, their majesties' letters patent, and the trust and confidence their majesties have reposed in me.

"Time is very precious to me: I hope you will desist from all unnecessary debates, and fall in earnest upon those matters I have already mentioned to you, and for which you are principally convened."

The debates of the house, upon this answer to their address, produced the following remonstrance to the governor:—

"To Benjamin Fletcher, Esquire, Captain-general, and Governor-in-chief, in and over the province of Pennsylvania, country of Newcastle, and tracts of land depending;—

"The remonstrance of the freemen of the said province and country, in assembly met,

"Humbly sheweth,

"That having, with all dutiful respect, read and considered the governor's answer to our address this morning, we, in answer thereunto, with submission say, we conceive that our desires were not grounded on mistakes, in relation to the proprietary's absence.

"But, as to the other clause, mentioned by the governor, of their majesties asserting their undoubted right of governing their subjects in this province, &c. we, with all readiness and cheerfulness, own accordingly to the right of the king and queen, whose prosperity and happy reign we heartily desire; and as to the other reasons rendered, for superseding our proprietary's governancy, we apprehend they are founded on misinformations: for the courts of justice were open in all counties in this government, and justice duly executed, from the highest crimes of treason and murder, to the deter-

mining the lowest differences about property, before the date or arrival of the governor's commission; neither do we apprehend that the province was in danger of being lost from the crown, although the government was in the hands of some whose principles were not for war; and we conceive that the present governancy hath no direct opposition (with respect to the king's government here in general) to our proprietary, William Penn's, though the exercise of thy authority at present supersedes that of our said proprietary; nevertheless we readily own thee for our lawful governor, saving to ourselves, and those whom we represent, our and their just rights and privileges.

"JOSEPH GROWDON, Speaker.

"The 17th of the Third month, 1693."

What reply the governor made, or whether he gave any, does not appear; but the assembly having thus asserted their privileges, proceeded to enact sundry laws. One for the support of government; and such others as were thought necessary, either to be renewed, or repealed for the public good. The law for the support of government, was entitled, "An act for granting to King William and Queen Mary the rate of one penny per pound upon the clear value of all real and personal estates, and six shillings per head upon such as are not otherwise rated by this act, to be employed by the governor of this province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereof, for the time being, towards the support of this government."

These enactments were sent up to the governor and council, and were detained by them for sometime, to see what the assembly would do, in consequence of the queen's letter respecting the maintenance of Albany. This delay, with the governor's asserting, "that the assembly should have no account of the bill (of supply, or for the support of government) till they came in a full house before him, to give the last sanction to the laws;" and, "that he saw nothing would do, but an annexion to New York," induced the house to send the following petition to the governor.

"To Benjamin Fletcher, Esq. Captain-general and Governor-in-chief, in and over the province of Pennsylvania, country of Newcastle, and tracts of land depending.

"The humble petition of the freemen of the said province and country, in assembly met,

"Sheweth,

"That they being deeply sensible of the many inconveniences that may attend a misunderstanding between the governor and freemen, do earnestly desire all occasions may be taken away, and with all humility, beg the governor would be pleased, in tender regard to the trust, lodged in the said representatives, to condescend so far, as to inform them, which of their bills the governor will accept, amend, or reject; that by knowing which of the said bills are disliked by the governor, the assembly may dispose themselves to acquiesce with the governor's pleasure, or endeavour to satisfy the governor and council with the reasonableness of the said bills; which being done, will remove all doubts and troubles from our minds, upon that occasion, and we shall proceed with cheerfulness to finish this general assembly, to the king's honour, and the general satisfaction of the governor and government.

"Third month, 31st, 1693."

Notwithstanding the gentle terms of this petition, the assembly unanimously resolved, "That all bills sent to the governor and council, in order to be amended, ought to be returned to this house, to

have their further approbation, upon such amendments, before they can have their final assent, to pass into laws;" and there was a party in the house, who strenuously asserted their undoubted rights, as founded on their then present charter of privileges, but, being the smaller number, all they could do terminated in the following protest:—

"Philadelphia, Fourth month 1st, 1693.

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, representatives of the freemen of this province, in assembly, do declare, it is the undoubted right of this house to receive back from the governor and council all such bills as are sent up for their approbation, or amendments, and debate the same, as the body of the bills, and that the denial of that right is destructive to the freedom of making laws; and we do also declare, it is the right of the assembly, that before any bill for supplies be presented for the last sanction, aggrivances ought to be redressed:—therefore, we, with protestation (saving our just rights in assembly), do declare, that the assent of such of us as were for sending up the bill, for the supply this morning, was merely in consideration of the governor's speedy departure, but that it should not be drawn into example, or precedent for the future.

"David Lloyd, James Fox, John Swift, John White, George Maris, Samuel Richardson, John Simcock, Samuel Preston, Samuel Carpenter, Henry Paynter."

According to the assembly's petition the governor sent back several bills, with his objections, for amendments; which being agreed to, were afterwards passed. And the rolls of such old laws, as the assembly did not think fit to repeal, to prevent any doubt of their being in force, being sent up to him, were signed by him, for confirmation. After which he dissolved the assembly, by their own advice, and departed for his government at New York, having first appointed William Markham, lieutenant-governor in his stead.

From the sums raised by the tax of one penny in the pound, as exhibited in the votes of assembly, may pretty nearly be estimated the value of all the private estates and property at that time in the province and territories:—

Counties.	Sums.
Philadelphia.....	£314 11 11
Newcastle.....	143 15 0
Sussex.....	101 1 9
Kent.....	88 2 10
Chester.....	65 0 7
Bucks.....	48 4 1

Total £760 16 2

(1694.) During Governor Fletcher's administration here, he appears to have been several times in the province, but never long at one time. He met the assembly again in May 1694; and, in a message to them, dated Philadelphia, May 23d, 1694, acquaints them,

"That he had been disappointed in meeting them sooner, according to his intention, and direction given for calling the assembly; by reason of being under a necessity to repair to Albany, on intimation given, that the five nation Indians, which had been so long faithful to the English, were now debauched to the French interest, and entering into a league with the governor of Canada; which was a matter of the highest importance to the neighbouring colonies, and required his utmost abilities and application to prevent.

"That he was come to lay the whole affair before them, assuring them, that their own Indians here would be compelled to join the fatal confederacy.

"That, in consequence hereof, he had seen 80 fine farms all deserted about Albany.

"That the Jerseys had done more for the common defence than all the other adjacent provinces.

"That he considered their principles, that they could not carry arms, nor levy money, to make war, though for their own defence, yet he hoped they would not refuse to feed the hungry and cloath the naked; that was, to supply the Indian nations with such necessities, as may influence their continued friendship to these provinces.

"Lastly, that he was ready, as far as in him lay, consistent with the rules of loyalty, and a just regard to liberty and property, to redress their grievances if they had any."

During this, and the succeeding session, in September this year, several laws were passed, which ends the administration of Governor Fletcher.

What return was made by the house to his request, in the latter part of the above message, does not clearly appear; it only appears that, in a letter of Penn's, dated "Bristol, fifth of the ninth month, 1695," which seems to allude to part of the present proceedings, he observes and complains of "there being factious persons in the colony, that disturbed or threatened the tranquillity of the government;" and he blames the province "for refusing to send money to New York, for what he calls a common defence, urging their compliance, and expressing the danger of their upsetting the government again by such refusal;" which, before that time, was restored to him, Markham being his deputy.

In a postscript to this letter, he adds,—"I must say that what I have spent upon the province, as governor and planter, is the foundation of my present incumbrance, as Ph. F. (Philip Ford) knows, and asserted to the lords of plantations lately, to be 4,000*l.* more in the whole, than I ever received for lands, besides what it has cost me here."

On the 10th of September this year (1694) died Thomas Lloyd, the proprietary's late deputy-governor, aged about 54 years. His father was a person of some fortune and rank, of an ancient family and estate called Dolobran, in Montgomeryshire, in North Wales. This, his son Thomas Lloyd, was a younger brother, and was educated in the best schools, from which he was removed to the University of Oxford, where he is said to have made considerable proficiency; and, being endowed with good natural capacity, and an amiable disposition, he attracted the regard and esteem of persons of influence, and was afterwards in the way to considerable preferment; but he joined the Quakers, and renounced all worldly considerations for that peace of mind, which he believed to be the effect of true religion, and became a highly esteemed preacher in that society. In consequence of which, having suffered much unmerited reproach, persecution, and loss of property in his native country, he afterwards removed to Pennsylvania, among the first or early settlers, and was one of Penn's most intimate friends. He was mostly one of the principal persons in the government from his first arrival, and of very great service in the public affairs: yet he is said to have accepted of the eminent offices, which at different times he held in the administration, entirely from motives of public spirit.

*Penn cleared of the accusations against him, and his government restored—Death of his wife, Gulielma Maria—He commissions William Markham his lieutenant-governor—His useful employment in England—His second marriage—Death of his eldest son, Springett—Proceedings of the assembly in 1696—Their remonstrance, &c.—Further proceedings of the legislature; wherein a bill of settlement is agreed to and passed, called the third frame of government, &c.—State of the province about this time—A proclamation.*

We now return to Penn; who, in the latter part of the year 1693, through the mediation of his friends, the lords, Rochester, Ranelagh and Sidney, in which the Lord Somers, the duke of Buckingham, and Sir John Trenchard also assisted, was admitted to make his justification; which he did so effectually, that he was not only readily acquitted of the charge against him, but also had his government restored.

The three first-mentioned lords went to the king, on the 25th of November, and represented to him Penn's case, "As not only hard, but oppressive; that there was nothing against him, but what impostors, or those that were fled, or that had, since their pardon, refused to verify (and asked William Penn pardon, for saying what they did), alleged against him; that they (the said lords) had long known William Penn, some of them 30 years, and had never known him to do an ill thing, but many good offices; and that, if it was not for being thought to go abroad in defiance of the government, he would have done it two years ago; that he was, therefore, willing to wait to go about his business as before, with leave, that he might be the better respected, in the liberty he took to follow it."

To which the king answered, "That William Penn was his old acquaintance, as well as theirs;—that he might follow his business as freely as ever; and that he had nothing to say to him."—Upon which they pressed him to command one of them to declare the same to the secretary of state, Sir John Trenchard; or that, if he came to him, he might signify the same to him; which the king readily did; and the Lord Sidney, as Penn's nearest friend, was to tell the secretary; which being done, the secretary, after speaking himself, and having orders from the king, appointed Penn a time to meet him at home; who then (November 30th), in company with the marquis of Winchester, told him, "He was as free as ever," adding, "That he doubted not his prudence about his quiet living, so he assured him he should not be molested, or injured, in any of his affairs, at least while he held that post."

Soon after this Penn lost his wife, Gulielma Maria, who died in February 1694, with whom he had lived, in the utmost tenderness, about 21 years; her excellent character is recorded by himself in his printed works. He was reinstated in his government of Pennsylvania by letters patent, dated 20th day of August, in the sixth year of the reign of William and Mary, 1694; after which he sent a commission to William Markham, constituting him his lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania and territories, dated "ninth month 24th, 1694."

Now for several years successively his beneficent services, and useful actions in his native country, particularly to his own religious society, are represented to have been very considerable; in which time he published many useful treatises, on different subjects; and he was likewise a solicitor to the govern-

ment for the relief of his friends, the Quakers, in the case of oaths.

On the 5th of March, 1696, he consummated his second marriage, at Bristol, with Hannah, the daughter of Thomas Callowhill, and granddaughter of Dennis Hollister, an eminent merchant of that city. She was said to be a religious young woman, of excellent qualities; with whom he lived during the rest of his life; and had issue by her, four sons and one daughter.

In the April 1696, his eldest son, by his former wife, named Springett, died at Worminghurst, in Sussex, of a consumption, in the 21st year of his age; a most promising young man. After this William Penn paid a religious visit to his friends, the Quakers, in Ireland, accompanied by John Everett and Thomas Story; who were likewise two eminent preachers in that society; and he wrote several treatises in vindication of his religious principles, &c. till the year 1699, when he began to make preparation to revisit his province of Pennsylvania.

William Markham being, by the proprietary, after his restoration, constituted or appointed his deputy-governor, as before observed, first under that appointment, met a council on the 20th of April, and an assembly, on the 10th of September, 1695; which, after they had sat some time, appear to have been unexpectedly dissolved by Markham. The form of the writ for calling that assembly was as follows:—

"(L. s.) William Markham, Esq. governor under Willam Penn, absolute proprietary of the province of Pennsylvania and counties annexed, to Arthur Meston, sheriff of the county of Kent, greeting:

"Whereas, their sacred Majesties William and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith, &c., did, by their letters patent, under the great seal of England, bearing date the 21st day of October, in the fourth year of their reign, for the reasons therein expressed, find it absolutely necessary to take the government of said province of Pennsylvania into their own hands, and under their immediate care and protection; and, therefore, did constitute and appoint Benjamin Fletcher, Esq. captain-general, and governor-in-chief of their majesties' province of New York, to be captain-general, in and over their said majesties' province of Pennsylvania, and country of Newcastle, and all the tracts of land depending thereon in America, thereby commanding and requiring him, the said Benjamin Fletcher, to take the said province of Pennsylvania and country under his government; who accordingly took the same under his government, by publication of the said letters patent, in the town of Philadelphia, upon the 26th of April, 1693: and whereas, their sacred majesties have since been most graciously pleased, by their letters patent, under the great seal of England, bearing date the 20th day of August, in the sixth year of their reign, for the reasons therein expressed, to restore the said William Penn, proprietary of the said province of Pennsylvania and territories, unto the administration of the government thereof: and, whereas, the said William Penn has been pleased, by his commission, under his hand and seal of the said province, bearing date the 29th day of the ninth month, 1694, to constitute me governor under him, of the said province of Pennsylvania, and counties annexed, strictly charging and commanding me, to govern according to the known laws and

usages thereof. I, therefore, by virtue of the said power and authority, derived unto me, command you, that forthwith you summon all the freemen of your said county, to meet upon the tenth day of April, at the usual place of meeting, then and there, according to law and charter, to choose three persons to serve in provincial council, one for three years, one for two years, and one other for one year; and six persons to serve as members of assembly; and upon the election of members of council, to acquaint them to attend me on the 20th day of April next, at Philadelphia, to form a provincial council, to advise with me in matters relating to the government; whereof they are not to fail; and make return of the names of the said freemen, so to be chosen, and of this writ, into the secretary's office, for the said province and territories, at and before the said 20th day of April next;—hereof fail not at your peril; and for your so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant.

"Given under my hand and seal of the province, this 26th day of March, annoque regni regis et reginæ, Gulielmi et Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. septimo, in the fourteenth year of the proprietary's government, annoque Domini 1695.

"WILLIAM MARKHAM."

After this he called another assembly, to meet at Philadelphia, on the 26th of October, 1696. This assembly chose John Simcock of Chester, for their speaker; and, in a message to the governor, they observed, that though he had convened them by his writs, not so conformable to their charter, as they could desire (which was upon Fletcher's plan), yet they had obeyed the same, and considered what he had laid before them, viz. "To answer the late queen's letter, and the proprietary's promise upon his restoration to the government;" respecting which they told him, "That they were unanimously ready and willing to perform their duty therein, so far as in them lay, if the governor would settle them in their former constitution, enjoyed before the government was committed to Governor Fletcher's trust;" which affairs, with the proceedings of the last assembly, appear more fully in the following remonstrance:—

"To William Markham, governor under William Penn, proprietor of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging,

"The remonstrance of the freemen of the said province and territories, convened in assembly, by virtue of the governor's writs, at Philadelphia, the 28th of October, in the eighth year of King William's reign over England, &c. annoque Domini 1696.

"Humbly sheweth,

"That, whereas, the late King Charles II., by his royal charter, made in the 33d year of his reign, under the great seal of England, was pleased to signify, that William Penn (out of a commendable desire to enlarge the British empire, and promote such useful commodities as might be of benefit to the king and his dominions, as also to induce the savage nations, by gentle and just manners, to the love of civil society, and the Christian religion) had humbly sought leave to transport an ample colony into this country; wherefore, the said king, favouring the petition, and good purpose of the said William Penn, did, in and by the said charter, for him, his heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, all this said country, and tract of land, called Pennsylvania, and constituted him, the said William Penn,

absolute proprietor thereof, vesting him, and such as were to be adventurers with him, the settlers and inhabitants of said province, with divers powers, privileges and immunities, under the reservations, provisos and restrictions, in the said charter specified; charging all officers, &c. to be, at all times aiding and assisting to the said William Penn, and unto the said inhabitants and merchants of the said province, in the full use and fruition of the benefits of the said charter.

"In pursuance whereof the said William Penn, and divers substantial persons, who first embarked with him, in that so commendable a design, did soon afterwards (by the advice of learned council) conclude upon a certain frame of government, consistent with the powers of the said patent, but suitable with the religious persuasion of the major part of the undertakers, and well accommodated to all. This model, together with the franchises and immunities expressly granted by the aforesaid letters patent to the people, did induce them to conceive (and, we hope, upon just grounds too) that since the king had been so favourably pleased to incorporate them, and in so great a measure, connected the people's privileges with their properties, that they could not be any more divested of the one, than the other, but by due course of law, and proved more than ordinary motives to incline several hundreds to transport themselves and families into this country, out of divers parts; so that this province hath not been at first populated under William Penn's government, with transported felons, or criminals, but mostly the people called Quakers, men of truth and sobriety, having visible estates and credit in the world; who, with no less desires of that freedom, to answer the end of the king's grant, (with respect to propagating the Christian religion) were made willing to leave their native land, part with their friends and near relations, and remove themselves into the wilderness, hoping to enjoy their said privileges and liberties, more than any prospect, they had of worldly advantage, or preferment; and when they arrived here, exposed themselves and tender families to great hardships (attending the hazard and inconveniences of a new plantation), exhausted their estates, and have not been at all chargeable to the crown, in so considerable a settlement, as is well known; but before they could thoroughly come into a comfortable way of living, and put themselves into a capacity to pay either their particular, or public debts, this government became (it seems) as the butt of our neighbour's envy; who, misrepresenting things at home, did obtain a commission from the king and queen, constituting Colonel Fletcher, commander-in-chief over this province and territories; who, during his governancy, diverted the course of our legislative procedure, and introduced another method; and continued the same, until the said king and queen were favourably pleased, by their letters patent, to restore the said proprietary to the administration of the government of this province and territories; upon which restoration, the power and authority, which Colonel Fletcher had made use of, to lay aside our charteral rights and privileges, were by the said patent determined, and made void.

"Wherefore, the proprietary thought fit to authorize thee to act according to the known laws and usages of this government: in pursuance whereof thou wast pleased to issue forth thy writs, directed to the respective sheriffs of this province and territories, commanding them to summon all the free



men of the respective counties to meet upon the tenth day of the month called April, 1695, in the usual place of meeting, then and there, according to law and charter, to choose three persons in each county, to serve in provincial council, one for three years, one for two years, and the other for one year; and six persons out of each county to serve as members of assembly. In obedience to which writs elections were made, and a general assembly began to be held here, on the tenth day of September, 1695: and, truly, those of us, that attended that service, were glad, when thou so frequently expressed thy readiness to confirm our rights and privileges, adding, 'That thou wouldest not so much as endeavour to diminish them;' which gave further encouragement to the then representatives; who with much alacrity, and dutiful acknowledgments of the king's justice and favour, in restoring the said proprietary to his rights, did proceed to manifest their affections to the king, as well as their readiness to answer his expectations, about supporting this government, so far as in conscience they could, according to their ability, and circumstances of affairs; and so agreed to make an assessment of money, upon all estates within this province and country, for the support of government; which, together with the 250*l.* sterling, thencefore raised, and made payable to Colonel Fletcher, toward the support of this government, and not expressly appointed for any other particular use, they, the said representatives, humbly desired might be deemed and taken, instead of the assistance required from this country; the same being in answer to the late queen's letter, so far as, in conscience and abilities, they could comply therewith; and so perfected the bill, ready for thy passing; having joined therewith only one bill, modelled with thy approbation, and corrected according to thy own direction, containing some fundamental liberties, which we look upon to be as much the people's rights, as the land they hold.

"But, instead of giving thy sanction to those bills, thou hast, contrary to the tenor of said writs, and against our legislative rights and privileges, undertaken to dissolve both council and assembly; which, we understand, was so surprising and unexpected to the said representatives, that they had neither time to explain their real intentions, in what they urged and insisted on, or opportunity to see the minutes of their journal perfected; whereby their proceedings might have been more fully and fairly rendered.

"And we are given to understand, and those of us that were concerned in that dissolved assembly, do declare, 'That where any thing has been there voted, about proceeding in legislation, without the formality of promulgating bills, according to charter, it was chiefly to expedite the passing of the money-bill, to answer the late queen's letter, in manner aforesaid, and not intended to be brought into example, unless agreed on, to be inserted in the other bill, or new act of settlement.' And we also understand, that where mention was then made of any difficulty, or inconvenience, in resuming the charter, it was but in circumstantial, and had respect only to the time of meeting, number of members, and such like, not that we then did, or do now, think that the people had any way forfeited, or lost the benefit and privileges in those branches thereof, which direct that this government, according to the powers of the king's patent, and the late duke of York's deeds of feoffment, should consist of the pro-

prietary, governor and freemen of the said province and territories, and in form of a provincial council and assembly, chosen by the people; and that the governor, or his deputy, should perform no act of state that relates to the justice, trade, treasury, or safety of the province and territories, but by the advice of the said provincial council; and such other fundamental parts of the said charter, where-with we are invested by virtue of the king's letters patent, for restoring the proprietary.

"Now, for as much as thou hast refused to pass the said bill, or new act of settlement, and not inclined to the advice of thy assistant, in issuing forth writs, for chusing members of council and assembly, on the last charteral day of election, but used thy endeavours to discourage the people then to elect, and hast now convened us, contrary to our former usage, notwithstanding we still hold ourselves concerned to embrace this opportunity, as we are, and shall be, ready upon all occasions to express our duty and affection to the king, for his justice and favours to the government, and our well-wishes to thyself, we desire thee to take some speedy course to establish us in our just rights and privileges, whereby we may be in a fit posture effectually to answer and observe the king's command, relating to this government, and the proprietary's engagements in that behalf, so far as our religious persuasions can admit.

"Signed by order of the House,

"JOHN SIMCOCKE, Speaker."

It does not appear what particular answer the governor gave to this remonstrance; but the speaker, with the house, waited upon him, at his desire; to whom he delivered a letter from the late Governor Fletcher, requesting money, for the relief of the Indians at Albany. Upon which, on the 31st of October, 1696, a committee of the house, being joined by a committee of the council, in order to answer the queen's letter, and preserve the people's privileges, agreed in recommending, "That the governor, at the request of the assembly, would be pleased to pass an act (of settlement, must be understood), with a salvo to the proprietary and people; and that he would also issue out his writs, for choosing a full number of representatives, on the 10th day of the first month next, to serve in provincial council and assembly, according to the charter, until the proprietary's pleasure be known therein; and that, if the proprietary shall disapprove the same, then this act shall be void, and no ways prejudicial to him, nor the people, in relation to the validity or invalidity of the said charter."—This was unanimously approved by the assembly; and a bill of settlement, and a money bill were thereupon agreed upon, and passed.

The money bill was for raising 300*l.*, for the support of government, and relieving the distressed Indians, inhabiting above Albany, in answer to the queen's letter; which money, being immediately wanted was therefore borrowed, until it could be raised by the act, and remitted to Colonel Fletcher, at New York, to be applied to the use intended.

The bill of settlement being finished, besides four others passed by Markham, it thence became the third frame of government; and, being afterwards enforced by some other laws, it continued in force till the year 1701. By this charter, or frame of government, the council was to consist of only two members out of each county, and the assembly of four: making in all twelve members of council, and 24 of the assembly.

In the year 1697, Governor Fletcher, of New York, in a letter to Markham, informed him, that the 300*l.*, sent last year, was expended in contingencies, to feed and clothe the Indians, as was desired; and that he requested further assistance. A committee of the council and assembly, to whom the affair was referred, in their report, in answer to this letter, expressed their acknowledgments for his, and that government's regard and candour to them, in applying that money to the use intended;—but, as to further supply at present, they urged the infamy, poverty, and incumbered state of the colony, in excuse for non-compliance;—at the same time, declaring their readiness to observe the king's further commands, according to their religious persuasions and abilities.

(1698.) From about this time, till the arrival of the proprietary, in the latter part of the year 1699, the accounts of the public affairs appear defective, or not many of much importance occur. The province seems, at that time, to have enjoyed a state of great tranquillity and prosperity, when compared with that of other countries; but it cannot be supposed, without some of those difficulties, which always attend the settlement of new colonies. And, as prosperity and success create envy in malignant minds, so we find, in this province, that whatever was a little amiss at any time, was greatly exaggerated, and its true state misrepresented, either by those who were natural enemies to its prosperity, or by discontented spirits within it, both in early time and since.

But however the base may endeavour to cover themselves, by mixing among those of reputation, and the dishonest screen their character, by associating with the honest, yet something of this malignity of mind in some persons out of the province, besides what might, in reality, have been wrong in it, seems to have administered occasion for the following proclamation, published in the year 1698:—

“By the governor and council of the province of Pennsylvania, and counties annexed.

“A Proclamation,

“Whereas our proprietary hath lately given us to understand of sundry accusations, or complaints, against this government, for conniving at illegal trade and harbouring of pirates; as also of the reports that are gone to England, about the growth of vice and looseness here.

“As to the former, it is evident that they are the effects of the envy and emulation of those, who, by such unfair and indirect means, would accomplish their designs against this government: for that we are satisfied the generality of the people, merchants and traders of this province and territories, are innocent and clear of those imputations. And this country so posited, Philadelphia is become the road, where sailors and others do frequently pass and repass between Virginia and New England, so that it cannot be avoided, but the bad, as well as the good, will be entertained in such an intercourse; and since common charity obliges us not to presume any persons guilty (especially of such great enormities), till by some legal probability they appear so to be; and though we find that the magistrates, and people in general, are, and have been, ready, and perhaps more active and conscientious to serve the king and his officers, against all unlawful trade and piracy, when any such offences have, by any means, come to their knowledge, than any of those neighbouring colonies, who have been so querulous against us, in that behalf; yet we

can do no less than, pursuant to our proprietary's commands, put all in mind of their respective duties; that there be no just cause for such complaints.

“And, as concerning vice, we also find, that the magistrates have been careful and diligent to suppress it; but their endeavours have been sometimes ineffectual therein; by reason that the ordinaries, or drinking-houses, especially in Philadelphia, grow too numerous, and the keepers thereof disorderly, and regardless of the tenor and obligations of their licenses, whereby they prove ungrateful to the governor, and a reproach to the government.

“Therefore, these are strictly to charge and command all magistrates and officers whatsoever, within the province and territories, as they regard the honour of God, and their allegiance to the king, faithfully to put in execution all the acts, or laws of trade and navigation, and also the laws and statutes extant against piracy, whenever there is any such occasion; and to use their utmost diligence and care in preventing, suppressing, and punishing all vice, disorders, and loose living, wheresoever, and in whomsoever it shall appear. And to that end it is, by the governor and council, ordained that, from and after the first day of March next ensuing, the justices of the peace of each county, in the province and territories, at their respective general or private sessions, nominate and pitch upon such and so many ordinary keepers, or inn-holders, within the respective counties, as they shall be well assured will keep orders, and discourage vice: and the governor is pleased to condescend that he will license those so approved of by the justices, and will permit no other, to keep taverns, inns, or drinking-houses, within this government, than such as shall be so recommended, from time to time.

“And we further strictly charge and command all persons, within this government, as they will answer the contrary at their peril, that they give due assistance to the magistrates and officers aforesaid, in putting the said laws in execution, and suppressing vice, that the wrath of God, and the king's displeasure may not be drawn upon this poor country. Dated at Philadelphia, the 12th day of the twelfth month, February, being the ninth year of the year of William III., of England, &c. King, anno Domini, 1697-8.

“Signed by order of the governor and council,  
“Per PATRICK ROBINSON.”

*Penn, with his wife and family, sail for Pennsylvania—Yellow Fever in Pennsylvania—Proceedings of the governor and assembly against piracy and illicit trade—The proprietary's concern for the benefit of the Indians and Negroes, with the measures used—Money requested of the assembly for the fortifications on the frontiers of New York—Assembly's address to the proprietary on this occasion—Articles of agreement between Penn and the Indians about Susquehanna, &c.*

In the August of 1699, Penn, with his wife and family, took shipping for Pennsylvania; and, on the third day of the following month, from on board the ship, lying in Cowes' road, near the Isle of Wight, he took his farewell of his friends, in a valedictory epistle, directed to all the people called Quakers, in Europe. He sailed on the ninth of the same month; and was near three months at sea; so that he did not arrive in Pennsylvania until the beginning of December, when a dangerous and contagious distemper, called the yellow fever, having raged in the province, and carried off great numbers

of people, had ceased. This remarkable sickness, which, in the latter part of this year, had caused a great mortality in Philadelphia, had, for some time before, been very fatal in the West India Islands.

Thomas Story, who had accompanied Penn to Ireland, in the last year, 1698; a man of ability, and afterwards of much utility, to the province, first arrived in Pennsylvania, in, or about this year, by way of Virginia, on a religious visit to the colonies. In his journal of his life, speaking of this sickness, at Philadelphia, where he was then, he says: "Great was the Majesty and Hand of the Lord, great was the fear, that fell upon all flesh; I saw no lofty, or airy countenance, nor heard any vain jesting, to move men to laughter; nor witty repartee, to raise mirth; nor extravagant feasting, to excite the lusts and desires of the flesh above measure; but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as such that waited every moment, to be summoned to the bar, and numbered to the grave."

The proprietary and his family were received with universal joy by the inhabitants, which was greatly increased when it was known that he intended fixing his residence among them, during the remainder of his life.

Soon after his arrival he met the assembly; but it being then a very rigorous season, much public business does not appear to have been transacted; except attempting to discourage piracy and illicit trade; for which principally, they seem to have been convened. Penn strongly represented to them the odium to which the government was exposed on this account; and the obligations, which he was under, to his superiors to correct it. Two laws were passed immediately, and measures taken to clear the government from all unjust imputations the kind.

In the March of 1700, Penn, at the monthly meeting of his friends, the Quakers, in Philadelphia, represented his anxiety respecting the negroes and Indians; exhorting and pressing them to a full discharge of their duty, in reference to them; but more especially urging, that they might as frequently as possible have the advantage of attending religious meetings, and the benefit of being duly informed in the Christian religion. A meeting was consequently appointed more particularly for the negroes once every month; and means were used to have more frequent meetings with the Indians; Penn taking part of the charge upon himself, particularly the mode of conducting it, and the procuring of interpreters.

The next assembly was convened at Philadelphia, on the 10th of May; which was dissolved in the month following, and another was convened at Newcastle, in October. The upper counties, or the province, being dissatisfied with the charter, which had been passed by Markham, in 1696, part of the business of these assemblies was the consideration and preparation of a new one, better adapted to their inclinations and circumstances.

The proprietary had several meetings with the different assemblies, during his residence in the province; wherein a great variety of public business was transacted with much general satisfaction. Part of which was the framing a body of laws, and the new and last charter of privileges; the latter of which was not finished until the October of the following year.

The number of laws passed by the proprietary, during his stay this time in the country, was

100; of which the major part were passed at New castle.

In the spring of the year 1701, the sea-coast appears to have been so infested by pirates, as well as the dangers consequent on a French war, that the governor and council issued the following order, for the prevention of any surprise in that respect:—

"At a council held in Philadelphia, the 2d of the fourth month, 1701.

"Present, the proprietor and governor, Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, Thomas Story, Griffith Owen, Caleb Pusey.

"For the greater security of this province and territories, and for preventing, as far as may be, surprises by vessels from sea.

"Ordered, That the magistrates, for the county of Sussex, shall appoint, and take care that a constant watch and ward be kept, on the hithermost cape, near Lewis, in the said county; and in case any vessel appear from the sea, that may with good grounds be suspected of evil designs against any part of the government.

"Ordered, That the said watch shall forthwith give notice thereof, with as exact a description and account of the vessel, as possibly they can, to the sheriff of the said county; who is required immediately to dispatch a messenger, express, with the same to the county of Kent; from thence to be forwarded from sheriff to sheriff, through every county, till it be brought to the government at Philadelphia; which watch and expresses shall be a provincial charge.

"Signed by order,

"JAMES LOGAN, Secretary."

In the beginning of August 1701, the proprietary acquainted the assembly, "That the occasion of his calling them, at that time (though it was with reluctance, considering the season), was, to lay before them the king's letter, requiring 350*l.* sterling, from this government, towards the fortifications intended on the frontiers of New York; and though he might have something else to lay before them, yet he deferred all till they had considered this point."

After considering and debating on the subject of this letter, the assembly excused themselves, at present, with complying with the requisition, by the following address to the proprietary:—

"To William Penn, proprietary and governor of Pennsylvania.

"The humble address of the Assembly.

"May it please our proprietary and governor,

"We, the freemen of the province and territories, in assembly met, having perused the king's letter, requiring a contribution of 350*l.* sterling, towards erecting of forts on the frontiers of New York, &c., and having duly weighed and considered our duty and loyalty to our sovereign, do humbly address and represent that, by the reason of the infancy of this colony, and the great charge and cost, the inhabitants have hitherto been at, in the settlement thereof, and because of the late great sums of money, which have been assessed on the province and territories, by way of impost and taxes, besides the arrears of quit-rents, owing by the people, our present capacity will hardly admit of levying of money at this time. And further, taking into consideration, that the adjacent provinces have hitherto (as far as we can understand) done nothing in this matter; we are, therefore, humbly of opinion, and accordingly move, that the further consideration of the king's letter may be referred to another meeting of assembly, or until more emergent occasions

shall require our further proceedings therein. In the mean time we earnestly desire the proprietary would candidly represent our conditions to the king, and assure him of our readiness (according to our abilities) to acquiesce with, and answer his commands, so far as our religious persuasions shall permit, as becomes loyal and faithful subjects so to do."

Though the assembly appeared not unwilling to contribute to the common defence, if the circumstances of the colony would permit; and although the proprietary himself particularly urged a compliance in his speech to the next following assembly; yet the nature of this requisition to such a young colony, considering the principles upon which it was primarily planted and founded, seems to indicate, that it was not without enemies at court. The pacific principles and motives of Penn, and of the first and early adventurers in settling this wilderness, could not possibly be less known at this time, to the administration at home, than they were before, to the persons in power, when the charter was granted by Charles II.; which expressly mentions, as motives, "A commendable desire of William Penn to enlarge our English empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be of benefit to us, and our dominions, and also to reduce the savage natives, by gentle and just manners, to the love of civil society, and Christian religion;" and therefore it was judged extremely hard that they should be called on for a contribution which was contrary to their well-known and long avowed principles.

In the April of 1701, Connoodaghtoh, king of the Susquehanna, Minquays or Conestogo Indians; Wopaththa (alias Opossah), king of the Shawanese, Weewhinjough, chief of the Ganawese, inhabiting near the head of the Potomack; also Ahookassongh, brother to the emperor (or great king of the Onondagoes), of the five nations, having arrived at Philadelphia, with other Indians of note, &c., in number about 40, after a treaty, and several speeches between them and Penn in council, the following deed was solemnly ratified:—

"Articles of agreement, intended, made, concluded and agreed upon at Philadelphia, the 23d day of the second month, called April, 1701, between William Penn, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories therunto belonging, on the one part, and Connoodaghtoh, king of the Indians, inhabiting upon, and about the river Susquehanna, in the said province, and Widaagh (alias Orettyagh;) Koqueash and Andaggy, Junckquagh, chiefs of the said nations of Indians; and Wopaththa, king, and Lemoytungh and Pemoyajoaagh, chiefs of the nations of the Shawanna Indians; and Ahookassongh, brother to the emperor, for, and in behalf of the emperor; and Weewhinjough, Chequittayh, Takyewsan and Woapras-koah, chiefs of the nations of the Indians, inhabiting in and about the northern part of the river Potomack, in the said province, for, and in behalf of themselves and successors, and their several nations and people, on the other part, as followeth:—

"That, as hitherto there hath always been a good understanding and neighbourhood between the said William Penn, and his lieutenants, since his first arrival in the said province, and the several nations of Indians, inhabiting in and about the same, so there shall be, for ever hereafter, a firm and lasting peace continued between William Penn, his heirs and successors, and all the English, and other Christian inhabitants of the said province and the said

kingdoms and chiefs, and their successors, and all the several people of the nations of Indians aforesaid; and that they shall, for ever hereafter, be as one head, and one heart, and live in true friendship and amity, as one people.

"Item, That the said kings and chiefs (each for himself, and his people engaging) shall, at no time, hurt, injure, or defraud, or suffer to be hurt, injured, or defrauded, by any of their Indians, any inhabitant, or inhabitants of the said province, either their persons or estates; and that the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall not suffer to be done, or committed, by any of the subjects of England, within the said province, any act of hostility, or violence, wrong or injury to, or against any of the said Indians; but shall, on both sides, at all times, readily do justice, and perform all acts and offices of friendship and good-will, to oblige each other to a lasting peace, as aforesaid.

"Item, That all and every of the said kings and chiefs, and all and every particular of the nations under them, shall, at all times, behave themselves regularly and soberly, according to the laws of this government, while they live near, or among the Christian inhabitants thereof, and that the said Indians shall have the full and free privileges and immunities of all the said laws, as any other inhabitant; they duly owning and acknowledging the authority of the crown of England, and government of this province.

"Item, That none of the said Indians shall, at any time, be aiding, assisting, or abetting any other nation, whether Indians, or others, that shall not, at such time, be in amity with the crown of England, and with this government.

"Item, That, if, at any time, any of the said Indians, by means of evil-minded persons, and sowers of sedition, should hear any unkind or disadvantageous reports of the English, as if they had evil designs against any of the said Indians, in such case, such Indians shall send notice thereof to the said William Penn, his heirs, or successors, or their lieutenants, and shall not give credence to the said reports, till by that means they shall be fully satisfied concerning the truth thereof; and that the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, or their lieutenants, shall at all times, in such case, do the like by them.

"Item, That the said kings and chiefs, and their successors, shall not suffer any strange nations of Indians to settle, or plant, on the further side of Susquehanna, or about Potomack river, but such as are there already seated, nor bring any other Indians into any part of this province, without the special approbation and permission of the said William Penn, his heirs and successors.

"Item, That, for the prevention of abuses, that are too frequently put upon the said Indians, in trade, the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall not suffer, or permit, any person to trade, or converse with any of the said Indians, but such as shall be first allowed and approved, by an instrument under the hand and seal of him, the said William Penn, or his heirs, or successors, or their lieutenants; and that the said Indians shall suffer no person whatsoever to buy or sell, or have commerce with any of them, the said Indians, but such as shall first be approved, as aforesaid.

"Item, That the said Indians shall not sell, or dispose of any of their skins, peltry or furs, or any other effects of their hunting, to any person or persons whatsoever, out of the said province, nor to any

other person, but such as shall be authorised to trade with them, as aforesaid: and, that for their encouragement, the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, shall take care to have them, the said Indians, duly furnished with all sorts of necessary goods, for their use at reasonable rates.

"Item, That the Potomack Indians, aforesaid, with their colony, shall have free leave of the said William Penn, to settle upon any part of Potomack river, within the bounds of this province: they strictly observing and practising all, and singular the articles aforesaid, to them relating.

"Item, The Indians of Conestogo, upon, and about, the river Susquehanna, and more especially, the said Connodaghtoh their king, doth fully agree to, and by these presents, absolutely ratify the bargain and sale of lands, lying near and about the said river, formerly made to the said William Penn, his heirs and successors; and since, by Orettyagh and Andaggy, Junckquagh, parties to these presents, confirmed to the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, by a deed, bearing date, the 13th day of September last, under their hands and seals, duly executed. And the said Connodaghtoh doth, for himself and his nation, covenant and agree, that he will at all times be ready further to confirm, and make good the said sale, according to the tenor of the same; and that the said Indians of Susquehanna shall answer the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, for the good behaviour and conduct of the said Potomack Indians; and for their performing the several articles herein expressed.

"Item, The said William Penn doth hereby promise, for himself, his heirs and successors, that he and they will, at all times, shew themselves true friends and brothers to all, and every of the said Indians, by assisting them with the best of their advices, directions and counsels, and will, in all things, just and reasonable, befriend them; they behaving themselves as aforesaid, and submitting to the laws of this province, in all things, as the English and other Christians therein do; to which they, the said Indians, hereby agree and oblige themselves, and their posterity for ever.

"In witness whereof, the said parties have, as a confirmation, made mutual presents to each other; the Indians, in five parcels of skins, and the said William Penn, in several English goods and merchandizes, as a binding pledge of the premises, never to be broken or violated; and, as a further testimony thereof, have also to these presents set their hands and seals, the day and year above written."

The proprietary having subsequently represented to the council the great abuses committed in the Indian trade, with the dangers and disadvantages which might arise from thence to the province; and having proposed, that proper measures should be concerted for its regulation, it was resolved, "that some effectual method should be agreed on and used for carrying on the trade by a certain number, or company of persons, with a joint stock, under certain regulations and restrictions, more particularly in regard to spirituous liquors sold them; which company should use all reasonable means and endeavours to induce the Indians to a true sense of a proper value and esteem of the Christian religion, by setting before them good examples of probity and candour, both in commerce and behaviour; and that care should be taken to have them duly instructed in the fundamentals of Christianity."

*Penn's motives for returning to England—His speech to the assembly, with their answer—He takes leave of the Indians—Disagreement between the province and territories revived—The proprietary endeavours to reconcile them—His letter to the assembly, urging their agreement—The last charter of Pennsylvania—The proprietary also grants a charter to the city of Philadelphia—Andrew Hamilton of New Jersey being constituted deputy-governor, and James Logan secretary of the province, Penn sails for England.*

It was thought, from some circumstances, that the proprietary's real intention at this time, was to spend the remainder of his life in his province; but during his absence from England, it appears that measures were in agitation there for reducing both his, and the other proprietary governments in America, into regal ones, under pretence of advancing the prerogative of the crown, and the national advantage; and a bill for that purpose was actually brought into the House of Lords. Upon this, such of the owners of land in Pennsylvania, as were then in England, immediately represented the hardship of their case to the parliament, soliciting time for Penn's return, to answer for himself; and dispatched to him an account of the affair, and pressed his return as soon as possible; with which he found it indispensably necessary to comply. This first occasioned his summoning the assembly, which agreed to the charter of privileges before mentioned; to whom, on the 16th of September, 1701, he made the following speech:—

"Friends,

"You cannot be more concerned than I am, at the frequency of your service in assembly, since I am very sensible of the trouble and charge it contracts upon the country: but the motives being considered, and that you must have met of course in the next month, I hope you will not think it an hardship now.

"The reason that hastens your sessions, is the necessity I am under, through the endeavours of the enemies of the prosperity of this country, to go for England, where, taking advantage of my absence, some have attempted by false, or unreasonable charges, to undermine our government, and thereby the true value of our labours and prosperity. Government having been our first encouragement, I confess, I cannot think of such a voyage without great reluctance of mind, having promised myself the quietness of a wilderness, and that I might stay so long, at least with you, as to render every body entirely easy and safe. For my heart is among you, as well as my body, whatever some people may please to think: and no unkindness, or disappointment shall (with submission to God's providence) ever be able to alter my love to the country, and resolution to return, and settle my family and posterity in it: but having reason to believe, I can at this time, best serve you and myself on that side of the water, neither the rudeness of the season, nor tender circumstances of my family, can over-rule my inclinations to undertake it.

"Think, therefore, (since all men are mortal) of some suitable expedient and provision, for your safety, as well in your privileges, as property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatsoever may render us happy, by a nearer union of our interests.

"Review again your laws; propose new ones, that may better your circumstances; and what you

do, do it quickly, remembering that the parliament sits the end of next month; and that the sooner I am there, the safer, I hope, we shall be here.

"I must recommend to your serious thoughts and care the king's letter to me, for the assistance of New York, with 350*l.* sterling, as a frontier government; and therefore exposed to a much greater expense, in proportion to other colonies; which I called the last assembly to take into their consideration, and they were pleased, for the reasons then given, to refer to this.

"I am also to tell you the good news of the governor of New York's happy issue of his conferences with the five nations of Indians; that he hath not only made peace with them, for the king's subjects of that colony; but (as I had by some letters before desired him) for those of all other governments under the crown of England, on the continent of America, as also the nations of Indians within these respective colonies; which certainly merits our acknowledgments.

"I have done, when I have told you, that unanimity and dispatch are the life of business, and that I desire and expect from you, for your own sakes; since it may so much contribute to the disappointment of those that too long have sought the ruin of our young country."

To this speech the assembly replied in the following address:—

"May it please the Proprietary and Governor,

"We have, this day, in our assembly, read thy speech, delivered yesterday in council; and, having duly considered the same, cannot but be under a deep sense of sorrow, for thy purpose of so speedily leaving us, and at the same time taking notice of thy paternal regard to us, and our posterity, the freeholders of this province and territories annexed, in thy loving and kind expressions of being ready to comply with whatsoever expedient and provisions shall offer, for our safety, as well in privileges as property, and what else may render us happy, in a nearer union of interests; not doubting the performance of what thou hast been so lovingly pleased to promise, we do, in much humility, and, as a token of our gratitude, return unto thee, the unfeigned thanks of this house. Subscribed by order of the house,

JOSEPH GROWDON, Speaker."

After this the assembly presented to him another address, consisting of 21 articles. It respected his successor in the government, and the confirmation of certain privileges, therein specified. To every one of which he made a special answer. The first of these articles, so far as regarded a proper person to succeed him as deputy, being particularly insisted on, he condescended so much as to make them an offer, to nominate a substitute themselves. From which, acknowledging the favour offered them, they excused themselves; declaring they did not think themselves qualified for the choice, and desired to leave it to his pleasure. The remainder of the petition of this address, so far as the proprietary thought proper to comply with it, was either afterwards granted, in the two charters of the province and city, then in agitation or otherwise mutually agreed.

The sachems of the Susquehanna and Shawanna, and other Indians, having come to Philadelphia to take leave of the proprietary, on the 7th of October, he spoke to them in council, and told them, "That the assembly was then enacting a law, according to their desire, to prevent their being abused by selling of rum among them; that he requested them to

unite all their endeavours, and their utmost exertion, in conjunction with those of the government, to put the said law in execution."

At the same time he likewise informed them, "That now this was like to be his last interview with them, at least before his return; that he had always loved and been kind to them; and ever should continue so to be, not through any politic design, or, on account of self-interest, but from a most real affection;"—"And he desired them, in his absence, to cultivate friendship with those whom he should leave behind in authority; as they would always, in some degree, continue to be so to them, as himself had ever been; lastly, that he had charged the members of council, and then also renewed the same charge, that they should, in all respects, be kind to them, and entertain them with all courtesy and demonstrations of good-will, as himself had ever done: which the said members promised faithfully to observe;—then, after making them some presents, they withdrew."

But during these transactions, and while the charter of privileges was under consideration and preparing, the disagreement, which had before appeared between the members of assembly for the province, and those for the territories, began again to exhibit itself, and tend to an open rupture. The territory men were said to have been for obtaining some exclusive powers, particular to themselves, which, being thought unreasonable, could not, therefore, be granted; and not being able to carry their point, on the 10th instant, the members for the territories abruptly left the house; declaring their intention of returning to their respective homes. But, on the 14th, most of them appeared before the proprietary in council, remonstrating against some proceedings of the assembly, on the 10th instant, which they declared were in their consequences highly injurious and destructive to the privileges of the "lower counties," and which, consistent with their duty to their constituents, they apprehended they could not sit to see carried into effect; and therefore they informed the governor they thought it best for them to depart to their respective habitations.

The proprietary inquired into the affair, and heard and answered all their reasons and objections; and then told them, "That he took this their conduct very unkind, even to himself in particular."

At another meeting of the proprietary and members of council, on the same day, the assembly being sent for, both those for the province, and the seceding members appeared; and the proprietary told them, "That his time being short, he must come briefly to the point; that it was no small wound to him, to think, that at the earnest desire of the lower counties, as well as the good-will of the upper, he had engaged in an undertaking, which cost him, at least, two or three thousand pounds to unite them, and yet, that they should now endanger that union, and divide, after they had been recognised as one, not only by the king's commission to Governor Fletcher, but also by his letters patent, for his own restoration, and the king's several letters: he therefore would not have any thing resolved on, but what was considerate and weighty, lest it should look as unkind, and now, at his departure, carry a very ill report of them to England."

The territory members objected, that they were great sufferers by that act of union, however it was at first intended; and could not support the burden of the charge



The proprietary replied, "They were free to break off, and might act distinctly by themselves;" at which they seemed pleased, and expressed their satisfaction; "but then," continued the proprietary, "it must be upon amicable terms, and a good understanding; that they must first resolve to settle the laws; and that, as the interest of the province, and that of those lower counties would be inseparably the same, they should both use a conduct consistent with that relation," &c.

They appear to have remained obstinate, by the following letter of the proprietary; which was sent the next day, to the speaker, to be communicated to the whole house.

"Friends,

"Your union is what I desire; but your peace, and accommodating one another, is what I must expect from you: the reputation of it is something; the reality much more. And I desire you to remember and observe what I say: yield in circumstances, to preserve essentials; and, being safe in one another, you will always be so in esteem with me. Make me not sad, now I am going to leave you; since it is for you, as well as for,

"Your friend and proprietary and governor,  
"WILLIAM PENN."

"October 15th, 1701."

The proprietary's influence and authority appear to have prevailed on them, to a present accommodation, with the provision, in the following charter, for a conditional separation, if they chose it, within the space of three years.

In May 1700, the former charter had been surrendered into the hands of the proprietary and governor, by six parts in seven of the assembly; and on the 28th day of October 1701, just before his departure, the council, the assembly of the province, and several of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia attending, he presented them with their last charter of privileges, which is as follows:—

"The Charter of Privileges,

"Granted by William Penn, Esq., to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and territories.

"William Penn, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging to all, to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting:—

"Whereas, King Charles II., by his letters patent, under the great seal of England, bearing date the fourth day of March, in the year 1680, was graciously pleased to give and grant unto me, and my heirs and assigns for ever, this province of Pennsylvania, with divers great powers and jurisdictions, for the well government thereof.

"And whereas, the king's dearest brother, James, duke of York and Albany, &c. by his deeds of feoffment, under his hand and seal, duly perfected, bearing date the 24th day of August, 1682, did grant unto me, my heirs and assigns, all that tract of land, now called the territories of Pennsylvania, together with powers and jurisdictions for the good government thereof.

"And whereas, for the encouragement of all the freemen and planters that might be concerned in the said province and territories, and for the good government thereof, I, the said William Penn, in the year 1683, for me, my years and assigns, did grant and confirm unto all the freemen, planters and adventurers therein, divers liberties, franchises and properties, as, by the said grant, entitled, "The frame of the government of the province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging, in

America," may appear; which charter, or frame, being found, in some parts of it, not so suitable to the present circumstances of the inhabitants, was, in the third month, in the year 1700, delivered up to me, by six parts of seven of the freemen of this province and territories, in general assembly met, provision being made in the said charter for that end and purpose.

"And whereas, I was then pleased to promise that I would restore the said charter to them again, with necessary alterations, or, in lieu thereof, give them another, better adapted to answer the present circumstances and conditions of the said inhabitants; which they have now by the representatives, in general assembly met, at Philadelphia, requested me to grant.

"Know ye therefore, That, for the further well-being, and good government of the said province and territories; and in pursuance of the rights and powers before mentioned, I, the said William Penn, do declare, grant and confirm unto all the freemen, planters and adventurers, and other inhabitants of, and in, the said province and territories thereto annexed, for ever.

"I. Because no people can be truly happy, though under the greatest enjoyment of civil liberties, if abridged of the freedom of their consciences, as to religious profession and worship; and Almighty God being the only Lord of conscience, Father of lights and spirits; and the author, as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith and worship, who only doth enlighten the mind, and persuade and convince the understandings of people, I do hereby grant and declare that no person or persons, inhabiting this province or territories, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God, the Creator, upholder, and ruler of the world; and profess him, or themselves obliged to live quietly under the civil government, shall be in any case molested, or prejudiced in his or their person, or estate, because of his or their conscientious persuasion, or practice, nor be compelled to frequent, or maintain, any religious worship, place or ministry, contrary to his, or their mind, or to do or suffer any other act, or thing contrary to their religious persuasion.

"And that all persons, who also profess to believe in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, shall be capable (notwithstanding their other persuasions, or practices in point of conscience and religion) to serve this government in any capacity, both legislatively and executively, he, or they solemnly promising, when lawfully required, allegiance to the king, as sovereign, and fidelity to the proprietary and governor, and taking the attests, as now established by law, made at Newcastle, in the year 1700, entitled, 'An act directing the attests of several officers and ministers,' as now amended and confirmed this present assembly.

"II. For the well-governing of this province and territories, there shall be an assembly, yearly chosen by the freemen thereof, to consist of four persons out of each county, of most note for virtue, wisdom and ability (or of a greater number at any time, as the governor and assembly shall agree), upon the first day of October, for ever; and shall sit on the fourteenth of the same month at Philadelphia, unless the governor and council, for the time being, shall see cause to appoint another place, within the said province or territories: which assembly shall have power to choose a speaker, and other their officers; and shall be judges of the qualifications and elections of their own members; sit

upon their own adjournments, appoint committees; propose bills, in order to pass into laws; impeach criminals and redress grievances; and shall have all other powers and privileges of an assembly, according to the rights of the freeborn subjects of England, and as is usual in any of the king's plantations in America.

"And if any county, or counties shall refuse, or neglect to choose their respective representatives, as aforesaid, or if chosen, do not meet to serve in assembly, those, who are so chosen and met, shall have the full power of an assembly, in as ample a manner as if all the representatives had been chosen and met, provided they are not less than two-thirds of the whole number, that ought to meet.

"And, that the qualifications of electors and elected, and all other matters and things relating to elections of representatives to serve in assemblies, though not herein particularly expressed, shall be and remain, as by a law of this government, made at Newcastle, in the year 1700, entitled, 'An act to ascertain the number of members of assembly, and to regulate the elections.'

"III. That the freemen in each respective county, at the time and place of meeting, for electing their representatives, to serve in assembly, may, so often as there shall be occasion, choose a double number of persons, to present to the governor, for sheriffs and coroners, to serve for three years if they so long behave themselves well, out of which elections and presentments the governor shall nominate and commissionate one for each of the said offices, the third after such presentment, or else the first named in such presentment, for each office as aforesaid, shall stand and serve in that office for the time before respectively limited: in case of death and default such vacancies shall be supplied by the governor, to serve to the end of the said term.

"Provided always, 'That, if the said freemen shall at any time neglect, or decline to choose a person, or persons, for either, or both the aforesaid offices, then, and in such case, the persons that are, or shall be, in the respective offices of sheriffs or coroners, at the time of election, shall remain therein, until they shall be removed by another election, as aforesaid.

"And, that the justices of the respective counties shall, or may nominate, or present to the governor, three persons, to serve for clerk of the peace for the said county, when there is a vacancy; one of which the governor shall commissionate within ten days after such presentment, or else the first nominated, shall serve in the said office, during good behaviour.

"IV. That the laws of this government shall be in this style, viz. 'By the governor, with the consent and approbation of the freemen in general assembly met,' and shall be, after confirmation by the governor, forthwith recorded in the rolls-office, and kept at Philadelphia; unless the governor and assembly shall agree to appoint another place.

"V. That all criminals shall have the same privileges of witnesses and council as their prosecutors.

"VI. That no person or persons shall, or may, at any time hereafter, be obliged to answer any complaint, matter, or thing whatsoever relating to property, before the governor and council, or in any other place, but in the ordinary courts of justice, unless appeals thereunto shall be hereafter by law appointed.

"VII. That no person within this government shall be licensed by the governor to keep ordinary,

tavern, or house of public entertainment, but such who are first recommended to him, under the hands of the justices of the respective counties, signed in open court; which justices are, and shall be, hereby empowered to suppress and forbid any person keeping such public house, as aforesaid, upon their misbehaviour, on such penalties, as the law doth, or shall direct; and to recommend others, from time to time, as they shall see occasion.

"VIII. If any person, through temptation, or melancholy, shall destroy himself, his estate, real and personal, shall, notwithstanding, descend to his wife and children, or relations, as if he had died a natural death; and if any person shall be destroyed or killed by casualty, or accident, there shall be no forfeiture to the governor by reason thereof.

"And no act, law, or ordinance whatsoever shall, at any time, hereafter be made or done, to alter, change, or diminish the form, or effect of this charter, or of any part, or clause, therein, contrary to the true intent, and meaning thereof, without the consent of the governor, for the time being, and six parts of seven of the assembly met.

"And, because the happiness of mankind depends so much upon the enjoying of liberty of their consciences, as aforesaid, I do hereby solemnly declare, promise and grant, for me, my heirs and assigns, that the first article of this charter, relating to liberty of conscience, and every part and clause therein, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, shall be kept, and remain, without any alteration, inviolably for ever.

"And lastly, I, the said William Penn, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging, for myself, my heirs and assigns, have solemnly declared, granted, and confirmed, and do hereby solemnly declare, grant, and confirm, that neither I, my heirs or assigns, shall procure or do any thing, or things, whereby the liberties in this charter contained and expressed, nor any part thereof, shall be infringed or broken: and if any thing shall be procured or done, by any person or persons, contrary to these presents, it shall be held of no force or effect.

"In witness whereof, I, the said William Penn, of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, have unto this charter of liberties set my hand and broad seal, this 28th day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1701, being the thirteenth year of the reign of King William III., over England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c., and the 21st year of my government."

"And, notwithstanding the closure and test of this present charter, as aforesaid, I think fit to add this following proviso thereunto, as part of the same, that is to say, That, notwithstanding any clause or clauses in the above-mentioned charter, obliging the province and territories to join together in legislation, I am content, and do hereby declare, that if the representatives of the province and territories shall not hereafter agree to join together in legislation, and that the same shall be signified to me, or my deputy, in open assembly, or otherwise from under the hands and seals of the representatives, for the time being, of the province and territories, or the major part of either of them, at any time within three years from the date hereof, that, in such case, the inhabitants of each of the three counties of this province shall not have less than eight persons to represent them in assembly, for the province; and the inhabitants of the town of Philadelphia (when the said town is incorporated) two persons, to represent them in assembly; and

the inhabitants of each county in the territories shall have as many persons to represent them in a distinct assembly for the territories as shall be by them requested as aforesaid.

"Notwithstanding which separation of the province and territories, in respect of legislation, I do hereby promise, grant and declare, that the inhabitants of both province and territories shall separately enjoy all other liberties, privileges and benefits granted jointly to them in this charter, any law, usage, or custom of this government heretofore made and practised, or any law made and passed by the general assembly to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

"WILLIAM PENN."

"This charter of privileges being distinctly read in assembly, and the whole, and every part thereof, being approved of, and agreed to by us, we do thankfully receive the same from our proprietary and governor of Philadelphia, this 28th day of October, 1701.

"Signed on behalf, and by order of the assembly, per JOSEPH GROWDON, Speaker.

"Edward Shippen, Phineas Pemberton, Samuel Carpenter, Griffith Owen, Caleb Pusey, Thomas Story, proprietary and governor's council."

The proprietary likewise by letters patent, under the great seal, bearing even date with this charter, established a council of state for the province and territories, "To consult and assist the proprietary himself, or his lieutenants, or deputies, with the best of their advice and counsel, in public affairs and matters relating to the government, and to the peace, well-being and safety of the people thereof; and, in the absence of the proprietary, or upon the lieutenant's death, or incapacity, to exercise all, and singular, the powers of government," &c.

Moreover before the proprietary left the country, he favoured the town of Philadelphia, then become very considerable, and in a flourishing condition, with a particular memorial of his benevolence, by granting the inhabitants likewise a charter of privileges, for its particular regulation.

By this deed, Philadelphia is constituted a city, bounded, incorporated and endowed with certain privileges and immunities. Edward Shippen was appointed the first mayor; Thomas Story, the recorder, and Thomas Farmer, sheriff; and the first town-clerk, and clerk of the peace, court and courts, as appointed in this charter, was Robert Ashton. The first aldermen thereby appointed, were Joshua Carpenter, Griffith Jones, Anthony Morris, Joseph Wilcox, Nathan Stanbury, Charles Read, Thomas Masters, and William Carter.

The first common-council-men were, John Parsons, William Hudson, William Lee, Nehemiah Allen, Thomas Paschall, John Budd, junior, Edward Smont, Samuel Buckley, James Atkinson, Pentecost Teague, Francis Cook, and Henry Badcock. The Mayor to be chosen annually, by at least five of the aldermen, and nine of the common-council; whose number was to be unlimited; and they were afterwards to be chosen, in the same manner, by themselves, or by the corporation; consisting of the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common-councilmen, by the name of, "The mayor and commonalty of Philadelphia, &c."

Having constituted Andrew Hamilton, Esq. one of the proprietors of East New Jersey, and some time governor of both East and West New Jersey, his deputy-governor, Penn sailed for England; James Logan being, by commission, appointed secretary of the province, and clerk of the council

*King William dies, and is succeeded by Queen Anne—Penn in favour at court—Governor Hamilton's administration and death—Province and territories irreconcilable—They agree to a separation in legislation; Edward Shippen, president of the council—Resolve of the provincial assembly after separation—John Evans arrives as deputy-governor, and endeavours to reunite the province and territories in legislation, but in vain—The governor displeased with the assembly of the province—David Lloyd—Governor's proclamation for raising a militia—He meets the assembly of the territories at Newcastle—The provincial assembly remonstrate to the proprietary—The governor's speech in 1705—A very different assembly elected, and more harmony succeeds—Thomas Chalkley's visit to the Indians at Conestogo, with a memorial of him—Pennsylvania affected in times of war, on account of the Quakers' principles.*

Penn arrived at Portsmouth, about the middle of December. But after his return to England, the bill before mentioned, for reducing the proprietary governments into regal ones, which, through the solicitations of his friends, had been postponed, was entirely dropt. Soon after this, or, on the 18th of March 1702, King William died; and the Princess Anne, succeeding to the throne, commenced her reign; and Penn being in her favour, was often at court; and on that account, he took lodgings at Kensington.

Governor Hamilton's administration in Pennsylvania, after the proprietary's departure, continued only till the February in the next following year, when he died. The principal part of his time was taken up in endeavouring a union between the province and territories. For this purpose Hamilton laboured much with them, and used many arguments to induce them to unite, but without success. Upon his death the government devolved on the council, Edward Shippen being president.

During the period of this dispute for a union between the representatives of the province and territories, not much other public business of importance appears to have been transacted. The latter persisted in an absolute refusal to join with the former, in legislation, till it was finally, in the year 1703, agreed and settled between them, that they should compose different and distinct assemblies, entirely independent of each other; pursuant to the liberty allowed by a clause in the charter for that purpose.

The province now, by charter, also claimed a separate representative of its own, consisting of eight members for each of the three counties, and two for the city of Philadelphia; which members, being in Oct. 1703, convened and duly qualified according to law, their first resolution was in the following words:—

"Resolved, That the representatives, or delegates, of the freeholders of this province, according to the powers granted by the proprietary and governor, by his charter, dated the 28th day of October, anno Domini 1701, may meet in assembly, on the 14th day of October yearly, at Philadelphia, or elsewhere, as shall be appointed by the governor and council, for the time being; and so continue on their own adjournments, from time to time, during the year of their service, as they shall find occasion, or think fit, for preparing bills, debating thereon, and voting in order to their being passed into laws; appointing committees, redressing of grievances, and impeaching of criminals, as they shall see meet, in as ample a manner as any of the assera-

blies of this province and territories have hitherto at any time done, or might legally do, as effectually, to all intents and purposes, as any of the neighbouring governments, under the crown of England, have power to do, according to the rights and privileges of the freeborn subjects of England, as near as may be, respecting the infancy of the government, and the capacities of the people : and that the said assembly, as often as the governor for the time being shall require, attend on him, in order to legislation ; and to answer all other just ends of assemblies, in any emergencies, or reasons of state ; but shall not be subject at any time to be by him adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved."

After this, when the president and council proposed to confer with the assembly about a proper time to meet again, the latter assumed the power of adjourning wholly to themselves ; and upon the president and council's objecting against this extent of the assembly's claim of sitting wholly upon their own adjournments, &c., they immediately adjourned themselves to the 1st day of the ensuing May, without giving the council any further time to confer with them about it.

Such was the state of affairs, when John Evans, who was appointed deputy-governor by the proprietor, with the queen's royal approbation, on the death of Andrew Hamilton, arrived in the province, in February, 1704 ; and having first augmented the number of the members of council, in April convened the representatives both of the province and territories, at the same time and place, in the council-chamber in Philadelphia.

Governor Evans, notwithstanding the agreement made between the province and territories, before his arrival, respecting their future separation, in legislation, renewed the attempt for uniting them.

On this the members of the territories, who before appeared to have principally occasioned the division, now seemed inclined to accept the charter on certain conditions, and to unite with the members of the province ; but the latter, who had so long been hampered with the refractory behaviour of the former, now, in their turn, absolutely refused to be connected with them ; and adhered to their prior agreement for a separation.

Thus all negotiation on this head came to an end ; and the assembly of the province incurred the governor's displeasure, by refusing to comply with his recommendation ; which, with the disputes that afterwards arose between them, on three bills proposed by the assembly, one to confirm the great charter of privileges of the province, another to confirm that of the city of Philadelphia, and a bill of property, which the governor refused to pass, without such amendments as the assembly would not agree to, occasioned such a misunderstanding between the governor and the house, that but little of moment appears to have been transacted during the sittings of this, and the next succeeding assembly ; at the head of both which appeared David Lloyd, as speaker.

In the latter part of the year 1704, Governor Evans met the assembly of the lower counties at Newcastle ; which was the first assembly that had acted there in legislation, independent of the province. Prior to the proprietary's departure, he had published a proclamation, to raise a militia, among those whose religious persuasion did not prevent their bearing of arms ; it being in the time of the war between England, France, and Spain.

But, from what had already passed between the

governor, and the assembly of the province, the latter fell into such an ill humour, that in August, 1704, they privately drew up a remonstrance, in a letter to the proprietary ; which was said to be filled with complaints, highly reflecting, even on the proprietary himself, as well as the deputy-governor, Evans, and the secretary, James Logan. And some time after, when the governor heard of this, he, by a written message to the house, required a copy of it ; which occasioned further misunderstandings.

The effect which these proceedings had with the proprietary in England, may, in part, appear from the governor's speech to the assembly, in the early part of the year 1705, wherein he says ;

"The proprietary, gentlemen, is so far from agreeing with your opinion in these matters, that he is greatly surprised to see, instead of suitable supplies, for the maintenance of government, and defraying public charges, for the public safety, time only lost (while his constant expenses run on) in disputes upon heads, which he had as fully settled before his departure, as could on the best precautions, be thought convenient, or reasonable, even at a time when he was leaving you in doubt whether it would be possible to divert the bill, then moving in parliament, for annexing all these governments to the crown ; which being now diverted, and himself secure in the possession of his right, so long as his circumstances shall render the administration of it practicable, he is the more astonished to find you, for whose sakes chiefly, and not his own, he has undergone the late fatigues, and expensive troubles, in maintaining it, express no greater sense of gratitude, than has hitherto appeared.

"The proprietary also further assures us, that had those three bills (of which copies were sent home) been passed into acts here, they would certainly have been vacated by her majesty, being looked on by men of skill, to whom they have been shewn, as very great absurdities ; but, what I must not be silent in is, that he highly resents that heinous indignity, and most scandalous treatment he has met with, in a letter directed not only to himself, but also to be shown to some other persons, disaffected to him, in the name of the assembly and people of this province, of which I have formerly demanded a copy, but was then denied it, under pretence (when it was too late) that it should be recalled : if that letter was the act of the people truly represented, he thinks such proceedings are sufficient to cancel all obligations of care over them ; but if done by particular persons only, and 'tis an imposture in the name of the whole, he expects the country will purge themselves, and take care that due satisfaction be given him.

"The proprietary (who, it is well known, has hitherto supported this government) upon such treatment as he has met with, is frequently solicited to resign and throw up all, without any further care ; but his tenderness to those in the place, whom he knows to be still true and honest, prevails with him to give the people yet an opportunity of shewing what they will do, before all be brought to a closing period.

"Methods have been taken to provoke him to this, that there might be the greater shew of blame for it, when done, though it could not be avoided ; but assure yourselves, that he will be justified by all reasonable men, for withdrawing the exercise of his care over those, that being so often invited to it, take so little of themselves."

The nature and consequence of these disputes

appear to have caused a considerable change in the choice of the members of the next elected assembly, in October 1705; of which Joseph Growdon was speaker.

This assembly acted so very different from the two last preceding, as to produce a much better understanding between them and the governor, in consequence of which a great number of laws were passed, and the public affairs of the government, for a time, bore a more favourable and promising aspect.

In this year, 1705, Thomas Chalkley, a preacher among the Quakers, paid a religious visit to the Indians, at Conestogo, near the river Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania, in company with some of his friends, of the same religious society. The Indians, who consisted chiefly of Senecas and Shawanese, received them with great kindness: they were much affected by their visit, more especially a certain woman of eminence among them, who appeared to have authority, and spoke much in their councils; the reason for which was, when the Indians were asked, one of them replied, "Because some women are wiser than some men, and that she was an empress among them." She told Thomas Chalkley, and the other friends, that she looked upon their coming to be more than natural; because they did not come to buy nor sell, nor yet gain, but in love and respect to them, and desired their welfare both here and hereafter. She related to them a dream which she had three days before; which, being interpreted, was, "That she was in London, and that London was the finest place she ever saw, (it was like Philadelphia, but much larger,) and she went across six streets, and in the seventh she saw William Penn preaching to the people, which was a great multitude; and both she and William Penn rejoiced to see each other: after the meeting she went to him, and he told her, that in a little time he would come over and preach to them also; of which she was very glad: and now, she said, her dream was fulfilled; for one of his friends was come to preach to them." And she advised the Indians to hear and treat the friends kindly; which they accordingly did.

This one instance, among many which might be given, is here mentioned, to show the love and regard these people had for the memory of William Penn; as the consequence of his just and kind treatment of them; and the sense which they had of his regard for their real good and true happiness.

England was now at war with France and Spain; in consequence of which no part of the British dominions could be entirely exempt from danger. In all times of war Pennsylvania is said to have been exposed more or less to difficulties, on account of the Quakers, who were the most important and considerable part of the inhabitants, being principled against war of every kind: but then, in consequence of their pacific conduct, it was manifest, more happy effects were produced, in proportion as the arts of peace in a sober and industrious people are preferable to those of war; though they were strenuously opposed, as well by the internal as by the external enemies of the constitution of the province; and that both through ignorance and design.

*Governor Evans's disposition and conduct—His treatment of the Quakers's principles on war—False alarm at Philadelphia—Fort and exactions at Newcastle—Assembly's address to the governor—Further proceeding and dispute between the governor and assembly—Assembly displeased with the secretary,*

*James Logan—The assembly impeach the secretary—Holds of a remonstrance to the proprietor—Difficulties of the proprietor about this time.*

(1705.) Governor Evans appears to have been an active young man, zealous to promote what he thought the service and interest of the proprietary required, but not sufficiently studying the genius and disposition of the people over whom he presided. His zeal to push his own views in some things, contrary to those of the assembly, tended to produce such extreme opposition and dislike between them, as might have had fatal effects; and his private life and conduct are represented to have been such as rendered him offensive to a sober and religious people. He was not said to want ingenuity nor abilities so much as a proper application of them. But his disappointment, on his first arrival, in not being able to prevail on the assembly of the province to admit of a reunion with that of the territories, which he had so much set his mind upon, appear to have occasioned his imprudently joining with the assembly of the latter in some acts which seemed more calculated to inconvenience the province, than for any real utility to either.

He had endeavoured to form a militia through the government, but, so far as appears, not with much success. He knew the Quakers' principles were against bearing arms and war, yet he appears to have regarded and treated the principles of the Quakers, in respect to self-defence, as a mere opinion which would never endure a serious trial; and by the following imprudent scheme and experiment, instead of answering any useful intention to the public, he is said not only to have alienated the Quakers further from him, but also highly disgusted such of the people in general as were not concerned in the contrivance or execution of it.

(1706.) The governor, in conjunction with Robert French, of Newcastle, Thomas Clark, an attorney, of Philadelphia, and some others of his associates, it is said, for their diversion, and to try the disposition of the people,—but most probably that of the Quakers chiefly,—concerted a scheme to raise and carry on a false alarm, in order most effectually to terrify the inhabitants by a sudden surprise, and thereby oblige them to have recourse to arms for their defence.

It was at the time of the fair in Philadelphia, on the 16th of May, 1706, that this plot was put in execution. French acted at Newcastle, by sending up a messenger to the governor at Philadelphia, in the greatest haste and apparent consternation, to acquaint him that a number of vessels were then actually in the river, and as high up as a place which he named. Upon this news, immediately the governor acted his part; and, by his emissaries, made it circulate through the city; while himself with a drawn sword in his hand, on horseback, rode through the streets, in seeming great commotion, and commanded and entreated people of all ranks to assist in the emergency.

The stratagem in part succeeded; and the suddenness of the surprise threw many of the people into very great fright and consternation, insomuch that it is said some threw their plate and most valuable effects down their wells, that others hid themselves in the best manner they could, while many retired further up the river, with what they could most readily carry off; so that some of the creeks seemed full of boats and small craft; those of a larger size running as far as Burlington, and some higher up the river.

But the design, it is said, was suspected by the more considerate part of the people, even at the beginning; and endeavours were used to prevent its taking effect; but the conduct and artifice of the governor, with the help of his numerous assistants, and the easy credulity, common to the more inconsiderate part of the people, very much frustrated these endeavours.

James Logan, the secretary, though he was one of the people called Quakers, was accused or suspected of being privy to the affair. He denied the charge; but endeavoured to excuse the governor; which rendered him the more suspected. The design, though it had such a considerable effect, turned out entirely contrary to the expectation of the authors and promoters of it; for the people were soon undeceived; and when they saw how grossly they had been imposed upon, many of them so highly resented it, that the authors and promoters were now obliged to secure their own safety from the fury of an enraged populace.

As to the Quakers, it is said the principal part of them were attending their religious meeting as usual on that day of the week, even in the midst of the confusion; and, as if they were aware of the design, behaved themselves so far consistently, that only four persons, who had any pretence to be accounted of that society, appeared under arms, at the place of rendezvous appointed on the occasion.

With this action, whereby the governor rendered himself odious to the generality of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, may be mentioned the following; by which he incurred, in a particular manner, the displeasure of the trading part of the province.

Soon after the assembly of the territories had met, independently of the province, the governor proposed to them the building a fort at Newcastle; upon which a law was passed there, entitled, "An act for erecting and maintaining a fort for her majesty's service, at the town of Newcastle upon Delaware." This law imposed a duty of half-a-pound of gunpowder, for every ton, on all vessels, except ships of war; the major part was not owned by persons residing on the river and bay of Delaware; and by it all vessels, both inward and outward, were obliged to stop, drop anchor, and the commander to go on shore, make report, and have leave to pass, from the commanding officer of the said fort, under penalty of paying five pounds; besides twenty shillings for the first gun, thirty for the second, and forty for every gun afterwards, that should be fired on the occasion, in case of neglect, besides the forfeiture of five pounds, for contempt.

This law was considered as a manifest infraction of the privileges granted by the royal charter, and still more so, from the manner in which it was put in execution; for they had legally an undoubted right to the free use of the river and bay; and the violent means which became necessary to enforce so unjust a law, soon became a great nuisance, and an intolerable grievance to the trading part of Pennsylvania, and others concerned in its commerce. Besides, it was alleged, that the fort itself, as it was situated and circumstanced, had it been under better management, and more warrantable direction, could not possibly be much security to the river, nor protection to the vessels that might happen to be chased or assaulted in it.

The city of Philadelphia was much concerned at these proceedings, and the traders were highly incensed at this invasion of their immunities; and

accordingly endeavours were used to have the affair properly redressed, but without success.

At length Richard Hill, one of the governor's council, a bold man, and of considerable abilities and influence in the province, together with Isaac Norris and Samuel Preston, all Quakers, and men of the first rank and esteem, were determined to try to remove this nuisance, by a different method from any that had been yet attempted.

Hill had a vessel, named the *Philadelphia*; then loaded and just going out to sea; but doubting of his captain's resolution to pass the fort, without submitting to the imposition, he, in company with the other two, went in the vessel down the river, and dropt anchor a little before they came to the fort; Norris and Preston went on shore, to inform the officers, at the fort, that the vessel was regularly cleared; and to use such persuasion, as they were capable of, that she might pass without interruption, &c., but to no purpose. Hill, therefore, taking command of the sloop, stood to the helm, and passed the fort, without receiving any damage, though the firing was kept up till he was clear; and the guns were pointed in such a direction, that a shot went through the mainsail. As soon as the sloop was got clear of the fort, John French, the commander of it, put off in a boat, manned and armed, in order to bring her to, in that manner; when he came along side, Hill ordered a rope to be thrown him, upon which they fastened the boat, and French went on board; the rope was then immediately cut, and the boat falling a stern, French was conducted a prisoner to the cabin; who pleaded his indisposition of body: upon which Hill asked him, "If that really was the case, why did he come there?" Lord Cornbury, governor of New Jersey, and as such claiming to be vice-admiral of the river Delaware, happened at that time to be at Salem, a little lower down, on the Jersey side of the river; and to him the prisoner was conveyed, to give an account of his conduct. In this place, after French, in a coarse manner, had been sufficiently reprimanded by Lord Cornbury, upon a suitable submission and promises made, he was at length dismissed, but not without marks of derision from some of the attendants.

This put a finishing stroke to these proceedings at the fort of Newcastle; and thus ended the enterprise. But Hill did not suffer the affair to rest here; for, accompanied by a large number of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, he attended the general assembly; and, by petition, laid the affair before them; which produced an address to the governor, from the house, without so much as one dissenting vote, dated the 10th of May, 1707, highly resenting these proceedings. And it does not appear that they were afterwards continued.

The act of assembly, for establishing courts of judicature in the province, in the year 1701, having been repealed by the crown, the governor, in order to supply the intention of that act, for the regulation of courts, recommended to the consideration of the house, the draught of a bill, which he had prepared for that purpose. This the assembly not only rejected, but drew up one themselves, instead of it, so widely different, that the governor and they were not able to agree to it. Some of the enactments being described by the governor, as tending to "break in upon the proprietary's powers of government, or his just interest." After much dispute and altercation, and time spent to no purpose, the governor proceeded, by an ordinance, in such case



promised in the royal charter, to open the courts of justice, till better provision and regulation should be made by act of assembly.

The house being disappointed in not carrying their point, in the manner they desired, were very much chagrined. They were headed by David Lloyd, their speaker, as before mentioned, a person of great esteem, popularity, and good character. He had been brought up to the law; but through most of his public conduct, appears to have distinguished himself in nothing so much, as by his constant opposition to the claims of the proprietary. Having failed in this contest with the governor, the assembly were determined, if possible, to take their revenge on the secretary, James Logan, who was also one of the council; and they accordingly pointed the force of their resentment against him; whom they regarded in great measure, as the cause of their miscarriage in the bill of courts, and of much of the misunderstanding between them and the governor.

James Logan was a man of considerable abilities, and was perhaps exceeded by few, in the province, in that respect. He espoused and firmly supported the proprietary's interest, and had great influence in the council; but to persons of inferior abilities, he is represented by some to have conducted himself in a manner which rendered him somewhat unpopular, and sometimes provoked his enemies to carry their animosity against him to unwarrantable extremes.

The nature and length of this, and other disputes, with the odium, which some parts of the governor's private conduct are said to have created, very much lessened his authority, and raised the spirit of party to a higher degree than had been known before. The consequence of which was, proceedings more or less indefensible on both sides: a detail of which, as they are published in the journals, or votes of the house of assembly of those times, would be too tedious here to be minutely stated. They produced a number of accusations against the secretary; which the assembly styled "articles of impeachment." Upon these the assembly took measures to impeach him in form, before the governor, as an evil counsellor, and guilty of high misdemeanors. But through the governor's management and protection, they were not able to effect any thing further against him; and there is on record his petition to the governor and council, requesting that proper measures should be taken to clear his character from the false representations and gross abuses of the assembly, by a fair trial.

The assembly being thus repulsed in respect to Logan, were still more exasperated; and so much were they displeased with the governor's conduct, that they were determined to endeavour to have him removed. For this purpose, therefore, in the summer of the year 1707, the assembly drew up a remonstrance to the proprietary, containing the particulars of his alleged mal-administration, with a complaint against James Logan; the principal of which have already been mentioned. In this remonstrance, after having reminded the proprietary of their former complaints, in the year 1704, they further represent:—

"The lieutenant-governor's abominable and unwarrantable conduct with the Indians, on a visit to them, at Conestogoe.

"His refusing to pass the bill of courts, without their agreeing to his amendments; though they only left two of his objections unremoved; and his setting up courts by his ordinance.

"His refusal to try the secretary upon their impeachment, by questioning his own authority to judge, and their's to impeach, in the method they proposed.

"His imposition on the trade of the province, by means of the law passed at Newcastle; whereby he unjustly exacted large sums of the people; with the abuses and consequences of the said law

"Certain unjustifiable and oppressive proceedings, respecting the militia, which he had formed, according to his proclamation before mentioned.

"His refusing to pass a bill in the year 1704, to explain and confirm the charter of the city of Philadelphia. The multiplying of taverns and ale-houses in the city, as nurseries of vice, by his means; and his imposing licences on the keepers of those houses, without law, or precedent.

"His refusing to pass a bill in 1704, for explaining and confirming the charter of privileges of the province; his rejecting the people's choice of sheriff and coroner, for the city and county of Philadelphia, in said year, contrary to the said charter: his licensing several taverns and ale-houses in Philadelphia, against, and without the recommendation of the city magistrates; with his sending a message to dismiss the assembly, on their complaining of his conduct against the form and effect of said charter, and known usage, &c.

"His appropriating certain monies to his own use which the assembly intended otherwise; and his secreting the objections of the lords of trade to certain laws which had been repealed; whereby they fell again into the same error.

"The project and consequences of the false alarm.

"The arbitrary exaction of twelve shillings from every master of a vessel outward bound, for a 'let-pass,' notwithstanding their being cleared, according to the acts of navigation.

"His permitting French Papists to trade with, and reside among the Indians, and their wicked behaviour among them.

"His granting a commission for privateering, in 1706.

"His beating and evilly treating Solomon Cresson, the constable, for doing his duty at a tavern, in one of his midnight revels; though he knew not that the governor was there.

"His excesses and debaucheries, to the great encouragement of wickedness, and weakening the hands of the magistrates, by his ill example, &c."

And against the secretary, James Logan, it was alleged,—

"That he knew the above-mentioned alarm was false; but, instead of using such means as were in his power to prevent it, he, by his conduct, under pretence of coming at the truth of the affair, made it worse.

"That, as commissioner of property, to manage the proprietary's land affairs, he had detained certain deeds for lands, from the owners unjustly; and to some persons, denied patents for their lands, to which they were entitled.

"That he had appointed wood-rangers at large, over the located lands of the inhabitants, in common with those of the proprietary; for which he had no right; in which accordingly they took up strays, &c. in an indiscriminate manner; which ought to have been restricted solely to the proprietary's lands."

The "remonstrance" whence these were extracted, was sent to their agents, George Whitehead, Wil-

nam Mead, and Thomas Lover, in London; with a very angry letter, to be communicated to the proprietary.

The governor, having intelligence of what was going forward in the assembly, by a message to the house, required them to lay before him the address or representation, which he was informed they intended to send to England; and desired they would not presume to send any thing of that nature out of the government, till the same had been fully communicated to him, according to justice, and the practice of other governments. This had no effect with them; and the assembly adjourned to the 23d of September.

On the first of October, at the anniversary election, the choice of representatives, in assembly, falling mostly on the same persons, as in the preceding year, consequently but little of moment was done in the public affairs of the government, besides the continuation of the former disputes and alterations, respecting the bill of courts, and the other obnoxious parts of the governor's administration; whence both sides became less disposed to unite in any salutary purpose, for the public good.

But it is observed of these proceedings; that although the parties were very free with each other's conduct, yet they kept within the rules of decorum; and, in all their differences, both parties, in the strongest terms, professed their sincerest desires and intentions thereby, for the service of their country; and that they had nothing so much in view, in these proceedings, as the real and best advantage of the community.

In this state continued the affairs of the province till the beginning of the year 1709, when the assembly's complaints to the proprietary having proved effectual, Governor Evans was removed from the administration, and Charles Gookin succeeded him in the government.

It appears not improbable, but that the proprietary for some time past must have been under no small uneasiness and difficulty respecting his province. His great generosity and expense, in settling it, with his other acts of beneficence, and the attention due to such a series of conduct, had so far impaired his estate in Europe, and involved him in debt, that in the year 1708, in order to pay the same, he borrowed from certain of his friends a large sum of money; for which he mortgaged the province.

Besides, it cannot be supposed, but that the nature of the disputes between the assembly and his deputy-governor must have been very disagreeable to him; for, notwithstanding what appears to have been defective in the conduct of the latter, it was then visible, and more so afterwards, in part of the transactions of some of these assemblies, that a discontented and factious disposition was increasing in the province; endeavouring to render the government uneasy to him. It is certain that, had the proprietary made use of the means, then absolutely in his power, and which would have been to his immediate advantage, he might have disposed of the government to the crown; to which his private circumstances, the solicitations of the ministry, and this conduct in the province, so much incited him.

*Governor Gookin arrives—Assembly's address to the governor—They continue their former animosity—The governor's answer; to which the assembly reply—The council's address to the governor—The assembly displeased with the council, and present a*

*remonstrance of grievances to the governor—The governor's speech to the assembly, containing a military requisition in 1709.*

Governor Gookin arrived at Philadelphia, in the first month, March, 1709. The proprietary, in a letter to his friends in the province, recommended him as a person of experience and moderation, as well as of good character and abilities; descended of a good family in Ireland; and that, having taken leave of a military life, and his native country, he came with intention, if he found the place agreeable to his expectation, to settle, and spend the remainder of his life and fortune in the province.

The assembly was sitting at the time of his arrival, and immediately presented him with the following congratulatory address.

"The address of the representatives of the free-men of the province of Pennsylvania, in assembly met, the 9th day of the month called March, 1709, presented to Charles Gookin, Esq., by the queen's royal approbation, lieutenant-governor of the said province, &c.

"May it please the Governor,

"Having this opportunity, we can do no less than congratulate thy seasonable accession to this government, and render our most grateful acknowledgments to the queen, for her gracious acceptance of the proprietary's nomination of thee, to supply his absence, and to him, for constituting a person of so fair a character, furnished, as we hope, with a full resolution, as well as power, to redress the grievances, and remove the oppressions that this poor province has, for some time, laboured under, occasioned by the irregular administration of the late deputy-governor; who was too much influenced by evil counsel; to which the miseries and confusion of the state, and divisions in the government, are principally owing.

"We are ready to represent such of those public grievances as are laid before us, or occur to our knowledge, in particular articles, and bring them to a proper examen; but, perceiving by thy message to the house yesterday, that thou art not ready, at this time, to proceed with us to business, we shall take leave only to mention some of those things, of which the public weal of this country loudly calls for a most earnest application and speedy redress.

"In the first place, we are to lay before thee that of the false alarm in May 1706; wherein the late governor was chief actor; and for which he is highly chargeable; having shot at the queen's subjects, putting many of the inhabitants of this town in danger of their lives, and forced great quantities of powder and lead from the owners, and gave it to such as wasted it, when he knew there was no occasion to use it; whereby he deprived the place of what ammunition might be ready for those, that had freedom to make use of it for their defence in case of an attack.

"The next is that notorious act of hostility he committed by firing shot at the queen's subjects passing by Newcastle in the river, upon their lawful trade to and from this port.

"We mention these, as they are, in our opinion, offences of a deep dye, and committed against the queen's crown and dignity, as well as against the peace, and ought to be charged upon him, before he departs this province; but the method of the prosecution against him we submit to thy prudent care and discretion, and we shall be ready to do what is proper on our parts.

"That the treasurer (S. Carpenter) of the last tax has refused to comply with the directions of the assembly in paying the public debts, according to the respective orders drawn upon him, and signed by the speaker; and that the collectors of the said tax who neglected their duty in gathering the same, have not been obliged thereunto, according as the act of assembly in that case directs, and more particularly the collector of the city and county of Philadelphia.

"That the courts of judicature of this province have been, and are, erected by ordinances of the governor and council, against the advice, and without the assent of the assembly; which we complain of as a great oppression and aggravance to the people we represent, and desire the same may be speedily redressed, and the bill prepared for the establishing courts, with other useful bills, ready to be presented to the governor, may be considered.

"We are given to understand that thou brought some commands from the queen to this government, as well as instructions from the proprietary, relating to the public, which, with a copy of thy commission, and the royal approbation, we desire may be communicated to this house at our next meeting, which we intend on the 20th day of the next month, and shall adjourn accordingly, unless it be thy pleasure to call us sooner; which we shall be ready to comply with, not only in expectation of a speedy redress of our grievances, but to settle by law, how money shall be paid upon contracts made, before the new currency of money takes effect.

"Signed by order of the House,

"DAVID LLOYD, Speaker."

Thus, by the assembly's very first address to Governor Gookin, were the former animosities continued; for the principal and ruling members of the house were still the same, who had so long been accustomed to complain of grievances, or imagine things of that kind. Evans's wrong or imprudent conduct had made such deep impression on their minds, and disposed them so much to a discontented and angry disposition, that in some of their representations, they appear not only to have exaggerated what might truly be called grievances, but also complained of many things as such, which, according to the laws and constitution, could not properly come under that name.

The governor gave a reply to the assembly's address on the 13th of April ensuing, as follows:—

"Gentlemen,

"It would have proved a much greater satisfaction to me, if at this first time of my speaking to you, I had nothing to take notice of, but what I myself might have to lay before you; but your address, presented to me in March last, when you sent me notice that you were sitting, will, before we proceed to any other business, require some answer; in which I will be plain and short, as the matter will bear.

"I thank you, gentlemen, for your congratulations, and do assure you, that I come with full resolutions on my part, to employ the power, with which the proprietary has thought fit to honour me, and her majesty has graciously pleased to approve of, to render the people of this government as happy and easy as is possible for me, in all things that shall concern their true interest, and be to their real advantage. I have enquired what might be meant by those aggressions, oppressions and confusions, which you complain of, and whatsoever I shall meet with, that deserves those names, shall have my

ready concurrence to remove them, as far as they shall appear; but I must say, that I believe, one effectual method to free all people from the apprehensions of grievances, will be to lay all former animosities and jealousies aside, and, for the future, apply themselves to such business as they are concerned in for the public, with a freedom and openness of temper, and an unbiassed inclination to promote the common good, without any other particular view: if we should be so fortunate as to take example from her majesty's glorious administration of her dominions at home, and that of her parliament, we should not fail of being extremely happy.

"As to those two past actions of my immediate predecessor, of which you complain, I can only inform you, that they were both well known in Britain, before I left it; and that I had no directions to make any enquiry into them; and that, upon the best advice I can receive here, I find they will not properly fall under my cognizance, in the station I am placed in, and therefore cannot think it fit to concern myself with them.

"But I am obliged to observe to you that the council of the province, now with me, think themselves very unjustly treated by the mention you have made of them, if they (as it is generally understood) be intended by the evil counsel, of which you have taken notice; and therefore will take the liberty to vindicate themselves, as you will see, by their application to me; to which I refer you.

"The charge against the treasurer, (S. Carpenter,) I find is occasioned by his and the council's understanding the act of assembly, by which the money, that comes into his hands, has been granted somewhat differently from what the present and late houses of representatives have done: he pleads the law, as his best direction; and you cannot but agree that it is fit that this alone (I mean the law,) ought to determine the matter. As far as I have hitherto been able, I have pressed the collection of the taxes, and shall continue the best of my care, until they be finished.

"The method of establishing courts by the governor and council, was also well understood in Great Britain, and was approved of there, as being grounded on unquestionable powers, granted the proprietary. The bill formerly proposed by the assembly for that purpose, which is now before the board, has not been allowed of; but seeing the present establishment, which was drawn, as I am informed, according to the plan laid down in that bill, carries some inconveniences with it, and requires an alteration, I shall be ready to agree to any other reasonable bill, that you shall hereafter propose, for settling courts of judicature, in such a regular method, as may be a lasting rule for holding them.

"I have no instructions, gentlemen, from her majesty, that will concern you; those from the proprietary being to myself, as occasion offers, and where it may be proper, I shall acquaint you with the particulars. I have ordered copies of my commission, and her majesty's approbation to be prepared and delivered to you.

"I should now propose to your serious consideration some other matters of the highest importance, without which government cannot long subsist; as a due provision for the support of it, and for the security of the people; but what I shall principally recommend to you, at this time, is the latter part of the last paragraph of your address, viz. To pre-

pare a bill for settling by law, how money shall be paid upon contracts made, and to be made, before the new currency of money takes effect: this, as I find, by the great uneasiness of the people, is a matter that will require a very speedy provision, and, therefore, hope you will find such just and equal methods for it, as neither the debtors, on the one hand, nor creditors on the other, may suffer by the alteration; to which I desire you may forthwith proceed, with as little loss of time as is possible; after which we may have opportunity to enter into consideration of such other matters as may naturally fall before you."

The governor's speech produced an answer from the assembly on the 14th; in which, besides insisting on what they had before advanced, they distinguished what they meant in their address, when they said, "The late governor was too much influenced by evil counsel," by expressly throwing the whole blame on James Logan, and some other persons, who were not of the governor's council. They also promised to make due provision for the support of government; and agreed to consider and prepare the bill, which the governor recommended, as a very necessary part of their business; and then they hoped and expected a redress of their grievances.

The following is the council's address to the governor, in reference to the "evil counsel," mentioned in the address of the assembly.

"To the honourable Charles Gookin, Esq. lieutenant-governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware.

"May it please the Governor,

"We, the members of council for the said province, who attended the board during the administration of the late lieutenant-governor, upon viewing the address presented by the assembly on the 9th day of March last, think ourselves obliged to observe, that in the first paragraph of it, complaining of grievances and oppressions, which, they say, this province has, for some time laboured under, occasioned by the irregular administration of the late deputy-governor, they have thought fit to add these words, 'who was too much influenced by evil counsel;' to whom the miseries and confusions of the state, and divisions in the government, are principally owing.

"It was long, may it please the governor, before we could induce ourselves to believe, that men, so well acquainted with the characters of most of us, in our several stations in the country, could possibly intend us by the charge, until, by the observations of others, we were forced to take a nearer notice of the expressions; upon which we are sorry to find, that the word counsel, as there used, together with the general construction of the sentence, seems not to admit of any other interpretation, but that to us principally is owing whatever the assembly has thought fit to complain of, or can reduce, under the general terms they have used: if they will disavow any such intention, we shall crave no other satisfaction; but, if not, we must then desire that they, and all men concerned in these affairs, may know,—

"That, notwithstanding the proprietary and late lieutenant-governor, according to the established rules in all governments whatsoever, from the most polite to the most barbarous, nations in the world, finding themselves under a necessity of having a council about them, to advise with, in affairs of government, have thought fit to choose us for that

service, in which, according to our several solemn engagements, we have acquitted ourselves, to the best of our judgments and abilities, yet not one of us receives, or ever expects, any other advantage by it, than the satisfaction of having discharged our duties to the country we live in, and to advance the prosperity and happiness of it, as much as may lie in our power. We have no salaries, nor allowance paid us by the country for this, nor offices of profit to encourage us; what we do is at our own expense of time, trouble, and charge, and upon our own estates is all our dependence, which, giving us as good an interest in the country as others can pretend to, and being out of the reach of any possible views different from the good of the whole, no man, without a manifest violence to his reason, can imagine but that we are as much concerned, and, therefore, would be as careful to prevent and divert any miseries, confusions, or divisions, that may threaten the province, as any other set of men whatsoever; so that this charge from the assembly, if levelled against us, is not only unjust, but will be judged, we believe, exceedingly ungrateful, by all that impartially consider us, and our circumstances, among our neighbours.

"After this general accusation, involving us in all things that have been irregularly committed, or that any person can think so to have been, they enumerate four particulars, which they call grievances. To the two first we have nothing to say; and we hope no man can believe that any one of us was so much as privy to them, much less that we advised them; we here solemnly declare, each for himself, that we did not. The other two we acknowledge ourselves to be concerned in, and shall always justify: that is, first, That we advised the treasurer to take his directions from the law alone, and without regard to the partial order of the assembly to the contrary, to make his payments in equal portions; which, we hope, cannot be accounted a grievance: and in the next, To prevent the greatest of all possible grievances, the want of public justice, of which, by the measures taken by the assembly of that time, the country was long deprived; we advised the governor to make use of the powers with which he was unquestionably vested, to open the courts again, and to restore the courts of justice to the oppressed country; which had long languished through the want of it, until they could be otherwise established. Men unacquainted with affairs of this kind, and who must take their information from others, may be imposed on by persons of design, and believe that to be irregular, which, in itself, is a most wholesome and necessary act; but we can, with assurance, affirm, that we had full satisfaction, from men of the best abilities, that what we advised and concurred in this matter, was regular, just, and legal.

"Upon the whole, may it please the governor, though, on the one hand, we shall be exceedingly unwilling to have any misunderstanding with the representatives of the people, well knowing it to be an unhappiness, that all reasonable measures should be taken to prevent; yet, on the other, we shall not, by any contrivances, be diverted from discharging the trust reposed in us, during our continuance in this station, with honour and justice, to the best of our abilities; but, from time to time, shall offer to the governor such advice as we shall judge most conducive to the general good of the province; in the welfare of which we are so nearly concerned, in our several private interests; and in the meantime,

ope we may justly expect to be secured from calumny and misrepresentation.

"Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, Joseph Growdon, Jasper Yeates, Samuel Finney, William Trent, Caleb Pusey, Richard Hill.

"With an exception to what is said of offices of profit, though I enjoy none, as a member of council, I sign this. "JAMES LOGAN.

"Philadelphia, April 13, 1709."

The governor having laid this representation of the council before the assembly, it produced an address to him, by way of answer, from the house. In this they blamed the council, for seeming to apply to themselves, in general, what was meant by the words evil counsel; of which, they said, they had given their explanation before, in their answer to the governor's speech. They were displeased at the council's declaring they had nothing to say respecting the two particulars of Evans's conduct, mentioned in the assembly's address, viz. That of the false alarm, in 1706, and the affair at Newcastle. As to the other two points, in regard to the councils advising the treasurer and the governor, as they acknowledge themselves to have done; the assembly appeared incensed at the council's presuming to do the former, as it was not properly their office; and they censured them for opposing the late assembly in their advice to the governor, on the bill of courts, and their assenting, at the same time, to the governor's ordinance, for carrying into execution the same thing, and so nearly in the same manner, that the said bill was intended to do; in short, they were angry that the council should present (in their words, patronize) such an address, so opposite to the views of the house, and declared, they considered it as an indignity offered to them, as well as to the late assembly.

After this was laid before the governor, the assembly presented a remonstrance, complaining of many circumstances which they styled grievances, and requesting his concurrence to remove and redress the same. Some of these seem to have been very trifling, and to have been complained of to gratify the temper of the house; the rest have already been mostly mentioned.

The resentment of Lloyd, the speaker, against Logan, and the ready devotion of the house to his humour, are represented to have had too much place, in some of these transactions. It is scarcely to be doubted that there was real occasion, in some cases, to complain of grievances, which demanded proper attention and relief; but the word "grievance" was become common, and so often used, that its proper application seems not always to have been sufficiently attended to.

After having presented their remonstrance, the house adjourned; and at their next meeting, on the 1st of June, the governor made them the following speech, viz.

"Gentlemen,

"The queen, for the good of her subjects of the provinces, has fitted out an expedition with great expense, for the retaking of Newfoundland, and for the conquest of Canada, and has entrusted Colonel Vetch with her majesty's letters to the respective governors, and instructions to agree on proper measures, for putting her majesty's designs in execution. Boston, Rhode Island and Connecticut, have outdone her majesty's expectations; and I hope we shall not be wanting in our duty.

"The quota for this province is 150 men, besides officers, to be victualled and paid, as those of the

other governments; the charge, I suppose, will amount to about 4000*l*.

"Perhaps it may seem difficult to raise that number of men, in a country where most of the inhabitants are obliged, by their principles, not to make use of arms; but if you will raise, for the support of government, the sum demanded, I do not doubt getting the number of men, whose principles allow the use of them, and commissioners may be appointed for disposal of the country's money; that the people may be satisfied, that the money is applied to no other use than this expedition.

"I must recommend to you the present circumstances of the three lower counties; you are not now falsely alarmed; Newcastle seems the only place proper to make any defence; I find them ready and willing to do any thing in their power for the good of the country, and look on themselves as a frontier to you, though a weak one; and if they perish, in all probability, your destruction will not be far off; therefore, in my opinion, it is your interest, that they be furnished with all things necessary to oppose the enemy.

"I have only to add, that, as all private affairs ought to be postponed to her majesty's immediate service, so it will not consist with my duty to hearken to any proposals, or enter into any business with you, till her majesty's commands be complied with; and, therefore, desire you will give this affair all possible dispatch."

*The assembly vote a present to the queen—The governor not satisfied with their offer; and they adjourn*

*—Proceedings of the next meeting of assembly—*

*They agree to augment the sum, voted before to the queen; and request the governor's concurrence to divers bills—Further dispute between the governor and assembly; with reasons of the former for not agreeing with the latter; upon which they remonstrate to the governor, and are much displeased with the secretary, James Logan—Proceedings between the governor, and the next assembly—Their proceedings against James Logan—They are disappointed in their design against him by the governor—The secretary goes to England, &c.*

The assembly having considered the governor's speech, several of the members consulted a number of their principal constituents; and in their address, or answer to the governor, they declared,

"That were it not, that the raising of money to hire men to fight (or kill one another) was matter of conscience to them, and against their religious principles, they should not be wanting, according to their abilities, to contribute to those designs." They expressed their regard and loyalty to the queen, and their prayer for the long continuance of her reign, and concluded, "That, though they could not, for conscience sake, comply with the furnishing a supply for such a defence, as the governor proposed, yet, in point of gratitude to the queen, for her great and many favours to them, they had resolved to raise a present of 500*l*." &c.

To this they added, in their address, "That they humbly hoped he would be pleased to accept this, as a testimony of their unfeigned loyalty, and thankful acknowledgment for her grace and clemency towards them, and the rest of her subjects; and though the meanness of the present were such as was unworthy of the favour of her acceptance, (which indeed, said they, was caused not through want of good-will, and loyal affection, but by inability and poverty, occasioned by great losses, late

taxes misapplied, lowness of the staple commodities of the country, great damp upon trade, and their neighbours' non-compliance with the queen's proclamation for reducing the coin,) yet they hoped she would be graciously pleased to regard the hearty and cordial affections of them, her poor subjects, instead of a present of value; and to prevent misapplication thereof, they had agreed, that it should be accounted part of the queen's revenue.

"They, therefore, humbly entreated the governor to put a candid construction upon their proceedings, and represent them favourably to their gracious sovereign the queen; to whom they trusted they should ever approve themselves (though poor) her most loyal and dutiful subjects," &c.

The governor was dissatisfied with this answer, principally on account of the smallness of the sum; and, in reply, represented the urgent necessity of their further exerting themselves, on the occasion. But the assembly pleaded their poverty and inability, and adhered to their resolve of presenting the queen with 500*l.*, requesting the governor to consider the nature of such a refusal, and of his interposing between them and their sovereign, in such a case.

The governor again, in his turn, pressed their compliance to a more general contribution, declaring his present conduct in the affair, to be his indispensable duty, in consequence of the queen's letter; and of the utmost importance to them, to secure her favour, and disappoint those who desired a dissolution of the present government.

After this several messages and answers passed between the governor and assembly, on the subject, but without any effect; for the house, being determined to adhere to their resolve, declared, that, as the governor had refused to give his assent to their proposal of raising the 500*l.*, above mentioned, and to proceed to other business, till it was now late in the season, they would adjourn till the harvest was over.

Of this the governor, being informed by a written message from the house, it produced further altercation; the governor being determined to proceed to no other business till that of the queen was first settled; and the house declaring, they would not agree to the governor's proposal of raising money, either directly or indirectly, for the expedition to Canada, for the reasons they had given; yet they continued their resolution of raising 500*l.*, as a present to the queen, and intended to prepare a bill for that purpose, at their next meeting, on the 15th day of August next; to which time they adjourned.

The governor convened the assembly before the time, to which they had adjourned; and told them, "That their enemies, having plundered Lewistown, watered in the bay, and sounded it as they passed along, gave alarming apprehensions of a nearer visit; and that he demanded some provision to be immediately made, in case of emergency." "That the chiefs of several Indian nations, being in town, a supply was immediately requisite, to make them a suitable present; that the importance of their friendship, and the easy terms of maintaining it, were sufficiently evident." "That, of the money, which had been appropriated for that use, now nothing remained for a present to them; and that, though money could not so suddenly be raised, as the case required, yet they might find means to procure credit, so as that they might not go away

empty." "That there was no manner of provision for the governor's support; that the proprietary, on whom the assembly had too often had expectation in the case, had, by his late hard treatment, from some whom he had too far trusted, been entirely disabled (were it in itself reasonable) to continue any such provision; consequently their immediate resolution was absolutely necessary to contribute what was proper in this point; otherwise they must expect a change that would prove more chargeable."

The assembly expressed their concern for what had happened at Lewistown; and stated that the governor was already acquainted how far the generality of the people of the province could oppose such an attempt. They wondered that, after such large sums, raised for the support of government, they were notwithstanding left so unprovided, as the governor had represented; and they earnestly requested his assistance to call the late governor and secretary to account for the money, which, they said, should have been applied to the use of the public. To the 500*l.*, which they had already voted, they agreed to add 300*l.* more for the other necessary expenses, besides 200*l.* towards the governor's support. They intimated their expectation of his concurrence to redress their grievances, and recommended to his consideration a number of bills, prepared by former assemblies, and agreed to by the present; of which one was for establishing courts; to all which they desired to have his concurrence, or to know his objections.

These bills were twelve in number; their titles were, 1. For establishing courts of judicature, in the province. 2. For regulating and establishing fees. 3. For confirming patents and grants, and to prevent law-suits. 4. For empowering religious societies, towns, &c., to buy, hold and dispose of land, &c. 5. Of privilege to a freeman. 6. To oblige witnesses to give evidence, and to prevent false swearing. 7. To prevent the sale of ill-tanned leather. 8. That no public-house or inn, within the province, be kept without licence. 9. Against menacing, and assault and battery. 10. To prevent disputes, which may hereafter arise about dates of conveyances, and other instruments and writings. 11. For the more effectual raising of levies, in the several counties of the province, and the city of Philadelphia, and appropriating the same. 12. For the priority of the payment of debts to the inhabitants of this province.

The governor, in reply, acknowledged he was sensible, that many inhabitants of the province could not, in any case, bear arms; so he did not propose it to them, but only a necessary supply in money, without engaging any man against his religious persuasion. That, in regard to what they had said respecting Colonel Evans and the secretary, he could not understand it; the former having affirmed, he received only what was directly allowed by the assembly for his own support, and thought himself not at all accountable for it; and that the secretary seemed to wonder what should induce the house to name him upon that occasion; there being none of it payable to him, but for his own services as an officer. That he thanked them, for taking his support into their consideration, hoping future provision of that kind would be made more easy; and that he would readily agree to any thing consistent with his duty, and the trust reposed in him.

That, respecting the bills, the proprietary was not at all opposed to establishing courts by law,



yet his instructions would not permit him to agree to those points in the bill, which broke in, either upon his powers in government, or his just interest; why such a bill should interfere with these, he could not see; but as he was willing to agree to a bill, for the ease and security of the people, in that respect, properly regulated, and on his part, to do his duty, so he hoped they would be careful to offer him nothing that he could not assent to, without a violation of his honour and trust. He recommended their reviewing the bills, passed by the former assemblies; and thanked them for the provision, which they had made for the Indians. This speech concluded the sessions.

The assembly at their next sitting in August, notwithstanding the governor's warning, still remained tenacious of their own method, and adhered to their former claims. Upon which, at their next meeting, on the 28th of Sept., he sent them a written message, which concludes with the following paragraph:—

“But now, gentlemen, I must be so plain as to tell you, that, though I have been very desirous to see all these matters brought to a ripeness, that they might actually be passed into laws, yet, until I see the country as ready to discharge their duty, in providing for my support, in the administration, independent of any supply from the proprietary, who, as I told you before, cannot now (were it even reasonable) spare any part of his estate here, to that purpose, I shall account myself very unjust to the duty I owe myself, if I concur in any other public act in legislation, though truly inclinable to do all, for the advantage of the public, that can reasonably be expected from me: but a governor cannot lie under a greater obligation to the people, than they do to him; nor can that be accounted a free gift from them, which is but their indispensable duty; for at this time, there is no support for a governor in this government, but what must be granted by an act of an assembly. You have told me, that you had voted 500*l.* to the queen, 300*l.* for the service of the public, and 200*l.* to me; and you have lately informed me, that when I had passed the other acts, the speaker would present a bill to me, for raising that money. It is possible when the others were passed, the speaker might do so; but, can it, in reason, be expected, that, while you show so unprecedented and unusual a diffidence, on your side, that you would not so much as let me see the bill, but in private, nor allow, that it should, upon any terms, be communicated to the council, with whom I am to advise, (though you cannot but be sensible, that, should I design it, yet it is not in my power to pass a bill into a law, until the speaker has signed it,) which is usually done at the time of passing it. Could it be expected, I say, that I should pass all that you desired of me, and then depend on your presenting that bill? Or, can it be thought reasonable, or, for the security of the public, that I should pass an act, for raising and applying 800*l.* for several uses, besides those 200*l.* said to be granted to me, without taking proper advice upon it, of those, whom the discharge of my duty, as well as my inclinations, obliges me to consult, in all public matters; nor that I should have it in my power to object to, or alter, any part of the whole bill, after it is presented? No, gentlemen, as I have no designs but what are plain and honest, so I must expect a suitable treatment; and, therefore, I now desire you faithfully to lay before the people, whom you represent, and to whom you are returning, what I have here said to you; and, upon this occasion,

assure them from me, that unless they take care to grant a requisite support, and in such a manner, as is fit to be accepted, I shall not at all think myself concerned to attend the affairs of the public, in legislation; and what measures the proprietary will find himself obliged to take at home, I have formerly sufficiently hinted to you; but as I shall not be wanting, on my side, to concur in any thing that is reasonable, so I hope, the next time I meet the representatives of the people, we shall have such confidence in each other, and they will so far consider their duty, and take such methods, for effecting business, that all things necessary may be concluded to our mutual satisfaction, for the true advantage and benefit of this province.”

By this plain declaration of the governor, the assembly easily perceived, to their great mortification, that, in consequence of the proprietary's instructions, the governor could not pass any bill without the advice or approbation of his council; which, how reasonable soever it might appear in itself, was deemed to have no foundation in the royal charter; by which the whole power of legislation was understood to be vested in the governor, and the representatives of the people. This the house observed in their remonstrance to the governor the next day, declaring, that had they known he was so restricted, they would neither have given him, nor themselves, so much trouble as they had done: they likewise complained of some other matters, that were not redressed; but their greatest resentment appears, in this remonstrance, to be against the secretary, Logan; against whom is exhibited, in a very angry manner, a long complaint; representing him as the grand obstacle of their proceedings; and, that, though they had endeavoured to reduce him within proper bounds, yet, by reason of his great influence with the governor and proprietary, he was now advanced above their power; obstructing all their public transactions, and treating the members of the house with insult and abuse.

In the October following, the same members of assembly were principally re-elected, and David Lloyd was again chosen speaker. The governor, in his speech on the 17th, after having mentioned several other affairs, which were yet unfinished, pressed their making due provision for the support of the lieutenantancy of the government, and concluded his speech as follows:—

“Gentlemen, you are met for no other end, than to serve the country, whom you represent; I hope, therefore, you will study all possible means, that may contribute to the real happiness of that: which, I believe, you will find may be much promoted by improving a good understanding between you and me, in our respective stations.

“I would not willingly look back upon some of the proceedings of the last house, only from thence I must give you a necessary caution, to dwell less than has been done on that general language of evil counsel, or counsellors, generally used as an artful method, to strike at the counselled; but with me, I believe, without occasion; or that of grievances and oppressions, words, by God's blessing, understood by few (I find) in this province, who form them not in their own imaginations; for I assure you, gentlemen, if we are not as happy as the circumstances of the place will admit, it lies much in your power to make us so; of which I hope you will consider, and use your endeavours accordingly, with a full resolution to remove whatever may stand in the way.

"I have already said, that I would not look back to the proceedings of the last house; but the secretary has found himself so much aggrieved by their remonstrance, that he has presented for my perusal a long defence; in which I shall not think myself any further concerned, than to observe to you, that, to my surprise, he has charged the speaker of that house with some proceedings, which, if true, will require your consideration, and some further measures to be taken upon them; for which reason, I have ordered him to lay a copy of them before you; and I must say, if that representation be well grounded, I cannot see that, under this government, such a person can be accounted fit for that station; but at present I shall no further enquire into it, only recommend to you, to proceed with diligence, in whatever is incumbent on you, in your stations, as well in this as in all other matters that may concern the welfare of the public, and honour of this government, as now established."

This the assembly replied to the next day; telling the governor that, among other things, they also had under consideration the making provision for his support; and, after having made some angry reflections against the secretary, whom they considered, in great measure, as the cause of the misunderstanding between them and the governor, they proceeded to say; "But, may it please the governor, we beg leave to observe, that the duty incumbent on us, to contribute to this general support of the lieutenancy, is grounded upon a condition precedent; so that the people, according to the fundamental rules of the English government, are not obliged to contribute to the support of that administration, which affords them no redress when their rights are violated, their liberties infringed, and their representative body affronted and abused; hence it is, that that branch of the legislative authority seldom move to give supplies till their aggrivances are redressed, and reparation made, for the indignities they meet with from the other branch of the same authority."

"We are very sensible that the end of our meeting is to serve the country; and we assure the governor there shall be nothing wanting on our parts to promote it, and improve a good understanding between him and us, in our respective stations: but let not the language of the representatives of the people, about evil counsellors, grievances, and oppressions, be irksome to the governor; for we shall not answer the true end of our meeting, nor discharge our duty and trust to those that sent us, if we be silent, and not insist upon redressing those things that are amiss, with a resolution to use our endeavours to remove what appears to stand in the way."

"We have, with all the application, this short time could allow, informed ourselves of the proceedings of the late assemblies, and find no just grounds for the governor to suppose that their complaints of evil counsel or counsellors have been used as methods to strike at him; but we believe it was their care, as we find it to be ours, that the governor may not be imposed on, or prevailed with, to adhere to evil counsel, and render his actions inconsistent."

"We suppose it needless to be more express than the late assembly have been, to demonstrate what an enemy the secretary has been to the welfare of this province; and how abusive he has been to the representatives of the people; so that we can do no less than repeat the request of former assemblies, to

have him removed from the governor's council; which we doubt not will be a most effectual means to improve a good understanding between thee and us."

"If the governor will look back, and duly consider the complaints and remonstrances of the late assemblies, it will appear, that grievances and oppressions are words, which are formed upon just complaints; and for which the country wants redress; so that what the governor supposes, on that head, is not candid towards the representatives of the people."

"May it please the governor, whatever might be the occasion, or design of the last clause in thy speech, we are of opinion it was not well timed; for if the secretary's charge against our speaker had any weight, it should have been propounded as an objection against the assembly's choice of him for speaker: but, after thou hadst declared thy approbation of their choice, that thou shouldst be prevailed upon so far to patronise the secretary's insinuation against the speaker, as to make it a part of thy speech to us, before we had seen or heard the charge, we can do no less than resent it, as an indignity offered to this house; for though we are men that cannot be much meaner in the governor's eye than we are in our own esteem, yet we must put him in mind that, since the royal charter commits this part of the legislative authority to our care, we ought to have the regard due to our stations."

After this the governor went to Newcastle; and in the meantime the assembly adjourned. On their meeting again, about the beginning of November, the secretary, Logan, intending to go to England, presented to them a petition, requesting that preparation might be made for his trial, upon the impeachment of a former assembly, in the year 1706. They therefore proceeded to his case, and took into consideration his defence; and his charge against their speaker, David Lloyd, mentioned in the governor's speech. They carried their resentment so far in the affair, that they actually issued out a warrant to the high sheriff of the city and county of Philadelphia, signed by the speaker, for apprehending the secretary, and for committing him to the county gaol of Philadelphia, as they said, "For his offence, in reflecting upon sundry members of this house in particular, and the whole house in general, charging the proceedings of this assembly with unfairness and injustice." But, by a *supersedeas* from the governor, the execution of it was prevented, to the great displeasure of the assembly; as appears by their resolves, in the minutes of the house; wherein they assert, "That this measure of the governor was illegal and arbitrary."

The temper and disposition of the house now were such, that it does not appear any further transactions passed between the governor and this assembly.

But the secretary, by reason of his useful abilities, and faithful services to the proprietary, was so thoroughly fortified in both his and the governor's esteem and confidence, that he was above the power of his opponents. He prosecuted his voyage to England; and with such perseverance and ability vindicated himself, and so far succeeded against the violence of the opposition, that he not only survived the storm, and continued in his offices, but also was afterwards president of the province; and discharged the office with much reputation to himself and satisfaction to the public, as will hereafter appear; and after a wise recess of many years from public affairs, at last, in the year 1751, honourably closed his days.

*Party spirit endangers the government and constitution.*—The proprietor's letter to the assembly respecting their late transactions—An entire new assembly elected in October 1710—Harmony between the governor and this assembly productive of more agreeable and better consequences, &c.—Proceedings of the legislature in consequence of an express from England, received by the governor, relating to an expedition against Canada—The queen's letter of instructions to him—The assembly vote 2000*l.* for the queen's use—The next year produces a change in the assembly—The proprietor agrees to dispose of the government to the queen; and is seized with an apoplexy—Wine and rum imported in 1712—Settlement of New Garden and London Grove, in Chester county—Samuel Carpenter—The governor's writ for summoning the assembly—Altercation between them.

This province appears to have been never entirely without a discontented party in it; who thought it their duty and interest constantly to oppose the proprietary, in all cases indiscriminately, where either his power or interest was concerned; and though frequently but small and weak, yet they were sufficiently able to embarrass the public proceedings, and endanger the general tranquillity; and having, for a number of years past, by continual complaints of great and numerous grievances unredressed, excited the minds of many well-disposed persons in the province, they at last obtained a majority in the assembly against him.

The increase of this opposition seems principally to have arisen from the proprietary's absence, and trusting his affairs too much to deputies; to which the nature and necessity of his situation and circumstances, in these times, particularly obliged him.

The opposition against Penn at last drew from him the following letter to the assembly.

"London, 29th, 4th mo. 1710.

"My old Friends,

"It is a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me, that I am forced, by the oppressions and disappointments which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that province, in a language I once hoped I should never have occasion to use. But the many troubles and oppositions that I have met with from thence, oblige me, in plainness and freedom, to expostulate with you, concerning the causes of them.

"When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services, done to many hundreds of people; and it was no small satisfaction to me, that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper, and growing up to a flourishing country, blessed with liberty, ease, and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect; and wanting nothing to make themselves happy, but what, with a right temper of mind, and prudent conduct, they might give themselves. But, alas! as to my part, instead of reaping the like advantages some of the greatest of my troubles have arose from thence; the many combats I have engaged in; the great pains, and incredible expense, for your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate; of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects; with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow; that, if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure that, while that has proved a laud of

freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble, and poverty.

"For this reason I must desire you all, even of all professions and degrees, for although all have not been engaged in the measures that have been taken, yet every man who has an interest there, is, or must be, concerned in them, by their effects; I must, therefore, I say, desire you all, in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are, or have been doing; why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions, and what real causes have been given on my side for that opposition to me, and my interest, which I have met with; as if I were an enemy, and not a friend, after all I have done and spent, both here and there: I am sure I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted any thing of me, in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I should readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand; provided you would also take such measures as were fit for me to join with.

"Before any one family had transported themselves thither, I earnestly endeavoured to form such a model of government as might make all concerned in it easy; which, nevertheless was subject to be altered, as there should be occasion. Soon after we got over, that model appeared, in some parts of it, to be very inconvenient, if not impracticable; the numbers of members, both in the council and assembly, were much too large; some other matters also proved inconsistent with the king's charter to me; so that, according to the power reserved for an alteration, there was a necessity to make one, in which, if the lower counties were brought in, it was well known, at that time, to be on a view of advantage to the province itself, as well as to the people of those counties, and to the general satisfaction of those concerned, without the least apprehension of any irregularity in the method.

"Upon this they had another charter passed, *namine contradicente*; which I always desired might be continued, while you yourselves would keep up to it, and put it in practice; and many there know much it was against my will, that upon my last going over, it was vacated. But after this was laid aside (which indeed was begun by yourselves, in Colonel Fletcher's time) I, according to my engagement, left another, with all the privileges that were found convenient for your good government; and if any part of it has been, in any case, infringed, it was never by my approbation. I desired it might be enjoyed fully. But though privileges ought to be tenderly preserved, they should not, on the other hand, be asserted under that name to a licentiousness: the design of government is to preserve good order; which may be equally broke in upon by the turbulent endeavours of the people, as well as the overstraining of power in a governor. I designed the people should be secured of an annual fixed election and assembly; and that they should have the same privileges in it that any other assembly has in the queen's dominions; among all which this is one constant rule, as in the parliament here, that they should sit on their own adjournments; but to strain this expression to a power to meet at all times during the year, without the governor's concurrence, would be to distort government, to break the due proportion of the parts of it, to establish confusion in the place of necessary order, and make the legislative the executive part of go-

vernment. Yet, for obtaining this power, I perceive, much time and money has been spent, and great struggles have been made, not only for this, but some other things, that cannot at all be for the advantage of the people to be possessed of; particularly the appointing of judges; because the administration might, by such means, be so clogged, that it would be difficult, if possible, under our circumstances, at some times to support it. As for my own part, as I desire nothing more than the tranquillity and prosperity of the province and government in all its branches, could I see that any of these things that have been contended for would certainly promote these ends, it would be a matter of indifference to me how they were settled. But seeing the frame of every government ought to be regular in itself, well proportioned and subordinate in its parts, and every branch of it invested with sufficient power to discharge its respective duty for the support of the whole, I have cause to believe that nothing could be more destructive to it, than to take so much of the provision and executive part of the government out of the governor's hands, and lodge it in an uncertain collective body; and more especially since our government is dependent, and I am answerable to the crown if the administration should fail, and a stop be put to the course of justice. On these considerations I cannot think it prudent in the people to crave these powers; because not only I, but they themselves, would be in danger of suffering by it; could I believe otherwise, I should not be against granting any thing of this kind that were asked of me, with any degree of common prudence and civility. But, instead of finding cause to believe the contentions that have been raised about these matters, have proceeded only from mistakes of judgment, with an earnest desire, notwithstanding, at the bottom, to serve the public (which, I hope, has still been the inducement of several concerned in them) I have had but too sorrowful a view and sight to complain of the manner in which I have been treated. The attacks on my reputation, the many indignities put upon me, in papers sent over hither, into the hands of those who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; the secret insinuations against my justice, besides the attempt made upon my estate; resolves passed in the assemblies, for turning my quit-rents, never sold by me, to the support of government; my lands entered upon, without any regular method; my manors invaded, (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them,) and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts against me here; a right to my overplus land unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts, in which they are found; my private estate continually exhausting, for the support of that government, both here and there; and no provision made for it by that country; to all which I cannot but add, the violence that has been particularly shewn to my secretary; of which, (though I shall, by no means, protect him in any thing he can be justly charged with, but suffer him to stand or fall by his own actions,) I cannot but thus far take notice that, from all these charges I have seen or heard of, against him, I have cause to believe that, had he been as much in opposition to me as he has been understood to stand for me, he might have met with a milder treatment from his prosecutors; and, to think that any man should be the more exposed there, on my account, and, instead of finding favour, meet with enmity, for his being engaged in my service, is a melancholy

consideration! In short, when I reflect on all these heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, and, at the same time, think of the hardships I, and my suffering family, have been reduced to, in no small measure, owing to my endeavours for, and disappointments from, that province, I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt to me from those of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things; nor can I but lament the unhappiness that too many of them are bringing on themselves, who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition; and, blind to their own interest, are oversetting that foundation on which your happiness might be built.

"Friends, the eyes of many are upon you; the people of many nations of Europe look on that country as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves, in vain, the same blessings they conceive you may enjoy: but to see the use you make of them, is no less the cause of surprise to others, while such bitter complaints and reflections are seen to come from you, of which it is difficult to conceive even the sense or meaning. Where are the distresses, grievances, and oppressions, that the papers sent from thence, so often say you languish under! while others have cause to believe you have hitherto lived, or might live, the happiest of any in the queen's dominions?

"Is it such a grievous oppression, that the courts are established by my power, founded on the king's charter, without a law of your making, when upon the same plan you propose? If this disturb any, take the advice of other able lawyers on the main, without tying me up to the opinion of principally one man, whom I cannot think so very proper to direct in my affairs (for, I believe, the late assembly have had but that one lawyer amongst them,) and I am freely content you should have any law, that, by proper judges, should be found suitable. Is it your oppression that the officers' fees are not settled by an act of assembly? No man can be a greater enemy to extortion than myself: do, therefore, allow such fees as may reasonably encourage fit persons to undertake these offices, and you shall soon have (and should have always cheerfully had) mine, and I hope, my lieutenant's concurrence and approbation. Is it such an oppression, that licences for public-houses have not been settled, as has been proposed? It is a certain sign you are strangers to oppression, and know nothing but the name, when you so highly bestow it on matters so inconsiderable; but that business, I find, is adjusted. Could I know any real oppression you lie under, that is in my power to remedy (and what I wish you would take proper measures to remedy, if you truly feel any such,) I would be as ready, on my part, to remove them, as you to desire it; but according to the best judgment I can make of the complaints, I have seen (and you once thought I had a pretty good one,) I must, in a deep sense of sorrow, say, that I fear, the kind hand of Providence, that has so long favoured and protected you, will, by the ingratitude of many there to the great mercies of God, hitherto shown them, be, at length, provoked to convince them of their unworthiness; and by changing the blessings, that so little care has been taken, by the public, to deserve, into calamities, reduce those that have been so clamorous, and causelessly discontented, to a true, but smarting sense of their duty. I write

not this with a design to include all; I doubt not, many of you have been burdened at, and can by no means join in the measures that have been taken; but while such things appear under the name of an assembly, that ought to represent the whole, I cannot but speak more generally than I would desire, though I am not unsensible what methods may be used to obtain the weight of such a name.

"I have already been tedious, and shall now, therefore, briefly, say, that the opposition I have met with from thence must, at length, force me to consider more closely of my own private and sinking circumstances, in relation to that province. In the mean time, I desire you all seriously to weigh what I have wrote, together with your duty to yourselves, to me, and to the world, who have their eyes upon you, and are witnesses of my early and earnest care for you. I must think there is a regard due to me, that has not of late been paid; pray, consider of it fully, and think soberly what you have to desire of me, on the one hand, and ought to perform to me, on the other; for, from the next assembly, I shall expect to know what you resolve, and what I may depend on. If I must continue my regards to you, let me be engaged to it by a like disposition in you towards me. But, if a plurality, after this, shall think they owe me none, or no more than for some years I have met with, let it, on a fair election, be so declared, and I shall then, without further suspense, know what I have to rely upon. God give you his wisdom and fear to direct you, that yet our poor country may be blessed with peace, love, and industry, and we may once more meet good friends, and live so to the end; our relation, in the truth, having but the same true interest.

"I am, with great truth, and most sincere regard, your real Friend, as well as just Proprietor and Governor.

"WILLIAM PENN."

What reply was made to this letter does not appear; but notwithstanding what might have been thought deficient or amiss, on the proprietary's side, the serious nature of it could not but affect the considerate part of the assembly with more regard for the father of their country, now, in his declining age, and for his difficult situation, occasioned originally and principally on account of it; and consequently in the next annual election of the members of the assembly, in October 1710, an entire new house was elected, of which Richard Hill became speaker.

The governor, in his speech to the house, told them, "That he did not doubt it was obvious to every one's understanding, why he could not agree with the last assembly; but, as he took them to have different sentiments, they might promise themselves, that his ready assent to all bills, drawn up for the public good, would not be wanting; and that, as he had often expressed his resolution of settling among them, he could have no aims, contrary to the interest of the people: that thus a confidence might be established in each other, he hoped they would cheerfully proceed with their bills, and make such provisions for the support of the government as consisted with the character that the province justly bore, in all her majesty's dominions. He concluded with recommending them to dispatch, and cautioning them to avoid the expense of a long sitting; a practice, that some former assemblies, by giving way to, had left a

debt upon the country, that, perhaps, they would not very easily discharge."

The good understanding which subsisted between the governor and this assembly was productive of much more satisfactory proceedings, and salutary effects, than had been experienced for some years before; and many laws were mutually agreed on, and passed during the winter.

In the summer of the year 1711, Governor Gookin, having received an express from England, respecting the expedition against Canada, convened the assembly, and acquainted them with the preparations of the northern colonies for that end.

He recommended them to exert themselves, suitably on the occasion, not to be behind their northern neighbours, in answering the queen's expectation, and to enable him to raise and support the quota of men, assigned this province, or else, that they would make an equivalent; and he laid before the house certain papers, with the queen's instructions to him, relative to the affair; which last were as follows:—

"Anne R.

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas, we have sent our instructions to our governors of New York and New Jersey, and of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, relating to an expedition, we design to make against the common enemy, the French, inhabiting North America. And whereas, we have directed our said governors, and Francis Nicholson, Esq., to communicate to you such part of our said instructions, as relates to the province under your command. Our will and pleasure is, that you do, in all things, conform yourself to the said instructions. And we do hereby command you to be aiding and assisting in carrying on the said expedition: and, in order thereunto, that you do meet our said governors, and the said Francis Nicholson, at such place, and at such time, as they shall, for that purpose, signify unto you; and that you put in execution such things, as shall then be resolved to be acted and done, on your part; in doing of which, we do expect you to use the utmost vigour and diligence; and for so doing this shall be your warrant: so we bid you farewell.

"Given at our court, at St. James's, the 31st day of February, 1710-11, in the ninth year of our reign.

"By her majesty's command, H. Sr. JOHN.

"To our trusty and well beloved, the governor, or lieutenant-governor, or commander-in-chief, for the time being, of our province, of Pennsylvania, in America."

The congress of governors, or council of war, met accordingly at New London, in Connecticut, where the several quotas, or proportions, expected from each colony, were fixed; but on account of the short space of time, and great distance, Governor Gookin could not attend it, nor properly represent the state and ability of the province; and the assembly of Pennsylvania thought the colony overrated: for this province particularly was constantly at a considerable expense, for the preservation of the friendship of the Indians, in such manner, as was very important and interesting to all the neighbouring governments, and the general utility; they nevertheless voted 2000*l.*, to be raised upon the inhabitants of the province, for the queen's use, by a tax of five-pence half-penny per pound, on estates, and 20*s.* per head, on single freemen: and a bill for that purpose was passed by the governor.

In the assembly, elected October 1711, there was

a considerable change of members; and David Lloyd's name again appears among them; but Richard Hill was chosen speaker.

The governor, in a speech to the house, this winter, represented; that the proprietary, in his letters to him, had signified his desire to serve the people of this province, and left it to themselves to think on the means that might best conduce to their own quiet and interest: at the same time, offering his ready concurrence to any thing of that nature, which they should propose, consistent with the honour and interest of the crown, of the proprietary, and of the public welfare; and recommending to their consideration, that, as to himself, he had been above three years engaged in the affairs of the province, and almost so long in it, that what he had received from the public, appeared by the acts of the last assembly; and was far short of what the proprietary led him to expect from the people.

The house, in answer, thankfully acknowledged the proprietary's kind regard, and desires to serve them, with the governor's offered and ready concurrence to what should contribute to that end. They promised to take care of the governor's support; and accordingly, afterwards agreed on a provision as was mutually satisfactory.

The year 1712 was remarkable for two things, respecting Pennsylvania; the first was, an agreement for the sale of the government of it, and the territories, to Queen Anne, by the proprietary; the most probable inducements for which have already been alluded to: for though a temporary alteration was made the last year in the assembly's conduct, respecting him, yet it appears he thought it most prudent, in this manner, to extricate himself from the debt and difficulties, in which the province had too much involved him. The second was a failure of his faculties, supposed to be caused by an apoplexy; which rendered him incapable of public business, and consequently disabled him from executing a surrender of the government, according to agreement.

Governor Gookin, in his speech to the assembly, on the 15th of October this year, of which Isaac Norris was speaker, stated, that the proprietary, in a letter to a member of the council, had signified his intentions of surrendering the government, in a few months; in consequence of which he had reason to believe, he should not be continued governor under the crown; he declared his readiness to serve them, during the short time he should probably be in the administration; and he requested them to take effectual measures, to have ready, when called for, the sum granted by the late assembly; that the debts incurred, on account of the Indian treaties, might be immediately discharged, and that the Indians, then in town, be well satisfied; who had proposed, in behalf of the five nations, to establish a free and open trade between them, for the future. He declared, that, as to himself, he had but a melancholy prospect; that, after all he could hope for, and his administration over, he should find himself a great loser, by coming to Pennsylvania; which, as they probably would be the last assembly that he should meet, he recommended to their serious consideration, especially the expense of his return.

The house, in answer, acquainted the governor; that, it being inconvenient, at that season, for them to attend in assembly, they intended to adjourn, and appoint a committee, to inspect the public accounts, and to prepare matters for the bet-

ter dispatch of business, at their next meeting; and recommending the care of the Indians to the governor and council, according to the law, the house adjourned.

In the printed votes of assembly, this year, appears the following account of the wine and rum imported into the province, taken from the naval officer, and laid before the house, on the 6th of February, 1713; which may give some idea of this branch of trade in the province at that time.

<i>Wine imported since the 25th of March, 1711, from the place of growth.</i>	<i>Rum imported.</i>
441 Pipes,	574 Hhds.,
13 Hhds.,	360 Tierces,
23 Qr. Casks.	183 Barrels,
<i>From other places.</i>	1 Kilderkin,
48 Pipes,	200 Gallons,
2 Hhds.,	1 Pipe,
2 Qr. Casks.	19 Casks,
	2 Puncheons,
	4 Groce Bottles.

In the year 1712, John Lowdon, John Miller, Michael Lightfoot, James Starr, Thomas Garnet, and other Friends, or Quakers, settled in New Garden, in Chester county. The first of these, John Lowdon, died at Abingdon, Philadelphia county, in 1714. He came from Ireland about the year 1711, was an eminent preacher among the Quakers, travelled much in that service, and was much beloved.

In October 1713, Joseph Growdon was speaker of the assembly; and on the 15th of the month the governor, in a speech, informed them; that the government was not yet surrendered; and that, being still invested with the proprietary powers, he was ready to use them for the welfare of the people, in all their reasonable expectations; and that he took this opportunity to give the country his thanks for the care taken for his support, by the last assembly, and hoped its continuance.

In October 1714, David Lloyd was again chosen speaker of the assembly; and notwithstanding, in the beginning of their year, they had several sessions, yet nothing material was concluded between them and the governor: they, therefore, on the 26th of the first month, adjourned themselves to the latter part of September, 1715; but before that time, early in the spring, the governor summoned them, by the following writ:—

“ Charles Gookin, Esq. lieutenant-governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c. To the sheriff, &c. Pennsylvania. ss.

“ Whereas the assembly of this province, in the month of March last, divers matters of the greatest weight and importance before them, which required to be dispatched for the public good and safety, notwithstanding thought fit, without my consent or approbation, to adjourn themselves to the latter end of their yearly sessions; by which means, the expectations of all good people, who depended on a suitable provision to be then forthwith made, to answer the several exigencies of the government, became entirely disappointed. The great inconveniences of which must still continue unremedied until another assembly be chosen, unless they are called together before the time of their said adjournment. These, therefore, are (by and with the advice of the council) to require and command you, that you forthwith summon all the representatives, chosen in your county for the said assembly, that they meet me at Philadelphia the second day of May next, to proceed to the dispatch of the said affairs, and such other matters as I may have occasion to lay before them; and without delay make



return of this writ into the secretary's office. Given under my hand and lesser seal of the said province, at Philadelphia, the 16th day of April, Anno Domini, 1715."

The assembly met, in pursuance of this writ, which appears to throw some reflection on the manner of their adjournment. Ill humour and altercation, which, during the latter part of the preceding year, had been increasing between the governor and the assembly, appeared now again too much to prevail between the different branches of the legislature.

The governor addressed the house with a speech, blaming their adjournment to near the end of their year, without his consent; their leaving the great exigencies of government unprovided for; their being the cause of so long an obstruction of the administration of justice, with its consequences, by their refusing to accommodate the bills, prepared for that purpose, so that it might be in his power to pass the same; and their neglect of making provision for his support.

The assembly, on their side, threw the blame upon the governor, for his refusing to pass the bills as they had prepared them, to answer the exigencies of the province, and the support of the administration. They, notwithstanding, afterwards so far agreed, that the governor passed a considerable number of laws before the end of the month.

In the year 1714, Francis Swain, John Smith, Joseph Pennock, William Pusey, and other Friends, or Quakers, settled at London Grove, in Chester county.

*The assembly's address to the governor respecting tumults, &c. in Philadelphia, with his answer—An Indian treaty held in Philadelphia in 1715—The assembly's address to George I.—The governor disagrees with both the council and assembly—The assembly's representation to Governor Gookin, containing a variety of matters, in 1716.*

In the summer of the year 1715, there was a complaint made in the house, of frequent tumults being raised in Philadelphia, under the pretence of supporting and abetting one Francis Philips, who had been indicted for high crimes and misdemeanors; upon which the assembly presented to the Governor the following address:—

"To Charles Gookin, Esq., Lieutenant-governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c. The address of the representatives of the freemen of the said province, in general assembly met, the 10th day of June, 1715.

"May it please the Governor,

"We were in hopes, that the opening of the courts of justice might have been a means to put a stop to those tumults, which frequently happened in this city, since the beginning of our session, so that our meeting now would have been to crown our labours with a general satisfaction.

"But, to our great disappointment, we understand, by credible information, that some of those who occasioned those tumults, in order to annoy their opposite party, are now levelling their malignity against the magistrates of this city and county, and endeavouring to prevail with the governor to be of opinion, that here is no power to bring to trial a certain clergyman, who is charged by indictment, at the king's suit, for committing fornication, against the king's peace, and the law of this province, &c.

"We desire the governor to consider, that for-

nication, and such like offences, which, in other places, may be of ecclesiastical connuance, are, by the laws of this province, made triable in the quarter sessions; and as our laws are, by the royal charter, to be inviolably observed; so the governor and magistrates are bound in duty to cause the same to be put in execution: therefore we are of opinion, that whoever doth, or shall assert, or endeavour to incense, or persuade, the governor, or any other, that the court of quarter sessions, as by law established, hath no cognizance of the said offences, are, and shall be, deemed enemies to the governor and government of this province.

"And now, may it please the governor to take speedy care, by such ways and means, as may be effectual to discourage and suppress the said tumults, and disperse all tumultuous gatherings of people in this city; and more especially those, who shall endeavour to weaken the hands of the magistrates in the discharge of their duty, or shall speak, or act in derogation to their authority, or shall in anywise attempt to screen or rescue the said malefactor from the course of justice.

"As we have been, and hope shall be, willing to support the government, so we are earnestly concerned that the king's subjects may be protected under thy administration; and for that end we do insist that thou wilt be pleased to cause the laws to be duly put in execution; and to countenance, and not discourage the magistrates and officers, in the discharge of their duties; that so the people may be reduced to their former obedience, and application for redress elsewhere prevented.

"We also desire that persons be commissioned, and courts called for speedy trial of those criminal causes now depending."

The governor returned the following answer.

"Gentlemen,

"The tumults, that have hitherto happened, I have immediately endeavoured to quell, and I hope with good effect; the courts are now opened; the administration of justice is restored; and if any should be so audacious as to oppose the magistrates, they should not want my countenance and assistance to suppress the attempt: I am sorry it should be surmised to the assembly by any, that those who show a malignity to the magistracy could have grounds of hope to prevail with me to favour them; on the contrary, they shall find (if there be any such) that I shall exert all the authority with which I am invested, to support the proprietary powers of government, and the magistrates, in the execution of the laws, and full discharge of their duty.

"The commissions, that are not yet issued, will be forthwith expedited."

Joseph Growden was chosen speaker of the assembly, elected in October, 1715. At the first meeting of this assembly, in the same month, the governor acquainted them with his intention of returning to England in the spring; on which account he had written to the proprietary for his leave, and to some other persons of note, to procure him the king's licence of absence for twelve months: this notice he gave them, that they might dispatch such necessary business, while he was with them, as could not be done without a governor present.

Queen Anne having died in the last year, this assembly drew up and sent to England, the following address to the king, on his accession to the throne.

"To George, King of Great Britain, &c.

"The humble address of the representatives of the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, in assembly met, the first of the month called May, 1716.

"Gracious Sovereign,

"Though by divers concurring causes, and particularly the great indisposition of our proprietary and governor-in-chief of this province, we have been hitherto, to our great trouble, prevented the opportunity of expressing to the king our sincere joy, for his happy and peaceable accession to the throne of his ancestors, and thereby securing to all his protestant subjects the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights; yet none could be more sensible of the great blessing, nor express a warmer zeal for his service, in their earliest approaches, than, at all times since, has filled our thankful breasts; and although we had not the desired advantage of expressing these our sentiments, yet we became the easier under that disappointment, by accounting the majority of this province included in that general application, made by their friends at London, in behalf of the whole community, wherein our thoughts, with their own, were most truly represented.

"Such has been the king's goodness, not only expressed in his first generous royal declaration, and repeatedly since from the throne, but more powerfully exerted through a most wise and steady administration, in pursuing every measure, that might contribute to the safety and happiness of his people; in making the known laws the invariable rule of his government; in restoring the honour of the British nation abroad; and in procuring for his subjects such advantages, in commerce, as could scarce be hoped for, after they had been so unhappily given away, that even the remotest parts of the king's great dominions feel the benign influences of his paternal affection to the whole, and are laid under doubled obligations to make the utmost returns of gratitude, as well as obedience, for their happiness, under his auspicious reign.

"It is, therefore, the more surprising, that there should be any of the British race, within that island, so lost to all sense of their own interest, as well as their engaged duty to a prince of the most conspicuous and most consummate virtues, as to express the least uneasy murmurs, much less to rise in an open and unnatural rebellion; for the suppression of which, by the great wisdom and vigilance of the king and his ministry, and faithfulness of his servants, we do, with hearts full of the sincerest gratitude and joy, return our most humble acknowledgments to the Fountain of infinite goodness and mercy, that has so eminently appeared in the support of the royal throne, established on the lasting foundation of justice, and to the confusion of all the detestable machinations, vainly formed against it.

"As for us, our known principles are so essentially interwoven with the protestant interest of Great Britain, and our greatest concerns do so entirely depend on the preservation of thy person, and royal issue, long to reign over us, that we cannot possibly separate our own welfare from the indispensable duty of showing ourselves with the most hearty affection, thy loyal and most obedient subjects.

"That confusion and disappointment may attend all the wicked devices of thy enemies; that the minds of thy people may be composed, and universally inspired with the same spirit of love and obedi-

ence, as that, wherewith we now approach thy throne; and that the watchful providence of Almighty God may always attend the king, and confirm the wisdom and justice of his rightful government over us, is the most sincere and unfeigned desire of the king's humble and dutiful subjects.

"Signed by order of the House,

"JOSEPH GROWDON, Speaker.

In October following, Richard Hill was chosen speaker of the new assembly; during whose sessions not much of public importance, in a legislative capacity, for the benefit of the province, seems to have been transacted: for the governor, about this time, appears to have differed, in sentiment, not only with the representatives of the people, in his refusing to qualify Quakers for magistrates, and in other important affairs, but he also disagreed with the council.

He had repeatedly charged the present speaker of the assembly, who was then also mayor of the city of Philadelphia, and James Logan, the secretary of the province, men in high office and trust, with disaffection to the king; of which they complained to the assembly; but he refused to give either them or the house any satisfaction or proofs for what he had asserted.

The assembly, therefore, declared it their opinion, that the charge was groundless, and seemed to be intended to render these persons obnoxious to the English government.

But these, and some other matters of complaint, more fully appear in the following "representation" which was presented to the governor in the November of this year; and a duplicate of it was sent to Great Britain.

"To Charles Gookin, Esq., Lieutenant-governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c.

"A representation of the freemen of the said province, in general assembly met, the third of the ninth month, 1716.

"May it please the Governor,

"When our proprietary and governor in chief first obtained a grant of this province from the crown, and a numerous colony of industrious people settled therein, we are well assured it was his inclination, as well as visible interest, to render them as safe as possible, under his administration.

"And, as his religious persuasion, as a dissenter from the established church of England, was well known, and therefore those of the same profession made a great part of the first adventurers with him, it cannot be doubted but that he would ever think himself obliged to provide that they should enjoy, in Pennsylvania, at least, equal ease and privileges with any other English subjects of the same rank, in any of the king's dominions.

"Accordingly when necessitated to be absent from us, as he has, for the most part been, he took care, from time to time, to appoint such persons, to be his deputies in the government, in whose moderation and tenderness towards his friends, as well as loyalty to the crown, and justice to all its subjects, he believed he might confide.

"When the governor, therefore, first brought over the proprietary's commission of deputation for the government, we could not doubt but that, being the proprietary's choice, and acting solely by powers, derived from him, he would steadily pursue the measures, that had generally been taken from our first settlement, and endeavour to make all the subjects of the crown, under the proprietary's government, equally secure and easy.

"On this expectation, confirmed by the proprietary's letters of recommendation, the assemblies, not doubting the governor's good intentions towards them, freely discharged what was incumbent on them, and it is hoped, in no small measure, to the governor's satisfaction.

"Nor while the proprietary's health and former abilities happily continued, had the inhabitants much reason to complain, but that the governor made the proprietary's directions from home, as far as they could be obtained, and the advice of those the proprietary had instructed here, the rule (in great measure) of his conduct, in what related to the proprietary's interest, or government, and to the privileges of the people.

"But whether it be now owing to the discontinuance of those orders and directions, which has followed on the late great and melancholy change in the proprietary's health, or to some unhappy advice from others, or to any new formed views, we know not; but this house of representatives, soon after their first meeting, finding the governor had, at length, so far lost sight of the obligations he lay under to his principal and constituent, as to enter on measures inconsistent with his interest, and our constitution, and the liberties of the people, we judged it our indispensable duty to apply to the governor for redress; who declaring his opinion to be such as would not admit of any, we desired, with due submission, that he would be pleased to suffer the reasons of that opinion to be argued before him; but finding, to our trouble, that all our endeavours were in vain, we think ourselves obliged, in the discharge of the trust reposed in us, fully to represent the fatal consequences, as well as the unreasonableness, of those measures, to the end that a proper relief may be obtained; without which the greater part of the inhabitants of this province must be rendered miserable; which we humbly offer as follows:—

'Those who accompanied the proprietary in the settlement of this colony, being chiefly (as has already been observed) of those called Quakers, who, lying under some hardships in their native country, because, for conscience-sake, they could not comply with the laws there, for taking oaths, expected that, by virtue of the powers of legislation granted by the crown to the proprietary and them, they might, after the hazard and toil of their removal hither, be capable of enjoying the privileges of English subjects, without violation of their religious principles.

"Accordingly the proprietary and assemblies provided laws, by which those people might be enabled to hold any offices (there being but few others at that time to fill them), or to give evidence in any case whatsoever.

"Some disputes afterwards arising on this subject, the late queen, by her order in council, dated the 21st of January, 1702, was pleased to extend to this province the affirmation allowed to the Quakers in England, by the seventh and eighth of William III., not only for the purposes intended by that in England, but also for the qualification of magistrates and officers; and the same being from thence applied to other cases, this order, on the repeal of our own acts, in a great measure supplied what was necessary in this point for the administration of justice.

"But the act of parliament itself being near its expiration, it was found necessary, as well on that, as some other considerations, to establish, by an act of the province, the qualifications of officers, and the manner of giving evidence, by affirmation; and

the governor (upon the assembly's performing the conditions proposed them) passed acts for that, as well as other purposes, to answer the exigencies of the government.

"That the said affirmation-acts should have full force, according to the intention of them, of such importance to the ease and security of the whole province, that it could scarcely be supposed, any person amongst us, who professed even the most slender regard for the people's welfare, would attempt to deprive them of the advantages thereof.

"It is, therefore, the more surprising, that the governor himself (from whose station, and the trust reposed in him, by our proprietary, the most tender concern for the safety and well-being of all his majesty's subjects, under his care, might reasonably be expected) should be the principal, if not the first person in the government, who would render the intention of those acts void to us, though passed by himself into laws so lately before, by publicly declaring his opinions, in such manner, as would render the said acts repugnant to the laws of England, and repealed by the act of parliament of the first of his present majesty; in pursuance of which opinion, he has refused to qualify such persons for offices, that could not take the oath, according to the law of England.

"The consequence of which is, that as no Quaker in Great Britain is qualified or permitted to give evidence, in any criminal causes, or serve on any juries, or bear any office, or place of profit, in the government; so, should the same hold, in this colony, not only the great number of the first adventurers, with their descendants, of the same profession, are to be wholly excluded from having any part, or share in the administration of justice, and the execution of the laws of the country, (which, as it would be a general inconveniency, so would it throw the burden too heavily on a few of the inhabitants,) but, what is of no less importance, for the security of those of other professions, the greatest outrages and barbarities, against any person, may be committed, in the face of any number of Quakers, and the malefactors, though brought to trial, must escape with impunity, for want of legal evidence, if that of the Quakers is not to be so accounted; of which the governor cannot forget a very memorable instance, when, (at a time, that unhappily there was no act of the province, for an affirmation, but the queen's order was thought sufficient, during that interval, for all but capital cases,) it is presumed a murderer escaped the sentence, that was due to him, for want of such evidence, as was esteemed legal, though more than one Quaker appeared in court, who were witnesses to the fact.

"But, besides these inconveniencies, however great, there remains one further consequence of that construction of the act, which, perhaps, the governor is not sufficiently advised of; which is, That, if no Quaker, in Great Britain, nor the plantations, can bear any office, or place of profit in the government, some may judge it a natural inference, that the proprietary himself is equally affected by it; and then all powers derived from him, as well those lodged in the governor, by his deputation, as the magistracy and inferior officers, fall together.

"Having thus far pointed out the destructive consequences of that opinion, should it fully take place in this province, we judge it, in the next place, incumbent on us, in duty to the governor, and for the discharge of the trust, reposed in us, by

those we represent, to offer to the consideration of the governor, and all others concerned, such reasons as have occurred to us, in our enquiry into this head; which we hope (with submission) will render it incontestably evident that the affirmation-acts of this province are in full force; and are neither repealed, nor affected by any act of parliament, that has come to our knowledge; but that the governor is obliged to take care that the same be equally, with any other act, put duly in execution.

"By the same royal charter of King Charles II., by which this province, with licence to transport an ample colony thereunto, was granted to our proprietary, and the governor-in chief, the said king grants to him and his heirs, &c., power to make laws jointly with the people; and directs the force and limitation of them, in the following words, as they stand in divers parts of said charter, but are here collected, viz.

"We, reposing special trust and confidence in the fidelity, wisdom, justice and provident circumspection of the said William Penn, for us and our heirs and successors, do grant free, full and absolute power, by virtue of these presents, to him and his heirs, and their deputies and lieutenants, for the good and happy government of the said country, to ordain, make, enact, and, under his and their seals, to publish any law whatsoever, for raising of money, for the public uses of the said province, or for any other end, &c., by and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen of the said country, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates, &c., and the same laws duly to execute unto and upon all people within the said country, and limits thereof; which laws, so as aforesaid to be published, our pleasure is, and so we enjoin, require and command, shall be most absolute and available in law: and that all the liege people and subjects of us, our heirs and successors, do observe and keep the same inviolably in those parts, so far as they concern them, under the penalties therein expressed, or to be expressed. Provided nevertheless, That the said laws be consonant to reason, and be not repugnant, or contrary, but as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the laws, statutes and rights of this our kingdom of England. And our further will and pleasure is, That the laws for regulating and governing property, within the said province, as well for the descent and enjoyment of lands, as likewise for the enjoyment of succession of goods and chattels, and likewise felonies, shall be and continue the same as they shall be, for the time being, by the general course of the law, in our kingdom of England, until the said laws shall be altered by the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, and by the freemen of the said province, their delegates, or their deputies, or the greater part of them. And to the end that the said William Penn, his heirs, or others, the planters, owners, or inhabitants of the said province, may not, at any time hereafter, by misconstruction of the powers aforesaid, through inadvertency, or design, depart from that faith, and due allegiance, which, by the laws of this our realm of England, they, and all our subjects, in our dominions and territories, always owe unto us, our heirs and successors, &c. Our further will and pleasure is, That a transcript or duplicate of all laws, which shall be, as aforesaid, made and published, within the said province, shall, within five years after the making thereof, be transmitted and delivered to the privy-council for the

time being, of us, our heirs and successors; and if any of the said laws, within the space of six months, after they shall be so, as aforesaid, transmitted and delivered, be declared by us, our heirs and successors, in our or their privy-council, inconsistent with the sovereignty, or lawful prerogative of us; our heirs, or successors, or contrary to the faith and allegiance due, by the legal government of this realm, from the said William Penn, or of the planters, or inhabitants of this province; and that thereupon any of the said laws shall be adjudged and declared to be void, by us, our heirs or successors, under our, or their privy seal, that then, and from thenceforth, such laws, concerning which such judgment and declaration shall be made, shall become void, otherwise the said laws so transmitted, shall remain and stand in full force, according to the true intent and meaning thereof.

"Pursuant to these powers, the said acts of this province, for an affirmation, were made and published. And though a considerable part of the five years, limited in the charter, is yet unexpired, the same have been duly transmitted; nor have we heard any thing, but that they are, or may be, well approved of; having reason to hope that they contain nothing, for which (according to the tenor of the said royal charter) they ought to be declared void; and, therefore, are of as full force, as absolute and available, and to be observed and kept as inviolably as any law whatsoever, that can be enacted in this province, and ought accordingly to be as duly executed by the governor, to the full extent thereof.

"But the governor, in answer to a resolution of this house, of the 18th of October last, which was, That the royal charter makes the acts of this province most absolute and available in law, until repealed by the king, is pleased to say, That he joins with the assembly in this resolve, provided the laws are not repugnant to the laws of England; and, by the following paragraph, in the same answer, which is, That he allows the laws of the province had settled the qualifications of magistrates and other officers, until the publication of the act of King George, relating thereto, he has, at last, thought fit to give so much under his hand, as his opinion, the natural construction whereof is, that the said affirmation-acts of this province (being the subject then in hand) were repugnant to the laws of England, and repealed by the said act of parliament.

"But this we humbly offer, That, if it must be termed repugnant, because it differs from, or is not the same with, the act of parliament, then the clause of the royal charter, which grants power to the governor and assembly here to alter the laws of England, for the descent of lands, enjoying estates, and punishing felonies, in the province (as is above recited from the said charter) appears to be useless and vain.

"But it is further to be considered, That, as the term repugnant always implies an absolute opposition, or contrariety, in matter, it cannot be said that an act of this province, which enables those, called Quakers, to serve in offices, upon juries, and to be evidence in all cases (the circumstances of the country requiring that it should be so), is contrary to an act of Great Britain, which enables them only to give evidence in civil cases; these two differ, it is true, and so it was certainly considered and expected, at the time of the royal grant, that our acts might, in some measure, differ from those

in England; otherwise those in England would suffice; and no such power for altering them needed to have been granted: on the contrary, the act of this province, pursuant to the directions of that royal charter, is as nearly agreeable, as to our convenience may be, to the statute provided for Quakers in Great Britain.

"But the governor, we presume, could not intend, by his answer, That this act, at the time of passing it, was repugnant to any of the laws of England, though it differed from them, for in that, certainly, he could not have given it his sanction; it must, therefore, be meant, that it is become repugnant only since the supposed publication of the British act, which he conceives repealed it; or, to state what can be alledged on that head, in its full force, and the plainest terms it will bear, that the act of the first of King George, entitled, 'An act for making perpetual an act of the seventh and eighth years of the reign of his late majesty, King William III., entitled, An act, that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers, should be accepted instead of an oath, in the usual form, &c.,' extends to this province that act of King William, by these words in the last clause of it, viz. 'Provided always,' That so much of this act, as relates to the affirmations to be made by the people called Quakers, shall be extended to that part of Great Britain, called Scotland, for ever, and to the plantations belonging to the crown of Great Britain, for five years, &c. Therefore, that, as the Quakers are not permitted by that act, in Great Britain, to hold offices, serve on juries, or be evidence in criminal cases, so, by its being extended to the plantations, they are as effectually disabled there, and that all acts of this province, for qualifying Quakers, in these cases, are, by the superior force of this act of parliament, repealed, and made utterly void.

"But when the language of the act itself comes to be considered, the whole seeming force of this objection will, we presume, entirely disappear; the clause of limitation, in the seventh and eighth of William III., is in these words: 'Provided, and be it enacted, That no Quaker, or reputed Quaker, shall, by virtue of this act, be qualified or permitted to give evidence, in any criminal causes, to serve on any juries, to bear any office, or place of profit, in the government, any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.' Upon which we conceive that Brigadier Hunter, governor, under his majesty, of the provinces of New York and New Jersey, has (in a case parallel with ours) observed, in his printed declaration on that subject, under the title of, 'An answer to what has been offered, as argument against the validity and force of an act of assembly, entitled, An act, that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers, &c.' passed in the province of New Jersey, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Queen Anne, to be of such force, as to be worthy our recital: in which, after he has observed, in general, in the following words:—'Into what a woful condition must the plantations be plunged, if such laws as shall, by a legislature lawfully constituted by virtue of letters patent, under the broad seal, be enacted for the good government and ease of the subjects there, shall, by implication, or construction, be deemed to be repealed?' &c. he is pleased to say, that act of assembly is not so much as, by implication, repealed; for the words of that act, upon which they lay the stress of the argument are these,

'Provided, that no Quaker shall, by virtue of this act, be qualified, &c.' Now I know no Quaker, continues that gentleman, that pretends he is, or can, by virtue of that act, be qualified; but I believe every Quaker thinks that he is, or may be, qualified by an act of assembly, entitled, 'An act, that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers, &c.' passed in the province, and sent home, &c. It is as plain as words can make it, that that act, of the seventh and eighth of King William, has no negative, but upon itself, and consequently cannot be alledged in bar to any laws already enacted, in the plantations, or even such as may be enacted; for by these letters patent, which gave a being to this government and legislature, all such laws, as shall be enacted by the governor, council and assembly, are declared to be in full force from the time of enacting.

"The same worthy gentleman and governor is further pleased, in the said print, to publish an instruction from the late queen, in whose reign that act of assembly was made, directing him to pass such an act in New Jersey; by which instruction her majesty was pleased further to declare her will and pleasure, 'That such of the people called Quakers, as shall be found capable of serving in her council, the general assembly, and in other places of trust and profit, in New Jersey, and accordingly be elected, or appointed, to serve therein, may, upon their taking and signing the declaration of allegiance to her majesty, in the form used by the same people in England, together with a solemn declaration of the true discharge of their respective trusts, be admitted by the governor to any of the said places or employments.' And he adds, 'That the same instructions are, word for word, also contained in his present majesty's instructions to the governor, dated the 1st of July, 1715.' By which it appears, that both the late queen was, and his present majesty is, willing that the people called Quakers, immediately under their government, in New Jersey, should enjoy the full privileges which are craved here, as due to the people, we represent, by their chartered rights, under the government of our proprietary, William Penn.

"To this we may add what has also been observed, on the same subject, by the chief justice of New Jersey, in his speech, delivered at the supreme court in May last, at Burlington, which is also printed; wherein he clearly gives his opinion in law, very nearly in the same terms the governor had done before, and then proceeds, in these words, viz:—

"The act of parliament of Great Britain is an enlargement of the Quakers' privileges to what it never was before; it makes that perpetual to them, in England, which before was temporary and expired, or near expiring, by its own limitation, carries the same into that part of Great Britain, called Scotland, where it was not before, and makes it perpetual there, and into the plantations generally for five years.' This does no way hinder, but that, by virtue of the act of assembly of the province (which is a municipal law thereof), the Quakers, or reputed Quakers, are qualified to be of juries and evidence, and bear offices of trust and profit in the government; nor, but that they may be so qualified hereafter, by any other law hereafter to be made, for that, or the like purpose, although by virtue of that act of parliament, they are not so qualified.

"Having thus far stated this point, we shall now leave it; but that we are obliged to give the sense

of this house to that part of the governor's answer to our resolves, in which he is pleased to say, That though he was of opinion he could not be safe in giving any qualification but an oath, yet by a *dedimus* they (the officers and witnesses) might have been qualified as the law directs.

"On which we must humbly observe, That though it may be very certain a *dedimus potestatem*, duly issued by the governor, is no less sufficient in law, for administering qualifications to any officer, than the governor's act, in his own person; which, notwithstanding the governor has not of late, that we know of, condescended to, but refused to admit such of those called Quakers, as, by virtue of the proprietary's charter to the people, were elected to serve in certain offices, until that more remarkable case of the last qualification of the mayor of Philadelphia; yet no such *dedimus* will answer the exigencies of this government, should the governor's opinion obtain: for should it be taken for granted, that the affirmation-act of this province is actually repealed by the act of parliament, then all such qualifications will be construed illegal, whether given by himself, or other persons empowered by him. And as the judges of the supreme court have rendered their reasons to the house, for their not proceeding to try the criminals, now in the respective gaols of this province, viz. 'That they cannot think it prudent to proceed, by virtue of the governor's commission to them, in opposition to his opinion, in so tender a point as the lives of his majesty's subjects:' so all others must be discouraged in cases of such vast consequence; for no *dedimus* will make that act sufficient, that is in itself illegal.

"It has, by this time we hope, clearly appeared, from what has been offered, That the opinion of the governor is (with submission) neither founded on law nor reason; but from hence we cannot but desire the governor may be induced more seriously and maturely to consider how unaccountable and astonishing it must appear to mankind, that, while such a person as Governor Hunter, who holds his commission directly from the crown, is accountable to no other principal, nor under obligations to any called a Quaker, as a superior, has thought it necessary, in the discharge of his trust, to publish his reasons, in such a manner, for removing mistakes, and allaying the disturbances from thence fomented; at the same time, though such an example be set to us, at no greater distance, than the other bank of Delaware, our proprietary, William Penn's lieutenant, in the province of Pennsylvania, should be drawn into measures so injurious, not only to the interest of his principal, from which he derives his power, but to the very being of the constitution, over which he is entrusted to preside. We heartily wish we could, by any construction, find other causes, to which these procedures might be imputed, than a formed design; but we are justly alarmed at some other late proceedings of the governor, which, as they have naturally fallen under our notice, we think ourselves also obliged, in duty, to represent:—

"When the house had chosen their speaker, and the governor, without any objection, approved their choice, they proceeded to take the usual qualifications as the law, in that case, directs; but upon the rumours, that had been spread, of persons disaffected to his present majesty, that this house might give the utmost expressions, they could of their loyalty, they, by a message to the governor,

requested to know, if besides what they had taken as usual, the governor had any directions from Great Britain, or any other qualification to offer to the house; to which he was pleased to answer, 'he had not:' the house notwithstanding resolved to neglect no part of their duty, but to give all the assurances of their loyalty, in their power, thought fit unanimously to take and subscribe the test, called the abjuration, every one, in the way prescribed to them by the several acts of parliament, according to their religious persuasions, and then proceeded to the business before them.

"But being informed that the governor had, at divers time, and to sundry persons, charged the present mayor of the city of Philadelphia, now speaker of the house, as a person disaffected to his majesty, King George; and that he further alleged, the only cause of difference betwixt him and the said mayor, was, because the governor would not agree to proclaim the Pretender, or words to the same effect; the house conceived themselves obliged, in duty to his said majesty, to enquire into the grounds of this heinous charge, that, in case there should be any found, they might purge themselves of the scandal.

"Accordingly, having, in a committee of the whole house, taken full proofs, that the governor had so charged the speaker, and finding, by the same evidence, that he had, in the same manner, also charged James Logan, secretary of the province, they, by a message, desired of the governor, that he would be pleased to lay before the house his grounds for these accusations; but he returned no other answer, than, 'That he thought himself not obliged to render any reasons to the house for his accusation, but would do it at the board at home;' and the members, sent on the message, could not persuade him to give any reasons here.

"The house thereupon judged it still the more incumbent on them to enquire fully into the matter; and accordingly they, by a written message, informed the governor, That, being under a deep concern, on all occasions, to show their loyalty, as faithful subjects to King George, they could by no means think themselves discharged of their duty, without further enquiring into the truth of the report, which they had received, and acquainted the governor with, which affected their speaker and another person, bearing considerable offices and trusts, in the government; and finding the governor's answer to the last message concerning the same, not satisfactory, they further acquainted him, that the house intended immediately to resolve into a committee, in order to enquire into that matter, and that the said committee would be desirous to receive from the governor, or any other person, any information concerning the same, in order to proceed to the extent of what is their duty, and purge the house of any member, or members thereof, that may appear, or shall be found guilty of disloyalty to the king, or disaffection to his government, under which the house unanimously declared themselves extremely happy, and well satisfied.

"But the governor, though another message was sent to him, to crave his answer, could not be prevailed on to give any, but that he had nothing to lay before them; the house notwithstanding, while formed into a committee for that purpose, proceeded to make the utmost enquiries in their power; but could not find the least ground to suspect the persons charged, or to believe the accusations against them, had any manner of foundation.



"Now what sentiments can be formed of such a conduct, in a person, acting in so exalted a station, the house must acknowledge themselves to be at a loss to determine! But the house would consider it, as no small happiness to the whole province, could they be assured that the governor had no design, by his representations to any board, at home, to raise a merit to himself, on the ruin of others; who, could they be heard there, and fully known, might be found as faithful and loyal, in their stations, to the present establishment and succession, as any of the king's subjects whatsoever.

"Had the governor believed the speaker to be such a person as he has thought fit to render him, it was doubtless incumbent on the governor to except against him, when first presented by the house in that station, or had he suspected either the speaker, or any other member, to be disaffected to the king, it might be no less expected, that he should have recommended to the house, the further qualification of the abjuration, as a test to them: but, if the speaker of the house of representatives of Pennsylvania, and others acting in the great trusts, are to be rendered to the ministry, or to any board, as persons so notoriously disaffected, as the governor's charges imply, and this without the least proof offered here, though so importunately, and yet dutifully solicited, it will force all thinking persons on apprehensions, that there is more intended by it, than can safely be acknowledged here, where things and persons are better known than can possibly be at such a distance, as the other side of the ocean.

"Having proceeded to such a length, on these two important subjects, we should now chuse to bring this representation to a period, but that the governor's written answer to another message from the house exacts our notice; in which he is pleased to say, That he is given to understand, (for which he thinks fit to quote the language of former assemblies, and some of the council,) that this house did not design to make laws, nor raise any money this session, but upon terms inconsistent with the governor's duty and safety to comply with. To which the justest reply we can, at present return, is, That this house came together with no other views, than to discharge their duty in all respects, to the best of their skill and power; and they have nothing to crave of the governor, but what they firmly believe is not only his duty, but for his honour and safety, to grant them: they would willingly have proceeded to enquire what further laws may be necessary for the well being of the province in general, the governor having told us, in his speech, That, if we should have any other bills to offer, that might be for the interest and tranquillity of the people, he should be ready to pass them, and promised himself, that he would make a return suitable to their circumstances, and the advantages they will receive by them: but in his next written message, he informed the house, 'That he disagreed from both the council and assembly, in his opinion, upon a point of such importance to the security, as well as tranquillity of the people, that no bill of ours can be of more to us: the purport of which was, that he declared (in opposition to both council and assembly,) that one of the last laws, he himself had passed, which most nearly affected us, was void, and this by construction only; we could not, therefore, find any encouragement from the governor's proposals to us, to think any other bill, we could offer, was

worth the soliciting, and much less deserving, a further consideration.

"To this we must not omit adding, That we find judgment was given against one Hugh Lowdon, at the court of common pleas, in September last, whereupon the said Hugh Lowdon, giving way to the greatest resentment and rage, vowed revenge, at the utmost hazards, against the aforesaid speaker and secretary (being two of the justices of that court), and having furnished himself with pistols, way-laid them, at their doors, and meeting the speaker the same night, he presented at him a pistol loaden with bullets; although, by the overruling hand of Providence, no further mischief ensued. As this attempt could not but raise a horror in the hearts of all good men, we find the said Lowdon was bound over to the court, now sitting, and indictments were found against him, for the same; at which the governor, instead of protecting the magistrates, in the discharge of their trusts, has now thought fit to grant *Noli Prosequi*'s, in the said Lowdon's favour, in the same manner he had formerly done for one Francis Phillips (that scandal to his order,) when indicted and prosecuted for notorious crimes, after all the neighbouring clergy had disowned him. Which proceedings, as they rendered the administration contemptible, so we also justly fear they will encourage ill-minded men to the same attempts, in hopes of the like favour.

"But, to sum up the whole, we can truly say, we are extremely troubled, that we cannot enjoy the same happiness, that most of our neighbours respectively do, of seeing our governor take such measures, as should, by an agreeable force, sway the people's inclinations, to render him easy, in all respects; which can be effected by no means so powerfully, as first rendering them easy, in the enjoyment of those privileges, which they have an undoubted right to: and we are but too well assured, that the only cause of a failure herein, is the governor's mistake, since the proprietary's indisposition, in the choice of his advisers; who, whatever views they may at present form, will at length be found the sole occasion of all the disappointments that may fall to the governor's portion; for even, though acting by commission, immediately from the crown, he would have the same injured people to deal with."

*Governor Gookin is superseded by Sir William Keith—Concern at the great influx of foreigners—Dr. Griffith Owen—Address of the governor and assembly to the king—Great harmony between the governor and assembly—Penn's death and character.*

(1717.) It does not appear that Governor Gookin made any reply to this representation; but in the March following, by a written message to the house, he took his last leave of them, in full assurance, that he should soon be superseded; and without making any remarks on their conduct, he recommended to their consideration the charge of his returning to seek another employment; declaring, that the uncertainty of his being provided for at home; the thoughts of what he had left, to serve the proprietary and the province, and the disappointments he had met with, so filled his mind, that they would excuse his not saying any more.

The assembly gave him 200*l.* on the occasion; and on the 1st of May following, he was superseded by Sir William Keith; who, by summons, convened the assembly on the 19th of August, 1717

Sir William Keith was a man of popular address,

which, after so much altercation between the assembly and the two preceding governors, Evans and Gookin, had the more effect, and rendered his administration the more acceptable to the province. The following was his first speech to the assembly:—

“Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly, “Being informed, upon my arrival here, that the season of harvest, then at hand, could not well permit you to meet me, in your representative capacity, until that busy time be over; I did, out of a tender regard for your interests, then delay the satisfaction I still proposed to myself, in meeting with this present assembly; and I will always endeavour to make the time you must necessarily bestow on the public service, as easy and pleasant to yourselves as, I hope, it will be profitable and satisfactory to the country in general.

“If an affectionate desire, to oblige and serve the people of this province, can qualify me, in their good opinions, for the station wherein I am now placed, I may then expect that the country’s and the governor’s interest will be effectually established upon one bottom, as that he, who truly wishes well to either, cannot but find himself engaged to serve both; and you yourselves may easily infer the warmth of my inclinations towards the service and prosperity of this country.

“First, From the expensive application last year, by which I carefully introduced to his royal highness, the prince of Wales, then regent, the humble address of the assembly to the king, in such manner, as freely to obtain his royal highness’s most gracious assurance, that the people called Quakers, were a body of loyal subjects, for whom the king had great regard; and that his highness was sorry the king was not then present to receive so good an address; but that the Quakers might, at all times, depend on his highness’s goodwill, to serve them, in any thing they had to ask of his royal father.

“Then, the diligence wherewith I obtained, at a considerable charge, the commission of governor, without any other certain prospect, or advantage, but only that I should be thereby enabled more effectually to serve you.

“And lastly, by the great fatigue I have undergone, since my arrival here, that no opportunity might be slipped, to encourage virtue, and promote the general good of your country; but these considerations are trifles, compared with the indispensable obligation, that is of necessity upon you, to support the dignity and authority of this government, by such a reasonable and discreet establishment, as the nature of the thing, and your own generosity will direct.

“And whatsoever you shall think fit to do, in that kind, pray let it no longer bear the undeserved and reproachful name of a burden upon the people; but rather let your governor be enabled to relieve the country from real burdens, by putting it in his power to direct a better economy, and more frugal management of such taxes as would answer the uses for which they are intended, if not squandered by the bare-faced partiality and unprofitable expense of the officers appointed to assess and collect the same.

“Gentlemen, I doubt not but you will take the first opportunity, under a new administration, to examine the state of your laws, in order to revive some that are obsolete, or expired; and to make such alterations and additions as shall be found necessary for perfecting the constitution, and good order of government in this province.

“For that end I am, on my part, ready to concur with you, in every thing, which you can possibly desire, or expect from a governor, who conscientiously intends to observe, and steadily resolves to pursue the duty of his office.”

Two days after the assembly presented him the following address:—

“The address of the freemen of Pennsylvania, in assembly met, in answer to the governor’s speech of the 20th instant.

“May it please the Governor,

“We gladly embrace this first opportunity to congratulate the governor’s happy and safe arrival to us, with an eye to that good Providence, which preserved him and his family from pirates; who, at that time, much infested our coast; some of whom (as we are informed) waited with hopes of his falling into their hands.

“This house, maturely considering the governor’s speech, find themselves obliged, in duty, to make grateful acknowledgments for the governor’s tender regards to the interest of the public.

“The governor’s affectionate desire to oblige and serve the people of this province doth, and shall, meet with dutiful returns, in all matters that come before us; and this house will contribute all in their power to preserve the interest of the governor and people upon one bottom.

“And as we must acknowledge the people of this province to stand highly obliged to the governor’s application and care, in presenting to the prince, then regent, the humble address of the assembly of this province, so we gladly take this occasion to confess the warmth of our hearts, in loyalty, duty, and affection to the king and royal family, and entreat the governor, upon all occasions, so to represent us.

“We cannot but express the pleasure and great satisfaction of this house, in that the proprietary hath been pleased to place, and his majesty to approve of, so worthy a gentleman, in commission over us; and hope our behaviour, and that of all the people of this province, will always be such as may preserve the good inclinations of the governor to serve the country; an instance whereof we have in the fatiguing journeys he hath taken, in the late hot season, to promote the good of those under his government.

“As the governor was pleased to defer calling us, for the sake of harvest, so we crave leave to observe to him, that seed-time being just at hand, it will be a great inconveniency to many of the members to stay long at this season, so that we do not undertake, at this sitting, to enter upon an examination of our laws, or any business that will require length of time, but depend upon the governor’s resolves and good intentions to oblige the people, by concurring with any thing they can reasonably desire for their service.

“We, on our part, being fully satisfied, in our duty of supporting, as far as in us lies, the dignity and authority of this government, have at this time voted, *nemine contradicente*, that the sum of 500*l* shall be given to the governor, and paid out of the first public money that shall arise, by any means, in the treasury; and, to make it more certain, are now preparing a bill, which will be offered to the governor, for augmenting the public stock.”

To this address the governor made the following reply.

“Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly, “I received a very affectionate address from your

house; for which I heartily thank you; and the generous acknowledgment, you have been pleased to make of my late endeavours to serve this country, cannot but greatly encourage me diligently to carry on the same public service, in all its parts.

"Your dutiful expressions of loyalty and affection to the king and royal family, shall be carefully represented by me to his majesty, and his servants, in the ministry; and while the spirit of unanimity, and so amiable a temper, with respect to government, is continued and preserved amongst you, I will take upon me to say, that you may be firmly assured of the king's favourable countenance, and gracious condescension, in all our applications to the throne.

"Gentlemen, since you have observed to me, that it will be inconvenient for you to enter upon any business now, which may detain you from your urgent affairs, at this time, in the country, I cannot but condescend that you may make such an adjournment, as you think will best suit with the season of the year; for I shall still have a great regard to the opinion, as well as the advantage and ease, of so good an assembly."

The assembly, which was elected in October, 1717, chose William Trent speaker. About which time, the great influx of foreigners, into the province, created such alarm, that the governor, in his speech to the house, after recommending their revising and amending their laws, proposed to their consideration, whether some regulation might not be necessary, in regard to the unlimited numbers of foreigners coming without licence from the king, or leave of the government. On which affair, the assembly, in their reply, likewise expressed their concern; and desired that the governor would either appoint a committee of the council, to join with one of the assembly, or proceed as he thought best.

As the governor had lately written to the secretary of state, on the affair, the further consideration of it was, for the present, deferred, in expectation of advice from England. Having been desired by the assembly to give them his assistance, in the revival of their laws, he willingly complied with their request.

In the spring of the year 1718, he proposed to join with the house, in the following address to the king; which was drawn up by him, and laid before the assembly, for their concurrence; to which, with some alteration, or amendment, and an exception to the style of it, (not being in the Quaker mode,) they acceded; and it being signed by the governor, and speaker of the assembly, it was accordingly forwarded to Great Britain.

"To the King's most excellent Majesty.

"The humble address and representation of the governor and general assembly, of your majesty's province of Pennsylvania, met at Philadelphia, the — day of May, 1718.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects and servants, being filled with a dutiful and just sense of that tender care and concern, which your majesty has, on every occasion, been pleased to express, for the peace and prosperity of all your people, do, with profound humility and submission, presume to address your sacred majesty, in behalf of your majesty's good subjects, the people of this province, whom we have the honour, at this time, to represent, in a legislative capacity.

"May it, therefore, please your majesty to know, that, in the year 1681, this colony was settled by

a considerable number of English subjects, called Quakers, under the care, encouragement and direction of William Penn, Esq., our proprietary and governor-in-chief.

"That the persecution, which, in those days, prevailed against Protestant dissenters, in England, was the principal motive and reason, why the first settlers of this country removed their estates and families hither, where they might quietly and peaceably enjoy that innocent liberty of conscience, which they conceived to be every man's natural right.

"That, by the unwearied application, industry and expense of the inhabitants, this colony is now increased to a considerable body of people, whereof the majority continue to remain in the society of Friends, called Quakers.

"That, such being the peculiar and distinguishing circumstance of this, from any other colony under his majesty's dominions, in America, the offices of government must, of necessity, be supplied, and the powers executed, by those of the Quaker's persuasion, intermixed with such others, as are to be found here, in the communion of the Church of England, and good Protestant subjects, well affected to your majesty, and your government.

"That the happy influence of your majesty's most equal and just administration, every where, has perfectly united our hearts and minds to contribute our utmost endeavours, for carrying on the business of the government of this province, in such manner, as may be most agreeable and acceptable to your majesty, and your ministry at home.

"That, for this end we have laboured, more generally of late, to regulate the proceedings in our courts of judicature, as near as possibly could be done, to the constitution and practice of the laws of England.

"That, from many years experience, we are not only convinced that the solemn affirmation allowed in Great Britain, to the people called Quakers, doth in all respects, and in every case, here, answer the legal and essential purposes of an oath, but also the growing condition of this colony, which brings great numbers of people yearly from Europe, to reside among us.

"The multitude of pirates abroad, and other loose vagrant people, who are daily crowding in, to shelter themselves under the peaceable administration of this government; and the absolute necessity there is to punish such, as shall dare to oppose, and break through the known laws of society and humanity, lays us under the greatest obligations, with security to our lives, as well as the just maintenance of your majesty's royal authority over us, not to reject or despise the solemn affirmation, allowed to the Quakers; without which, we humbly beg leave to assure your majesty, judges, juries, nor evidences, sufficient, could never yet be found here, in the most criminal and notorious cases.

"That formerly, it having been found impracticable to keep and preserve the public peace, within this government, any other way than by admitting the solemn affirmation, in all cases whatsoever, to have the same force and effect in law as an oath. upon a representation thereof to the board of trade, the late Queen Anne, by an order in council, dated the 21st of January, 1703, was pleased to direct, in the alternative, viz. 'That all persons, acting in any judicial, or other offices, within this province of Pennsylvania, and three lower counties upon Delaware, should be obliged to take an oath, or, in lieu

thereof, the solemn affirmation allowed in England, to the people called Quakers, and that, in all their public and judicial proceedings, the said judges and officers shall be obliged to administer the oaths appointed by law, or the said attestation.'

"That the Quakers, in general, having approved themselves to be an industrious and quiet people, most heartily attached to your majesty's royal person and government, your loyal subjects of that persuasion, in this province, do humbly hope that your majesty will vouchsafe to indulge their tender consciences, in the case of oaths, with the same freedom that has been granted to them by your royal predecessors, and thereby we shall be effectually enabled to perform our respective duties, in preserving your majesty's peace, within the jurisdiction of this province, and to enforce the just regard and obedience, due unto your royal authority, as becomes, may it please your majesty, your majesty's most loyal, most faithful, and most obedient subjects and servants."

This affair of the "solemn affirmation of the Quakers," appears not to have been finally settled, or fixed to the satisfaction of the province, and according to that right, which the inhabitants thought themselves justly entitled to, until the year 1725.

At the conclusion of this session, near the approach of harvest, the Governor Keith, in his speech, highly complimented the assembly, on account of the valuable and wholesome laws, which (he says) "were composed with so much care, by your diligent application, and the great temper and perfect unanimity wherewith the public affairs had been carried on, through all the parts of the administration of the government, for the last twelve months; and which must, by that time, have convinced all reasonable men among them, of the many and great advantages that such a harmony secures to the commonwealth."

On the 30th of July, 1718, at Rushcomb, near Twyford, in Buckinghamshire, in England, died the truly honourable proprietary and founder of the province of Pennsylvania, William Penn, aged about 74 years. He had, in the year 1712, as before-mentioned, been seized with some fits of an apoplectic kind; which, for the last six years of his life, had so affected his faculties, especially his memory, as to render him, in great measure, incapable of public business; which, with the gradual decline of his strength of body, continued to increase till the close of his life. Notwithstanding this affliction, he is said to have been often sensible and intelligent; and, by his behaviour and expressions, manifested that he retained, till his death, the happy enjoyment of that divine and mental felicity which resulted from the nature of his religion, and manner of life.

Much of his character may be seen in the preceding history; and he is represented by those who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with his true character and real merit, to have been a man of great penetration and foresight; and a sincere lover of truth. He possessed great natural abilities and considerable acquirements; which he ever rendered subservient to the great interests of religion and virtue. His manners were gentle and engaging, and his powers of pleasing considerable.

He may be considered as one of the most powerful instruments, in removing much of that superstitious bigotry and ignorance which, for ages, had overspread, and, even till his time, remained, in a very remarkable manner, to darken the minds of all ranks of people; and was one of the first to in-

troduce, in their stead, especially among the higher class of men, a more liberal and rational way of thinking on religious subjects.

Actuated by the same principles, and induced by the same motives of universal benevolence and improvement; he, in the much admired effects of his civil polity and government, eminently exemplified to the world, by what means war, violence, and injustice may be made to give way to peace, and Christian-equity and beneficence.

His printed works exhibit his manner of writing, and the nature of his compositions. His style is easy and agreeable, yet strong and nervous; without affectation, and not laboured with that tedious formality of expression, which, about his time, was so much the mode. His periods are generally short, yet full and flowing, and he insensibly gains upon his reader, by the simplicity of his expression, and the force of his reasoning.

Persons have not been wanting who have been disposed to censure him, on account of the conduct of some of his lieutenant-governors; and to charge him with withholding many advantages, which they apprehend were in his power to have granted the province. But before these accusations are received, a due consideration should be made of his restricted means, and of the smallness of his fortune. When these are fully considered; when it is recollected that he impaired his private property, devoted his time, and all his energies to the province, and to the sect he so dearly loved; and when all the difficulties he had to contend with, of a political, religious, and private nature, are fully contemplated, he must stand forth as one of those elevated characters whose lives are a blessing to mankind.

*Penn's will*—State of his agreement with Queen Anne, for the sale of the government, &c.—Governor and assembly's conduct, on hearing of the proprietor's decease—Claims of the late proprietor's family—Conduct of the governor and assembly, respecting said claim—The Indians of Pennsylvania attacked by some foreign Indians—Proceedings of the governor and assembly—Governor Keith, with the assembly's consent, establishes a court of chancery, &c.—The governor endeavours to prevent ill consequences among the Indians—A treaty with the Indians at Conestogo.

(1718.) The late proprietary left his estate in England and Ireland, amounting to the yearly value of 1500*l.* sterling, and upwards, to William Penn, his eldest surviving son and heir, by Gulielma Maria, his first wife, and to the issue of that marriage; which, at the time of making his last will, in 1712, besides his said son William Penn, and his daughter Lætitia, appears to have consisted of three grand-children, Gulielma Maria, Springett and William, the children of his son William. He could, therefore, make no provision, out of the said estate, for the payment of his debts, which were very considerable; nor for his widow, (his second wife,) and his offspring by her; who were named, John, Thomas, Margaret, Richard, and Dennis, and were all minors.

His estate in Europe, at this time, was esteemed of more value than all his property in America, especially under its then encumbrance of the mortgage of 1708. He disposed of the latter in the following manner:—

"My eldest son being well provided for by a settlement of his mother's, and my father's estate, I

give and devise the rest of my estate, in manner following. The government of my province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging, and powers relating thereunto, I give and devise to the most honourable, the earl of Oxford, and Earl Mortimer, and to William, Earl Powlett, so called, and their heirs, upon trust, to dispose thereof to the Queen, or any other person, to the best advantage they can, to be applied, in such manner as I shall hereafter direct. I give and devise to my dear wife, Hannah Penn, and her father Thomas Callowhill, and to my good friends, Margaret Lowther, my dear sister, and to Gilbert Heathcote, physician, Samuel Waldenfield, John Field, and Henry Gouldney, all living in England, and to my friends, Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, and James Logan, living in, or near Pennsylvania, and to their heirs, all my lands, tenements and hereditaments, whatsoever rents, and other profits, situate, lying and being in Pennsylvania, and the territories thereunto belonging, or elsewhere in America, upon trust, that they shall sell, and dispose of, so much thereof, as shall be sufficient to pay all my just debts, and from and after payment thereof, shall convey to each of the three children of my son, William Penn, Gulielma Maria, Springett and William, respectively, and to their respective heirs, 10,000 acres of land, in some proper and beneficial place, to be set out by my trustees aforesaid. All the rest of my lands and hereditaments whatsoever, situate, lying, or being in America, I will, that my said trustees shall convey to, and amongst my children, which I have by my present wife, in such proportion, and for such estates as my said wife shall think fit; but before such conveyance shall be made to my children, I will, that my said trustees shall convey to my daughter Aubrey, whom I omitted to name before, 10,000 acres of my said lands, in such places, as my said trustees shall think fit. All my personal estate, in Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, and arrears of rent due there, I give to my said dear wife, whom I make my sole executrix, for the equal benefit of her, and her children."

The following is a codicil to his will, in his own hand writing. "Postscript, in my own hand, as a further testimony of my love to my dear wife, I, of my own mind, give unto her, out of the rents of America, viz. Pennsylvania, 300*l.* a year, for her natural life; and for her care and charge over my children, in their education; of which she knows my mind; as also, that I desire they may settle, at least, in good part, in America, where I leave them so good an interest, to be for their inheritance from generation to generation; which the Lord preserve and prosper, Amen."

Penn, about the time of making his will, had offered the government of Pennsylvania for sale to Queen Anne; with whom afterwards an agreement was actually made, for disposing of it, for 12,000*l.*; of which sum, on the 9th of September, 1712, or soon after, he received 1000*l.* But after this, and before a surrender of the government was effected, he was, by sickness, rendered incapable of executing the agreement; so that the government, at the time of his decease, still remained to be vested in the aforesaid earls, in trust, by virtue of his will. But it appears, that upon his eldest son, and heir at law, William Penn, claiming the government of the province, after his father's death; the question arose, whether, what was devised to the said earls, to be sold, should be accounted part of the real, or

personal, estate of the testator; the earls, therefore, declined to act, in their trust, without the decree of the court of chancery, for their indemnity; which decree, the lords commissioners, of the treasury declared, was absolutely necessary, before the residue of the said 12,000*l.* could be paid to the executrix Hannah Penn.

The news of the long-expected death of the proprietary appears not to have reached Pennsylvania till after the election, and first sitting of the assembly, in October 1718; of which assembly Jonathan Dickinson was chosen speaker. Governor Keith, on his being presented to him, made the following speech:—

"Mr. Speaker,

"The modesty and candour of your deportment, for many years, in public business, has at this time, in the two most eminent stations, justly determined the choice both of the city and country in general, and this flourishing city, in particular, upon you, sir.

"And, from this beginning, I promise myself, that, by your prudent example and conduct, they will at last be persuaded heartily to unite, in all such matters as plainly tend to the honour and advantage of the province," &c.

When the account arrived of the death of Penn, though it was provided by a law of the province, that, on the death of the proprietary, the lieutenant-governor, for the time being, should continue the government as usual, till further order, from the king, or from the heirs of the said proprietary, or governor-in-chief; yet Sir William Keith immediately thereupon, not only consulted the council, but also laid the minute of the council thereon before the assembly at their next meeting, in December, requesting their sentiments on the same. The house, after mentioning their deep sorrow at the proprietary's death, highly approved of both the council's advice, and the governor's conduct in the affair, and begged him to continue his authority.

It was before stated, that notwithstanding the plain terms of the late proprietary's last will, his eldest son, or heir at law, William Penn, after his father's decease, laid claim to the government of the province; which claim was continued by his eldest son, Springett, after the death of his father; who is said to have died at Liege, about the year 1720.

The conduct of Governor Keith, and the provincial assembly, respecting this claim, appears by the speech of the former to the house, in May 1719, with their answer, as follows:—

"Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

"According to my promise, I have called you together, in order to acquaint you, that I lately received a commission from the honourable William Penn, Esq., as our governor-in-chief, with instructions to publish his accession to the government, by advice of the council, in the most solemn manner; which said commission and instructions, with the minute of council thereupon, I have ordered to be laid before you.

"Since that I have seen the probate of the late proprietary's last will and testament, in the hands of Mr. Secretary Logan, whereby the powers of government over this province seem to be devised in trust, after a peculiar manner; and I am told these differences are not likely to be speedily adjusted.

"Gentlemen, my duty to the crown unquestiona-

bly obliges me, while in this station, at all times to use my utmost diligence, in preserving the good order and peace of the government, and to keep the king's subjects of this colony firm in their allegiance, and dutiful obedience to his most excellent majesty, and our sovereign lord, King George; to the end, therefore, that this may be done, with the greatest cheerfulness and unanimity, and likewise that all due respect might be paid to Mr. Penn, and every other branch of the late proprietary's family, I must desire that you will assist me with your opinions and advice; which, I doubt not, will have the same weight with all parties concerned in Britain, as you may be assured it will ever have with me.

"I have received a message from the Indian chiefs of Conestogoe, by a letter to Mr. Secretary Logan; which informs us, that our Indian hunters had been attacked, near the head of Potowmack river, by a considerable body of southern Indians, come out to war with the five nations, and the Indian settlements of Susquehanna. They have killed several of our people, and alarmed them all; so that the careful attention and vigilance of this government was never more called upon than at this juncture; and much will depend upon your unanimous and speedy resolutions to support the administration in all its parts."

To this the assembly returned the following answer:—

"To the honourable William Keith, Esq., Lieutenant-governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c.

"The address of the representatives of the freemen of the said province, in assembly met, in answer to his speech of the 7th instant.

"May it please the Governor,

"The memory of the honourable William Penn, our late proprietary and governor-in-chief, being dear to us, we cannot but have a just and due regard to his family, and should account it our happiness to be governed by a branch thereof, under the most auspicious reign of our royal sovereign, King George.

"And since the governor has been pleased to shew so great a regard to the advice of the representative body of the freemen of this province, as to consult them in a matter which so highly concerns them, we must acknowledge is a great condescension, and an additional instance of his known affection to this colony, with kind inclinations to preserve the public peace and weal of this government.

"The contents of those instruments and writings, which the governor was pleased to lay before this house, brought us under a very deep concern, how to assist him with advice, suitable to the present emergency; for we find the first part of the proprietary's will seems to vest a trust in the noble lords there named, in order to accomplish the treaty of surrender of this government to the crown, which was begun by our late proprietary.

"And though that trust may occasion various opinions in law and equity, yet that does not so much affect us as the want of ascertaining the terms, which we have been always given to expect would accompany the surrender, in favour of the people called Quakers, who embarked with the said proprietary, in the laudable design of this considerable addition of the British empire; and, therefore, think it our duty, at this juncture, to claim those rights and favours, which have been promised us.

"The governor well knows that the present administration of this government, since the proprie-

tary's decease, is supported by a law, confirmed by her late majesty, Queen Anne; and by virtue thereof is to continue till further order from the king, or the heirs of the said late proprietary and governor; and notwithstanding the great regard the governor has to the commission sent him by the said proprietary's heir at law, yet since that heir seems not, by the aforesaid will, invested with the powers of government; but the devise thereof, made to the said lords, being allowed by his own council to be good; and since it doth not appear that commission is attended with the necessary requisites, directed by acts of parliament, for qualifications of persons concerned in such stations, and security of plantation-trade, we conceive it will contribute to the peace of this government, and be safe for the governor, that he, for the present, forbear to publish the said commission; and hope there will be no just occasion given, if the governor should wave superseding the powers given him by the said heir at law, until he receive the pleasure of the said trustees, or has the lord chancellor's decree for his direction; the rather, because we understand that an amicable suit is depending in chancery betwixt the executrix, and heir at law, in order to settle both their claims to this government. We heartily join with the governor in his good resolutions, to preserve the good order and peace of the government, and loyalty of his majesty's subjects, in this colony.

"As touching the attack lately made upon our neighbouring Indians, we hope the governor hath already taken proper measures in that affair, towards quieting their minds, and will use his utmost endeavours to prevent such incursions upon them, for the future, by due representations to the neighbouring governments, and persuasions to our Indians, not to give further provocations, but that they will fall in with more peaceable inclinations; as the same will contribute to their ease and safety, and obtain the friendship and protection of this government; and this house gives the governor assurance, that the necessary charges thereof shall be provided for; and that it is their full purpose to support the administration, to the best of their power. Signed, by order of the house,

JONATHAN DICKINSON, Speaker."

The affair of the government appears to have been subsequently settled in favour of the younger branch of the family: the different parties, in the meantime, mutually agreeing to unite in the necessary appointments and management of the government of the province, till the chancery suit should be determined: so that not only the province itself, which was vested for the use of the younger children by him; but also the government of it afterwards descended to John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, the surviving sons of the younger branch of the family; who were thenceforward the proprietaries.

In October 1719, William Trent, being chosen speaker of the new assembly, the governor presented them with the royal assent to a very important law to the province, which had been passed by him in May 1711, entitled, "An act for the advancement of justice, and more certain administration thereof." The success of which he assured them was chiefly owing to the good correspondence that had hitherto subsisted between him and the representatives of the people. To which the house, in reply, expressed their lasting obligations to the governor, for his extraordinary diligence, in so speedily getting the royal approbation to the said law, and for his care and services on other occasions.



In the spring of the year 1720, the governor made the following proposal to the assembly:—

"Upon some representations, that have been made to me, that a court of equity, or chancery, was very much wanted in this government, I thought proper to consult the opinions of gentlemen learned in the law, and others of good judgment; who all agree, that neither we, or the representative body of any of his majesty's colonies, are invested with sufficient powers to erect such a court, or that the office of chancellor can be lawfully executed by any person whatsoever, except him, who, by virtue of the great seal of England, may be understood to act as the king's representative, in the place; but the opinion of your house, of what may be with safety done, for your country's service, in this case, shall principally direct my conduct."

The assembly agreed to the necessity of such a court; only, in their address, they requested, that such members of the council, as had heard the same cause, in any inferior court, might be exempt from being assistants in the said court. And from this compliance a court of chancery was established in Pennsylvania, by the following proclamation.

"By Sir William Keith, Bart., Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, upon Delaware.

"A Proclamation:

"Whereas complaint has been made, That courts of chancery, or equity, though absolutely necessary, in the administration of justice, for mitigating, in some cases, the rigour of the laws, whose judgments are tied down to fixed and unalterable rules, and for opening a way to the right and equity of a cause, for which the law cannot, in all cases, make a sufficient provision, have, notwithstanding, been too seldom regularly held, in this province, in such manner as the aggrieved subjects might obtain the relief, which by such courts ought to be granted. And whereas, the representatives of the freemen of this province, taking the same into consideration, did, at their last meeting in assembly, request me, that I would, with the assistance of the council, open and hold such a court of equity, for this province: to the end, therefore, that his majesty's good subjects may no longer labour under these inconveniences, which are now complained of, I have thought fit, by and with the advice of the council, hereby to publish and declare, that with their assistance, I propose (God willing) to open and hold a court of chancery, or equity, for the province of Pennsylvania, at the court-house of Philadelphia, on Thursday, the 25th day of this instant, August; from which date the said court will be, and remain, always open for the relief of the subject, to hear and determine all such matters, arising within this province aforesaid, as are regularly cognizable before any court of chancery, according to the laws and constitution of that part of Great Britain, called England; and his majesty's judges of his supreme courts, and all other, whom it may concern, are required to take notice hereof, and to govern themselves accordingly.

"Given at Philadelphia, the tenth day of August, in the seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, George, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, annoque Domini 1720.

"WILLIAM KEITH."

(1721.) Of the assembly, which was elected in October, this year, Isaac Norris was speaker; and the usual good understanding appears to have continued between the different branches of the legislature.

It will have been observed, from what passed between the governor and the assembly, in the beginning of the year 1719, that the disagreement which happened about that time, between the southern Indians, and those of Pennsylvania and more northward, demanded the attention of the government; and consequently the governor, in the spring of this year, 1721, made a journey into Virginia, on this account; and also held a treaty, in Pennsylvania, with the Indians of different nations, after his return: of which the following is an extract, from the printed account of it, published at that time in Philadelphia. "The particulars of an Indian treaty, at Conestogoe, between his Excellency Sir William Keith, Bart., governor of Pennsylvania, and the deputies of the Five Nations.

"The Indian village of Conestogoe lies about 70 miles distant, almost directly west of the city; and the land thereabouts being exceeding rich, it is now surrounded with divers fine plantations, or farms; where they raise quantities of wheat, barley, flax and hemp, without the help of any dung.

"The company, who attended the governor, consisted of between 70 and 80 horsemen; many of them well armed; and, at his return from Conestogoe, he was waited upon, at the upper ferry of Skulkill river, by the mayor and aldermen of this city, with about 200 horse.

"On the 5th of July, the governor arrived at Conestogoe, about noon; and in the evening, went to Captain Civility's cabin; where four deputies of the Five Nations, and a few more of their people, came to see the governor; who spoke to them by an interpreter, to the following purpose, viz.

"That this being the first time that the Five Nations had thought fit to send any of their chiefs to visit him, he had come a great way from home to bid them welcome; that he hoped to be better acquainted, and hold a further discourse with them, before he left the place.

"They answered, That they were come a long way, on purpose to see the governor, and to speak with him; that they had heard much of him, and would have come here before now; but that the faults, or mistakes, committed by some of their young men, had made them ashamed to show their faces; but now, that they had seen the governor's face, they were well satisfied with their journey, whether any thing else was done, or not.

"The governor told them, That to-morrow morning he designed to speak a few words to his brothers and children, the Indians of Conestogoe, and their friends, upon Susquehanna; and desired that the deputies of the Five Nations might be present, in council, to hear what is said to them.

"Conestogoe, July 6th, 1721.

"Present, Sir William Keith, Bart., governor. Richard Hill, Jonathan Dickinson, Caleb Pusey, and Colonel John French, Esqrs., James Logan, Esq. secretary.

"The governor spoke to the Conestogoe Indians, as follows, viz.

"My Brothers and Children,

"So soon as you sent me word, that your near friends and relations, the chiefs of the Five Nations, were come to visit you, I made haste, and am come to see both you and them, and to assure all the Indians of the continuance of my love to them.

"Your old acquaintance and true friend, the great William Penn, was a wise man; and, therefore, he did not approve of wars among the Indians

whom he loved; because it wasted and destroyed their people; but always recommended peace to the Indians, as the surest way to make them rich and strong, by increasing their numbers.

"Some of you can very well remember since William Penn, and his friends, came first to settle among you, in this country: it is but a few years, and like as yesterday, to an old man; nevertheless, by following that great man's peaceable counsels, this government is now become wealthy and powerful, in great numbers of people. And though many of our inhabitants are not accustomed to war, and dislike the practice of men killing one another; yet you cannot but know, I am able to bring several thousands into the field, well armed, to defend both your people and ours, from being hurt by any enemy, that durst attempt to invade us.

"However, we do not forget that William Penn often told us, that the experience of old age, which is true wisdom, advises peace; and I say to you, that the wisest man is also the bravest man: for he safely depends on his wisdom; and there is no true courage without it.

"I have so great a love for you, my dear brothers, who live under the protection of this government, that I cannot suffer you to be hurt, no more than I would my own children. I am but just now returned from Virginia; where I wearied myself in a long journey, both by land and water, only to make peace for you, my children, that you may safely hunt in the woods, without danger, from Virginia, and the many Indian Nations, that are at peace with that government. But the governor of Virginia expects, that you will not hunt within the great mountains, on the other side of Potowmack river; being a small tract of land, which he keeps for the Virginia Indians, to hunt in: and he promises that his Indians shall not come any more on this side Potowmack, or behind the great mountains this way, to disturb your hunting. And this is the condition I have made for you; which I expect you will firmly keep, and not break it on any consideration whatsoever.

"I desire that what I have now said to you may be interpreted to the chiefs of the Five Nations present: for as you are a part of them, they are, in like manner, one with us, as you yourselves are; and, therefore, our counsels must agree, and be made known to one another: for our hearts should be open, that we may perfectly see into one another's breasts. And that your friends may speak to me freely, tell them I am willing to forget the mistakes, which some of their young men were guilty of, amongst our people. I hope they will grow wiser with age, and hearken to the grave counsels of their old men; whose valour we esteem, because they are wise; but the rashness of their young men is altogether folly."

"At a council held at Conestogoe, July 7th, 1721.

"Present, Sir William Keith, Bart. Governor. Richard Hill, Jonathan Dickinson, Caleb Pusey, and Colonel John French, Esqrs., James Logan, secretary, with divers gentlemen.

"*Sinnekae's Nation*.—Ghesaont, Awennoot.

"*Onondagoe's Nation*.—Tannawree, Skeetowass.

"*Cayoogoe's Nation*.—Sahoode, Tchehughque.

"Smith, the Ganawese Indian, interpreter from the Mingoe language to the Delaware.

"John Cartledge, Esq. and Mr. James le Tort, interpreters from the Delaware into English.

"Ghesaont, in the name, and on the behalf of

all the Five Nations, delivered himself, in speaking to the governor, as follows:—

"They were glad to see the governor, and his council at this place; for they had heard much of the governor in their towns, before they came from home; and now they find him to be what they had then heard of him, viz. their friend and brother, and the same as if William Penn were still amongst them.

"They assure the governor and council, that they had not forgot William Penn's treaties with them; and that his advice to them was still fresh in their memories.

"Though they cannot write, yet they retain every thing, said in their councils, with all the nations they treat with; and preserve it as carefully in their memories, as if it was committed in our method of writing.

"They complain that our traders, carrying goods and liquors up Susquehanna river, sometimes meet with their young people going out to war, and treat them unkindly, not only refusing to give them a dram of their liquor, but use them with ill language, and call them dogs, &c.

"They take this unkindly; because dogs have no sense, or understanding: whereas they are men, and think that their brothers should not compare them to such creatures.

"That some of our traders calling their young men by these names, the young men answered; 'If they were dogs, they might act as such;' whereupon they seized a cag of liquor, and ran away with it."

This seems to be told in their artful way, to excuse some small robberies, that had been committed by their young people.

Then laying down a belt of wampum upon the table, he proceeded and said,

"That all their disorders arose from the use of rum, and strong spirits; which took away their sense and memory; that they had no such liquors among themselves; but were hurt with what we furnished them; and therefore desired that no more of that sort might be sent among them."

He produced a bundle of dressed skins and said,

"That the Five Nations faithfully remember all their ancient treaties; and now desire that the chain of friendship, between them and us, may be made so strong, as that none of the links can ever be broken."

Presents another bundle of raw skins, and ob serves,

"That a chain may contract rust with lying, and become weaker; wherefore, he desires it may now be so well cleaned, as to remain brighter and stronger, than ever it was before."

Presents another parcel of skins and says,

"That, as in the firmament, all clouds and darkness are removed from the face of the sun, so they desire that all the misunderstandings may be fully done away; so that when they, who are now here, shall be dead and gone, their whole people, with their children and posterity, may enjoy the clear sun-shine of friendship with us for ever; without any thing to interpose, or obscure it."

Presents another bundle of skins, and says,

"That, looking upon the governor, as if William Penn was present, they desire, that, in case any disorders should hereafter happen between their young people and ours, we would not be too hasty in resenting any such accident, until their council and

ours can have some opportunity to treat amicably upon"; and so to adjust all matters, as that the friendship between us may still be inviolably preserved.

"Presents a small parcel of dressed skins, and desires,

"That we may now be together as one people; treating one another's children kindly and affectionately, on all occasions.

"He proceeds and says,

"That they consider themselves, in this treaty, as the full plenipotentiaries and representatives of the Five Nations; and they look upon the governor, as the great king of England's representative: and, therefore, they expect that every thing now stipulated will be made absolutely firm and good, on both sides.

"Presents a bundle of bear-skins, and says,

"That having now made a firm league with us, as becomes our brothers, they complain that they get too little for their skins and furs, so as they cannot live by their hunting; they desire us, therefore, to take compassion on them, and contrive some way to help them, in that particular.

"Presenting a few furs, he speaks only as from himself, to acquaint the governor,

"That the Five Nations having heard that the governor of Virginia wanted to speak with them, he himself, with some of his company, intended to proceed to Virginia, but do not know the way how to get safe thither.

"On the 8th of July, the governor and his council, at the house of John Cartlidge, Esq., near Conestogoe, having advised upon, and prepared a proper present, in return for that of the Indians, and in confirmation of his speech, according to custom, in such cases, which consisted of a quantity of strowd match-coats, gunpowder, lead, biscuit, pipes and tobacco, adjourned to Conestogoe the place of treaty."

"At a council, held at Conestogoe, July 8th, 1721. P. M.

"Present, the same as before; with divers gentlemen attending the governor, and the chiefs of the Five Nations; being all seated in council, and the presents laid down before the Indians, the governor spoke to them, by an interpreter, in these words:—

"My Friends and Brothers,

"It is a great satisfaction to me, that I have this opportunity of speaking to the valiant and wise Five Nations of Indians, whom you tell me, you are fully empowered to represent.

"I treat you, therefore, as if all these nations were here present; and you are to understand, what I now say, to be agreeable to the mind of our great Monarch, George, the king of England, who bends his care to establish peace amongst all the mighty nations of Europe; unto whom all the people, in these parts, are, as it were, but like one drop, out of a bucket, so that what is now transacted between us, must be laid up, as the words of the whole body of your people and our people, to be kept in perpetual remembrance.

"I am also glad to find that you remember what William Penn formerly said to you. He was a great and a good man: his own people loved him; he loved the Indians, and they also loved him. He was as their father; he would never suffer them to be wronged; neither would he let his people enter upon any lands, until he had first purchased them of the Indians. He was just, and therefore the Indians loved him.

"Though he is now removed from us; yet his children and people, following his example, will

always take the same measures; so that his and our posterity will be as a long chain, of which he was the first link; and when one link ends, another succeeds, and then another; being all firmly bound together in one strong chain, to endure for ever.

"He formerly knit the chain of friendship with you, as the chief of all the Indians, in these parts; and lest this chain should grow rusty, you now desire it may be scoured, and made strong, to bind us, as one people, together. We do assure you, it is, and has always been, bright on our side; and so we will ever keep it.

"As to your complaint of our traders, that they have treated some of your young men unkindly, I take that to be said only by way of excuse for the follies of your people, thereby endeavouring to persuade me, that they were provoked to do what you very well know they did; but, as I told our own Indians, two days ago, I am willing to pass by all these things; you may therefore be assured, that our people shall not offer any injury to yours; or, if I know that they do, they shall be severely punished for it. So you must, in like manner, strictly command your young men, that they do not offer any injury to ours. For when they pass through the utmost skirts of our inhabitants, where there are no people yet settled, but a few traders, they should be more careful of them, as having separated themselves from the body of their friends, purely to serve the Indians more commodiously with what they want.

"Nevertheless, if any little disorders should at any time hereafter arise, we will endeavour that it shall not break, or weaken the chain of friendship between us: to which end, if any of your people take offence, you must, in that case, apply to me, or to our chiefs. And when we have any cause to complain, we shall, as you desire, apply to your chiefs, by our friends, the Conestogoe Indians; but, on both sides, we must labour to prevent every thing of this kind as much as we can.

"You complain that our traders come into the path of your young men, going out to war, and thereby occasion disorders among them; I will, therefore, my friends and brothers, speak very plainly to you on this head.

"Your young men come down Susquehanna river, and take their road through our Indian towns and settlements, and make a path between us and the people, against whom they go out to war. Now, you must know, that the path this way leads them only to the Indians, who are in alliance with the English; and first to those who are in a strict league of friendship with the governor of Virginia; just as these, our friends and children, who are settled among us, are in league with me and our people.

"You cannot, therefore, make war upon the Indians, in league with Virginia, without weakening the chain with the English: for, as we would not suffer these, our friends and brothers of Conestogoe, and upon the river, to be hurt by any persons, without considering it as done to ourselves; so the governor of Virginia looks upon the injuries done to his Indian brothers and friends as if they were done to himself. And you very well know, that though you are five different nations, yet you are but one people; so as that any wrong done to one nation is received as an injury done you all.

"In the same manner, and much more so, it is with the English, who are all united under one great king, who has more people, in that one town,

where he lives, than all the Indians in North America, put together.

"You are in league with New York, as your ancient friends, and nearest neighbours; and you are in league with us, by treaties often repeated, and by a chain which you have now brightened. As, therefore, all the English are but one people, you are actually in league with all the English governments, and must equally preserve the peace with all, as with one government.

"You pleased me very much, when you told me that you were going to treat with the governor of Virginia. Your nations formerly entered into a very firm league with that government; and, if you have suffered that chain to grow rusty, it is time to scour it; and the Five Nations have done very wisely to send you there for that purpose.

"I do assure you the governor of Virginia is a great and a good man; he loves the Indians, as his children, and so protects and defends them; for he is very strong, having many thousand Christian warriors under his command; whereby he is able to assist all those who are in any league of friendship with him. Hasten, therefore, my friends, to brighten and strengthen the chain with that great man; for he desires it, and will receive you kindly. He is my great and good friend; I have been lately with him; and since you say you are strangers, I will give you a letter to him, to inform him of what we have done, and of the good design of your visit to him and this country.

"My friends and brothers, I told you two days ago, that we must open our breasts to each other; I shall, therefore, like your true friend, open mine yet further to you, for your good.

"You see that the English, from a very small people, at first, in these parts, are, by peace amongst themselves, become a very great people amongst you, far exceeding the number of all the Indians we know of.

"But while we are at peace, the Indians continue to make war upon one another; and destroy each other, as if they intended that none of their people should be left alive; by which means you are, from a great people, become a very small people; and yet you will go on to destroy yourselves.

"The Indians of the south, though they speak a different language, yet they are the same people, and inhabit the same land, with those of the north. We therefore cannot but wonder how you, that are a wise people, should take delight in putting an end to your race: the English, being your true friends, labour to prevent this. We would have you strong, as a part of ourselves: for, as our strength is your strength, so we would have yours to be as our own.

"I have persuaded all my brethren, in these parts, to consider what is for their good; and not to go out any more to war; but your young men, as they come this way, endeavour to force them. And because they incline to follow the counsels of peace, and the good advice of their true friends, your people use them ill, and often prevail with them to go out, to their own destruction. Thus it was, that their town of Conestogoe lost their good king not long ago; and thus many have been lost. Their young children are left without parents; their wives without husbands; the old men, contrary to the course of nature, mourn the death of their young; the people decay, and grow weak; we lose our dear friends, and are afflicted. And this is chiefly owing to your young men.

"Surely, you cannot propose to get either riches, or possessions, by going thus out to war: for when you kill a deer you have the flesh to eat, and the skin to sell; but when you return from war, you bring nothing home but the scalp of a dead man; who, perhaps, was husband to a kind wife, and father to tender children, who never wronged you; though, by losing him, you have robbed them of their help and protection; and, at the same time, got nothing by it.

"If I were not your friend, I would not take the trouble of saying all these things to you; which I desire may be fully related to all your people, when you return home, that they may consider in time what is for their own good. And, after this, if any will be so madly deaf and blind, as neither to hear nor see the danger before them, but will go out to destroy, and be destroyed, for nothing, I must desire that such foolish young men would take another path, and not pass this way, amongst our people, whose eyes I have opened; and they have wisely hearkened to my advice. So that I must tell you plainly, as I am their best friend, and this government is their protector, and as a father to them, we will not suffer them any more to go out, as they have done, to their destruction. I say again we will not suffer it; for we have the counsel of wisdom amongst us, and know what is for their good. For though they are weak, yet they are our brethren; we will therefore take care of them, that they be not misled with ill counsel. You mourn when you lose a brother; we mourn when any of them are lost; to prevent which they shall not be suffered to go out, as they have done, to be destroyed by war.

"My good friends and brothers, I give you the same council, and earnestly desire that you will follow it, since it will make you a happy people. I give you this advice, because I am your true friend; but I much fear you hearken to others, who never were, and never will be, your friends.

"You know very well, that the French have been your enemies, from the beginning; and though they made peace with you 22 years ago, yet, by subtle practices, they still endeavour to ensnare you. They use arts and tricks, and tell you lies, to deceive you; and if you would make use of your own eyes, and not be deluded by their jesuits and interpreters, you would see this yourselves: for you know they have no goods of any value, these several years past, except what has been sent to them from the English of New York, and that is now all over.

They give fair speeches, instead of real services; and as, for many years, they attempted to destroy you in war, so they now endeavour to do it in peace; for when they persuade you to go out to war against others, it is only that you may be destroyed yourselves; which we, as your true friends, labour to prevent; because we would have your numbers increase, that you may grow strong, and that we may be all strengthened in friendship and peace together.

"As to what you have said of trade, I suppose the great distance, at which you live from us, has prevented all commerce between us and your people. We believe those, who go into the woods, and spend all their time upon it, endeavour to make the best bargains they can, for themselves; so, on your part, you must take care to make the best bargains you can with them. But we hope our traders do not exact; for we think that a strowd coat, or a pound of powder, is now sold for no more

beaver-skins than formerly. Beaver, indeed, is not, of late, so much used in Europe; and, therefore, does not give so good a price; and we deal but very little in that commodity. But deer-skins sell very well among us; and I shall always take care that the Indians be not wronged. But, except other measures be taken to regulate the Indian trade every where, the common method used in trade will still be followed; and every man must take care of himself; for thus I must do myself, when I buy any thing from our own people; if I do not give them their price, they will keep it; for we are a free people. But if you have any further proposals to make about these affairs, I am willing to hear and consider them; for it is my desire that the trade be well regulated to your content.

"I am sensible rum is very hurtful to the Indians; we have made laws, that none should be carried amongst them; or, if any is, that it should be staved, and thrown upon the ground; and the Indians have been ordered to destroy all the rum, that comes in their way, but they will not do it; they will have rum; and when we refuse it, they will travel to the neighbouring provinces and fetch it; their own women go to purchase it, and then sell it amongst their own people, at excessive rates. I would gladly make any laws to prevent this, that could be effectual; but the country is so wide, the woods are so dark and private, and so far out of my sight, if the Indians themselves do not prohibit their own people, there is no other way to prevent it; for my part, I shall readily join in any measures, that can be proposed, for so good a purpose.

"I have now, my friends and brothers, said all that I think can be of service at this time, and I give you these things here laid before you, to confirm my words, viz. Five coats, 20 pounds of powder, 40 pounds of lead, for each of the Five Nations; that is, 25 coats, 100 pounds of powder, and 200 pounds of lead, in the whole; which I desire may be delivered to them, with these words in my name, and on behalf of this province: I shall be glad to see often some of your chief men, sent in the name of all the rest; and desire you will come to Philadelphia, to visit our families, and our children born there, where we can provide better for you, and make you more welcome; for people always receive their friends best at their own houses. I heartily wish you well on your journey, and good success in it. And when you return home, I desire you will give my very kind love, and the love of all our people, to your kings, and to all their people.

"Then the governor rose from his chair; and when he had called Ghesaont, the speaker, to him, he took a coronation medal of the king, and presented it to the Indian in these words:—

"That our children, when we are dead, may not forget these things, but keep this treaty, between us, in perpetual remembrance, I here deliver to you a picture in gold, bearing the image of my great master, the king of all the English; and when you return home, I charge you to deliver this piece into the hands of the first man, or greatest chief of all the Five Nations, whom you call Kannygoah, to be laid up and kept, as a token to our children's children; that an entire and lasting friendship is now established for ever, between the English, in this country, and the great Five Nations."

*The governor's concern to promote the country's benefit, &c.—Proceedings in consequence of the barbarous murder of an Indian—Divers useful laws passed,*

*with some of their titles, &c.—Increase of law-suits—Regulation of bread and flour—Paper currency scheme first introduced in 1722—Advocated by the governor, and favoured by the generality of the people; but disliked by some—Sentiments of several gentlemen and merchants, relating to a paper currency, presented to the assembly—Answer to these sentiments, &c.—Governor Keith's judgment on the same subject, in writing, to the assembly—Reply to the answer to the above sentiments, &c.*

Of the assembly, elected in Oct. 1721, Jeremiah Langhorne was speaker; to which assembly, in the winter, the governor, in his speech, intimated the necessity of their united and diligent application to restore the planter's credit, without discouraging the merchant, by whose industry alone, he says, "Their trade must be supported with a sufficient currency of cash." He then proceeded: "My mind is so fully bent upon doing this province some effectual service, that I have lately formed the design of a considerable settlement amongst you, in order to manufacture and consume the grain; for which there is, at this time, no profitable market abroad; and although this project will doubtless, at first, prove very chargeable and expensive to me, yet, if it meets with your approbation, and the good will of the people, I am well assured it cannot fail of answering my purpose, to do a real service to the country, and every interest and concern of mine shall ever be built on that bottom."

The house acknowledged, "His zeal to restore the planter's credit, with his just care of the merchant, who, of late, with others equally, had laid under the greatest disadvantages for want of a sufficient currency of cash, as appeared to them, from the melancholy complaints of the people, declaring they would readily fall in with any scheme that should appear to them conducive to a remedy."

In the spring of the year 1722, an Indian was barbarously killed, within the limits of the province, somewhere above Conestogoe. This murder was supposed to be perpetrated by one or two persons, of the name of Cartlidge. The governor having commissioned James Logan, and Col. John French, two of his council, to go to Conestogoe, to inquire into the affair, after their return, at the request of the assembly, laid their report of it before them. The house, in their address to the governor, expressed their utmost concern on this affair: they "gratefully acknowledged, and highly commended the governor's prudent conduct, and steady administration of justice; but more especially at that time, on an occasion of the greatest importance to the peace and safety of the government, by his empowering two gentlemen of his council so able and prudent, on the present emergency; whose wise conduct (said they) is very conspicuous from their report laid before the house by the governor."

They earnestly requested the governor to persist in his laudable endeavour, to bring the aggressors to condign punishment, with all possible speed, lest, by delay of justice, the Indians should be induced to withdraw their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and be provoked to do themselves justice, in a manner that might be of most dangerous consequence. They also urged, "That he would advise with his counsel, in making treaties with them; for, as they are some of the principal inhabitants of this government, we have no reason to doubt but they will be concerned for the good of the same."

They likewise mentioned the repeated request of the Indians, that strong liquors should not be carried, nor sold among them; with the petition of sundry inhabitants of the province, to the same import; which the laws hitherto made, in that case, had not been able to prevent; and they, therefore, requested the advice and assistance of the governor and council therein.

The governor declared, "That he had carefully endeavoured to follow the late honourable proprietary's steps in such affairs; to keep the natives always in a lively and perfect remembrance of his love to them, and to build all their treaties of peace with them, upon the same principles and maxims of good policy, which he used and maintained when he was here himself." He likewise assured the house that he had at that time all the probability, which the nature of the case would admit of, of settling matters again agreeably with the Indian nations.

Great pains were taken in the affair of the murder; and an Indian messenger, Satcheecho, was dispatched to the five nations; the suspected persons were committed to prison; and the governor, with two of the council, met and treated with the five nations at Albany, respecting it; and presents were made to the Indians. The five nations desired that the Cartlidges should not suffer death; and the affair was, at length, amicably settled.

Among the laws passed by the governor, this year, for improving the produce of the province, meliorating its staple commodities, then in bad credit at foreign markets, and for other purposes, were the following: "An act to prohibit the selling of rum, and other strong liquors, to the Indians, and to prevent abuses that may happen thereby."

"An act for encouraging the making good beer, and for the consumption of grain in the province," "An act to prevent the exportation of flour not merchantable." "An act for laying a duty on negroes imported into this province." "An act for encouraging and raising of hemp in this province," and others of a like tendency.

Joseph Growdon was speaker of the assembly elected in October 1722. The governor, in his speech to this assembly, on the first of February, 1723, recommended them to direct their attention to the multiplicity of expensive and vexatious law-suits, which had arisen of late in an unprecedented manner.

In consequence of the governor's representation, the committee of grievances, on the same month, made their report as follows, taken from the printed votes:—

"We have examined the sheriff's docket, and find that,

From September 1715, to September 1716, the number of writs are .....	431
From September 1717, to September 1718. . .	588
From September 1719, to September 1720 ..	627
From September 1721, to September 1722. . .	847
From September to December, 1722 .....	250

Several laws were passed, which appear to have the desired effect, and to have remedied the evils complained of.

He also urged, "That, for the sake of the whole country, who must live by the product and manufacture of grain, it was absolutely necessary, that the making good bread and flour, be so regulated, as to recover their lost credit in the market in the West Indies; upon which their whole traffic entirely depended."

About this time the province appears to have been under great difficulties, respecting the decay of its trade and credit, and the want of a sufficient circulating medium or currency; for the relief of which many proposals were made. Among others, that of paper money was now introduced; which occasioned considerable debate.

The governor was a strong advocate for a paper currency, and took great pains to promote it; with whom appeared to join the generality of the people. But the persons of property and influence did not like the scheme. Their dislike was chiefly founded on the difficulty of preserving that kind of currency from depreciation; which they saw had in general occasioned mischievous and fraudulent consequences in other provinces; they also disapproved of the mode proposed, of issuing and conducting the same. So that their opposition was not so much against a paper credit, properly guarded and conducted, as against fraud, or those modes of managing it, which had been so ruinous in other places. Hence, in the February of this year, when the scheme was under consideration of the assembly, Isaac Norris and James Logan, in the name and behalf of several gentlemen and merchants, presented the following sentiments thereon, in writing, to the house.

"To the honourable house of representatives of the province of Pennsylvania.

"Being admitted, upon our address to the house, presented yesterday, to exhibit any further sentiments, in relation to a paper credit, now vigorously pressed to be established by law; we accordingly offer the following heads, which may be supported by solid arguments, when the house thinks fit to require them.

"First, That as this province derives all its powers from, and is wholly dependent on the kingdom of Great Britain, it will be the highest wisdom in our legislature, upon all exigencies, to direct themselves by the same prudent and just measures which the parliaments of that kingdom have always pursued, in the like cases; in whom nothing has been more conspicuous than a most strict care, that no subject should lose by the coin, or public credit of the kingdom.

"Secondly, That as, when the nation was most grievously distressed, in the time of a dangerous and expensive war, by a general debasing of their current coin, the parliament would hearken to no proposal (though many were made) for relieving the state, by raising the new minted money to a higher value; but, under the vastest difficulties, renewed it, at the same weight and fineness, to pass at the former rates; which they have unalterably kept to. And further, by the sum of 1,200,000*l.* made good to private persons all the loss of exchanging their clipped and debased coin, for the new milled money, which was delivered out at a par to them: so the like justice and prudence requires that no further alteration, than what the parliament has made here, should, on any terms, be admitted, in the value of our gold and silver, but that it still continue, as it now passes.

"Thirdly, That, as the parliament, as often as they found it necessary to issue bills of credit, called exchequer bills, or notes, took the utmost care, to keep them equal in value with silver, by giving the Bank of England, when they fell into any discount, vast sums of money, to receive those bills as their own, and to exchange them with ready cash, on the demand of the bearer: so it appears absolutely ne-



cessary, that if bills of credit be raised here, due care should be taken (since we can have no such banks in this province, as are in Europe, whose rules are to pay down ready money for their bills, upon demand,) to establish them on so just a foundation, that, while in being, they may still continue of the same value with real money, according to the rates, at which they are at first issued.

"Fourthly, That, if those bills be issued on any easier terms to the receiver, than gold, or silver would be, if it were to be paid, or lent out of the treasury, by how much easier these terms are by so much, at least, will the bills fall in value; for credit has its own laws, as unalterable in themselves, as those of motion, or gravity are, in nature, and which, such as are versed in these affairs in Europe, as carefully consider.

"Fifthly, That the schemes most commonly talked of, for lending out sums, to be discharged by annual payments, equal to, or not much exceeding, the interest, for a certain number of years, without paying any principal, are partial and unjust, and would be destructive to public credit; because the consideration given is not an equivalent to the sum received.

"For instance, should 100*l.* be lent out, to be discharged, by the payment only of 8*l.* annually, for sixteen years; were such an annuity to be bought, according to the known rules for purchasing estates, it would here be worth no more than 70*l.* 16*s.* and 3*d.* in ready money; nor is an annuity for 9*l.* 10*s.* per annum, for twelve years, worth more than 71*l.* 12*s.* In either of these cases, the borrower, could he discharge debts of that value with it, though he were to pay the annuity in gold and silver, would gain near 30*l.* by the loan, but no other person would feel the least advantage by it: now, if no man would let out his own money on these terms, none ought to desire it so of the public; the credit of which is of vastly greater importance than that of any private persons; because a failure in it affects the fortune of every individual in his money, the medium of his commerce and dealing.

"Sixthly, That all such projects are either exceedingly weak, or unjust; for the paper money is to be lent either to all, who shall desire it, on a tender of the security proposed, or to some only: if to all (as it is natural for all men to desire what they may gain by,) it will be impracticable to strike enough, to answer all demands; or, if it were struck, it would, because of its quantity, become of little, or no value; if to a few only, what tribunal can be erected, to judge and distinguish, who of the king's subjects are to be admitted to the favour, and who to be rejected? If the poor only are to be the objects, they have not security to give, or, if they had, perhaps they have as little merit as any: commonly people become wealthy by sobriety and industry, the most useful qualifications in a commonwealth, and poor by luxury, idleness and folly. What rules then can be found for dispensing the public favours?

"Seventhly, That by these schemes, the more the currency, or paper money falls in value (by which word falling, is meant the rising of gold, silver, English goods, and all other commodities, in nominal value, which is the certain proof of the other's falling,) the greater is the borrower's advantage; for the more easily will he pay his annuity; so that he may happen, by virtue of the act, to discharge, with the value of 20*l.*, a debt of 100*l.*, due to the man, who, perhaps, kindly lent him the money,

to relieve him in distress, or honestly sold him his land, or goods, at their real value, at the time of lending, or sale.

"Eighthly, That all those deceive themselves, who, because gold and silver may be had at New York, or other places, in exchange for their paper money, suppose that the one, therefore, is as good as the other, unless the silver can be had at eight shillings per ounce, or the gold at six shillings per pennyweight, at New York, as they were rated at the first striking of their bills; but when their silver brings from nine to ten shillings per ounce, and their light pistoles pass at 28*s.*, or higher, then bills are truly so much fallen in value, as the others are advanced. So, in Carolina, silver is to be purchased for their bills, but it is at 30*s.* per ounce, though they were struck, as is said, at seven shillings only!

"These being premised as general heads, what next follows, is to point out what are conceived to be the only means of supporting the credit of such a currency, if issued.

"First, That the whole sum struck be but small, and just sufficient to pass from hand to hand, for a currency.

"Secondly, That it be not continued for any longer time; for the paper will wear out, and it will not be so easy to exchange it for new, as some have imagined; which, it is much to be doubted, will be found impracticable: besides, the sooner it is to expire, the more easily will people be satisfied to take it. But further, our laws can continue in force no longer than five years, without the royal approbation.

"Thirdly, That care be taken to force the sinking of it in course, and in a just manner, by measures, that shall render it absolutely necessary for the public to have it sunk; which, it is conceived, none of the methods hitherto discoursed of will effect. These heads, may it please the house, are what we have at present humbly to offer to your consideration, on this subject."

A few days after this was presented to the house, the governor also delivered them his sentiments, in writing, on the same subject, as follows:—

"Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

"I have, at your request, very carefully considered the resolutions of the house, upon your journals, relating to public credit; and also some things, which, I find, have been offered to you upon the same subject.

"Credit may, no doubt, be compared to the mathematics, in so far as both sciences will admit of deducing solid conclusions from self-evident and clear principles; and yet, by the subtilty of an artist, truth, or falsehood, in either of them, is often so wrapped up and involved, that it is lost unto, or misapprehended by the plainest, and, generally speaking, much the honestest part of mankind.

"But the common necessity, and general interest of the whole body of the people, being a subject of importance on which we ought to speak plainly, and act freely, I shall, without any preamble, or disguise whatever, communicate my thoughts to you, in the simplest, and most intelligible manner that I can.

"First, If it be true, that the riches and prosperity of this province chiefly depend on the manufacture of provisions, and the exchanging of that manufacture, with other things to advantage, it will also be true, that whatever increases the one, and at the same time, encourages the other, will

justly deserve the name of a public good; and the majority of those, employed in such manufacture and exchange, have thereby a right to be considered as the body of the people, whom you represent.

"Secondly, It is evident, that, where there is no public debt, and a real value, in lands, to be pledged, paper money may, if there is occasion for it, be struck to advantage, without any risk at all; for though perhaps it may contribute to hurt some weak people, in the ill management of their private affairs, yet, while any unfrugal person is lost to the community, and is succeeded by one more industrious than he, the public cannot suffer by such a change.

"Thirdly, If, in the case of a paper currency among us, it should happen to follow (as it may be supposed it will) that silver and gold will be kept up for remittances to Great Britain, we shall then have no other means of dealing with one another, but the paper: should the quantity, therefore, be less than is necessary to circulate our home trade, in its natural course, usurers and sharpers would have the same opportunity as they have now, to lie at catch for bargains, and make a monopoly of trade, by engrossing the current money into their hands.

"Fourthly, The very essence and nature of credit, as well as the practice and experience of the greatest banks in Europe, directs all such bills to be issued at something less than the common interest, for that is, in effect, a premium by the public, to encourage their circulation: and whosoever is pleased to say, that the bank of Amsterdam loses credit, by lending money at two per cent., or the bank of England, by lending money at four per cent., shall scarce prevail with me to think the assertion worthy of any answer.

"Fifthly, I am not of opinion with those gentlemen, who are pleased to alledge, that the value of silver at New York, which, in the month of September last, was from eight shillings and six-pence to eight shillings and nine-pence, is occasioned by their paper; for, in this province, where there never has been any paper yet, from five to ten per cent. has, for several years, been given in exchange for silver. And as for their computation of gold, the gentlemen, perhaps, have not had occasion of late to be informed, that the heaviest pistoles in York go at no more than 28s., and smaller, or cut gold, at the common standard value in that province; where, it is believed, the people could not possibly carry on half the quantity of their present trade and business without the help of paper.

"Sixthly, I must also take leave to differ in opinion with those who, without enquiry, and by wholesale, are pleased to condemn all schemes of lending money, to be discharged by annual payments; for I truly think that method will not only suit the different circumstances and conveniency of the people best, but in all respects will prove the safest and most profitable, as well as equal; and my reasons for it are these:—

"First, Whatever quantity be issued, if one-fifth, sixth, or tenth part of the sum, according to the time for which it is to last, must necessarily come into office every year, it may be lent out again, at five per cent. for any time within the term, to such persons as had no place, or opportunity, to come into the first loan: by which means all the frightful, odd things mentioned in the gentlemen's sixth observation, will presently vanish; for every man, in this case, according to his ability, may, if he thinks fit, share in that advantage; which the pub-

lic most generously and prudently offers to the necessities of the people.

"Secondly, If so great a share of the whole comes in yearly to the office, in order to be lent out again, it will, in a great measure, prevent engrossing, and help the circulation considerably; it will also give more frequent opportunity of discovering frauds, and gradually increase the public stock and revenue of the bank; and by that means it will demonstrably sink the original sum, within the time prefixed; that is to say, the paper, at the end of that term, will either be found in the office, or its value in cash, ready to pay what shall then happen, by accident, to be yet abroad.

"Seventhly, If too great a security is demanded for the loan of public money, I think it will, in a great measure, frustrate the design of relieving many of the middling, or most industrious, sort of the people; wherefore it is my opinion, that one-half of the value of ground rents may very safely be lent to those who are willing and able to give such security.

"Eighthly, If, upon further consideration, you find that the sum intended may be issued to better advantage, for a longer time, I think the objection, that our acts can only subsist five years, without being approved, is of no weight; for besides, that it would not be very civil, to suppose that the legislative authority here would deliberately go upon any act of that importance, or indeed of any kind, which we had the least cause to suspect would be disagreeable to his majesty, or the sentiments of his ministry: we know very well it is in his majesty's royal power and prerogative, to repeal and make void, at any time, all acts of assembly, to be made, or passed in America: and, for my part, if I did not, in my conscience, believe that the act, now proposed, would be made on such a rational, just and equal foot, as would rather claim his majesty's gracious favour, in assenting to it, than render it obnoxious to his impartial justice, I should neither have given myself nor you this trouble.

"Gentlemen, these are most frankly and sincerely my present sentiments of the matter before you; and, as I do not find myself inclined to dispute, and much less to shew any stiffness or obstinacy in an affair of such a general concern, I shall very much rely on your diligent circumspection and care, for the good of your country, being still ready and willing to give you all the assistance in my power.

"WILLIAM KEITH."

*The assembly's conduct in the affair of a paper currency—Further account of the Pennsylvania paper currency, till 1749—Governor Keith violates his instructions from the proprietary—Reasons given for and against the same—The widow Penn's answer to the remonstrance of the assembly—Disputes afterwards relative to the proprietor's instructions.*

(1723.) In this important affair the assembly proceeded with the utmost caution; for having the examples and mistakes of the other colonies before their eyes, they saw the principal thing which they had to guard against, was the depreciation of their bills; which nothing could so much effect as an over-quantity, defect of solid security, and of proper provision to recall and cancel them; so in this, their first experiment of the kind, they issued only 15,000*l*. on such terms as appeared most likely to be effectual to keep up their credit, and gradually to reduce and sink them. The act for this purpose was passed by the governor, on the second of March

1723. But, from the advantage which was soon experienced by this emission, together with the insufficiency of the sum, the government was induced, in the latter end of the same year, to emit 30,000*l.* more, on the same terms.

But, that it may appear with what caution this province at first advanced in this affair, it may not be improper in this place to give the following report, drawn up by the assembly of Pennsylvania, in November, 1739, upon a requisition from the government in Great Britain, to have the state of the paper currency, with the rates of passing, buying, and selling gold and silver, in the British colonies, from the year 1700, to that time, laid before the parliament.

"An account of the several acts, passed in the province of Pennsylvania, for creating, or issuing paper bills, or bills of credit, with the account of those bills, and the value thereof, in money of Great Britain; and the provision made for sinking, or discharging the same, together with the sum of bills that have been sunk, or discharged; also the sum of bills subsisting, or passing in payment, at this time, with the amount of the value thereof, in money of Great Britain.

"In the year 1723, two acts were passed for creating the first bills of credit, by which 45,000*l.* were issued; and for the effectual discharging, or sinking the said bills, it was therein provided and enacted, that a real estate in fee simple, of double the value of the sum lent out, should be secured in an office erected for that purpose; and that the sums so lent out should be annually repaid into the office, in such equal sums or quotas, as would effectually sink the whole capital sum of 45,000*l.*, within the time limited by the aforesaid acts; which sum, being computed in silver, as it was then received, and paid, among us, and reduced to sterling money of Great Britain, amounts to 29,090*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; but in the year 1726, the sum of 6,110*l.* 5*s.*, part of the capital sum of 45,000*l.* by virtue of the two aforesaid acts, being totally sunk and destroyed, the province found themselves greatly straightened by means thereof, and likely to become subject to many disappointments and losses, for want of a sufficient medium in trade, if the remaining quotas or payments should continue to be sunk, according to the direction of the acts; therefore, an act was then passed for continuing the remaining sum of 38,889*l.* 15*s.* for, and during the term of eight years, by re-issuing, or lending out again, the quotas or sums, to be paid in by the respective borrowers, on the same securities and provisions as were directed by the former acts.

"The bills of credit, emitted in the year 1723, being thus reduced by the sinking of the aforesaid sum, and the inhabitants of the province growing exceeding numerous, through the importation of foreigners, and others settling among us; by which means the trade became greatly enlarged; and the difficulties still increased, and the province found themselves under the necessity of making an addition to those bills of credit; and accordingly, in the year 1729, the further sum of 30,000*l.* was then created, and issued upon the same security of real estates, in fee simple, to be mortgaged in double the value of the sum lent; and to be paid in by yearly quotas, and sunk and destroyed as the former acts passed in the year 1723, had provided and directed in the case.

"In the year 1731, the acts for issuing bills of credit, passed in the year 1723, being nearly ex-

pired, and the annual quotas remaining due, on the said acts, by virtue thereof, being at this time to be sunk and destroyed, which would unavoidably have involved the merchants, as well as farmers, in new difficulties, and laid the province under a necessity of making new acts of assembly, for emitting more bills of credit in lieu thereof, an act was then passed for continuing the value and currency of those bills, for the term of eight years, by lending out the same, as they became due, with the same provisions, and on the same real securities provided for, and directed by, the former acts.

"The amount of the bills of credit, in the present year, 1739, by virtue of the several aforesaid acts, amounting only to 69,889*l.* 15*s.*, from the daily increase of the inhabitants, and the continued importation of foreigners among us, being found by experience to fall short of a proper medium for negotiating our commerce, and for the support of government, an act was passed for creating and issuing a further sum of 11,110*l.* 5*s.*, and for continuing the whole amount of our bills of credit, for a short time of years, under the same real securities, and with the same provisions and limitations as directed by the former acts; by means of which additional sum, the whole amount of the bills of credit, current in the province, is at this time 80,000*l.*: which sum being computed, as now purchased here, and reduced to sterling money of Great Britain, makes 50,196*l.* Yet, notwithstanding merchants and others have given some advance, to purchase gold and silver, we are assured, from experience, that difference arises only from the balance of our trade with Great Britain being in our favour, by means of the far greater quantity of English goods imported into this province, since the creating and issuing our bills of credit; for the adventurers advancing the price of their commodities, and, encouraged by meeting with a ready sale, became great gainers, while wheat, flour, and all the valuable produce of the province, continued at or near the usual prices, and are, at this time, to be purchased with our bills of credit, as low, or lower, than has been almost ever known, when gold and silver were the medium of our trade; and all tradesmen, hired servants, and other labourers have always been, and are still, paid at the same rates, and no more, for their labour, than they formerly received, before the creating or issuing our bills of credit."

To the above account, respecting the paper currency of Pennsylvania, it may be added, That, by another report of the house of assembly, made in the year 1749, it appears, that no more was issued till the year 1746: that, in the year 1745, an act of assembly was passed for continuing the currency of the aforesaid 80,000*l.* for sixteen years; during the first ten years whereof, the whole sum to be kept up, by lending out or re-mitting the yearly quotas, or payments, as they became due; and, after the expiration of ten years, one-sixth part of the whole sum to be paid in yearly, and sunk or destroyed. That, in the year 1746, an act was passed, giving 5,000*l.* to the king's use, to be sunk in ten yearly payments of 500*l.* each; so that the whole amount of bills of credit, current in the province at that time (1749), was only 85,000*l.*, then equal to 53,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling money of Great Britain: which sum, in the said report, is asserted to be much too small to carry on the trade of the province, which of late years had very much increased; but that nevertheless it was of great utility and advantage, as far as it went; that their payments, at that time, were

made to Great Britain chiefly in gold and silver, which for several years had passed current in the province, at 8s. 6d. per ounce for silver, and 6l. 5s. per ounce for gold, &c.

With the above report of the state of the paper currency of Pennsylvania was likewise, at the same time, the following account of the rates of gold and silver coin delivered to the governor, as drawn up by the same committee of the house, who made the above-said report, viz.:—

“An account of the several rates of gold and silver coin, and what prices they were accounted, received, taken, and purchased at, and sold for, by the ounce; and what rates gold and silver coin are purchased at, and sold for, by the ounce, at this time.

“From the year 1700 to the year 1709, gold was received and paid, at 5l. 10s. per ounce, and silver at 8s. 2d. per ounce.

“From the year 1709 to the year 1720, gold was received and paid, at 5l. 10s. per ounce, and silver at 6s. 10½d. per ounce.

“From the year 1720 to the year 1723, gold was received and paid, at 5l. 10s. per ounce, and silver coin was purchased with gold at 7s. 5d. per ounce.

“From the year 1723 to the year 1726, gold was purchased and sold at 6l. 6s. 6d. per ounce, and silver at 8s. 3d. per ounce.

“From the year 1726 to the year 1730, gold was purchased at 6l. 3s. 9d. per ounce, and silver at 8s. 1d. per ounce.

“From the year 1730 to the year 1738, gold was purchased and sold at 6l. 9s. 3d., and silver at 8s. 9d. per ounce.

“And now in this present year, 1739, gold is purchased and sold at 6l. 9s. 3d. by the ounce, and silver at 8s. 6d. per ounce. Submitted to the correction of the house, by Isaac Norris, Thomas Leech, Abraham Chapman, James Morris, John Kearsley, Isrzel Pemberton.

“Philadelphia, November 23, 1739.”

We now return to our narrative.

In October 1723, David Lloyd was elected speaker of the assembly, and in the year next following William Biles was in the same office; during which time, the usual cordiality appears to have subsisted between the two branches of the legislature.

The governor, Sir William Keith, appears manifestly, not only in his administration, but also in his general conduct, to have been a great seeker of popularity; and he both possessed and practised those arts, which seldom fail to please the populace. By so doing, he doubtless very frequently benefitted the colony, but it appears about this time that he violated the constitution, by his eagerness to receive public approbation; courting the assembly, and neglecting the council. It was one of the fundamental regulations, “That he should pass no laws, nor transact any thing of moment relating to the public affairs, without the advice and approbation of the council; which instruction, on his appointment to the government, he had obliged himself inviolably to observe, but now encouraged by the assembly, he declared it to be illegal, and persisted in his not being bound by any restraint of that nature.

This conduct in the latter end of the year 1724, caused much dispute in the province, tending unhappily further to divide the interests of the proprietaries and the people. The chief actors in this controversy were principally the governor and David Lloyd on the one side and on the other James

Logan, the secretary, and agent to the proprietary's family.

The governor, with those who opposed the proprietary interest, being the more numerous, advanced, “That the power of legislation was, by the royal charter, solely and entirely vested in the proprietary, or in his deputy, with the representatives of the people; that, as the latter, or the delegates, of the people, in their legislative capacity, were so far from being liable to be bound, or restrained by, any instructions from their constituents, that their acts were absolutely binding upon them; so neither has the former, or the proprietary, any just authority to lay restrictions upon his deputy (whose acts are also equally binding upon his principal), to hinder him from acting, as he pleased, in conjunction with the other part of the legislature; and consequently all instructions of this nature were void in themselves; that, moreover, by the present charter of privileges, granted by the proprietary to the people, the council was no part of the legislature; and, therefore, had no right to interfere in acts of government, so as to be a restraint upon the governor therein.”

The proprietary's friends, on the other hand, alleged the reasonableness and justice, and indeed the absolute necessity of such a council, or of the council's having such a check on the deputy-governor, both for the safety of the proprietary, and even the further security of the people; besides the constant practice of the first proprietary, William Penn, and its consistency with the nature of an English constitution. “For,” said they, “in all the royal governments, the governors are the king's deputies, or representatives; and there is not one of them in America, who is not bound by similar, and much more extensive instructions, in reference to their respective councils, notwithstanding their office of deputy, and representative capacity. That, in the absence of the proprietary, for a lieutenant and temporary governor, to be left to act without any check from a council, was very unsafe not only for the proprietary, but, if duly considered, less secure to the people themselves.” That, by the royal charter, “The full and absolute power of legislation was vested in the proprietary, or in his deputy, with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen, or their delegates, to be assembled for that purpose, in such sort and form, as to the said proprietary and them shall seem best;” but that the assembly, by the present charter of privileges, are not authorized to advise, but only to enact; as, for that purpose, the council was established by the original proprietary.

The governor strenuously maintained the debate, and persisted in his conduct, till he was superseded in the government by Patrick Gordon, in the summer of the year 1726: before which time, in the month of March preceding, James Logan, in order to terminate the dispute, presented to the assembly a paper, in which he thus expressed himself:—

“James Logan never alleged that the council of this province, under the present constitution, is a part of its legislative authority; or that, as a council, they are otherwise concerned in it, than in conjunction with the governor at the board, or in committees and conferences, by his appointment and direction; or that an act, passed by the governor and assembly, without the council, is not of as much force as if it had their concurrence and approbation: but, even David Lloyd himself has fully acknowledged their part in it, in these words

of his print, viz. 'that he never knew any so senseless, as to say, that the governor is excluded (by law or charter) of having a council, to advise and assist in legislation;' beyond which no man ever asserted they have a right in this province.

"And whether the proprietary can lay his deputy under restrictions, is now rendered fully intelligible to every capacity by the governor himself, in reducing the case to this narrow point, viz., 'That the greatest of deputies can break their instructions; and that they are liable to be removed for it;' beyond which the matter will not bear a further argument.

"All other attempts, therefore, to labour these points, can only tend to continue dishonourable disputes in the government, and engage the whole country in quarrels, that can no otherwise affect it, than by involving it in reproach, and heaping provocations on the proprietary's family."

By the widow Penn's answer to the assembly's remonstrance of the 20th of March, 1725, on this affair (which remonstrance is mentioned, but not inserted, in the printed votes of the house), both the design of the proprietaries, and also the views of the persons, who were principally concerned in thus representing the same, are further intimated as follows:—

"To the representatives of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met.

"It gave me no small concern, when I received the remonstrance of the 20th of March, 1725, from the late house of representatives of the freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, with their resolution, that some part of a private letter of instructions, sent by me to the late deputy-governor, was contrary to the liberties and privileges, granted by charter to the people of that province; and my concern was the greater, when I considered, that, as their happiness had ever been the peculiar care of my late husband, in his life-time, so the continuance of it has been no less the desire of myself, and the whole family, ever since his death. I purposed long ere this time to have answered that remonstrance, but finding my sincere intentions to preserve peace and unanimity in the province, had been manifestly perverted, to the great disquiet of the people; and that too by those whose duty it was to have acted another part, I was willing to lay hold of a more favourable opportunity, (when you might be left to your own prudent deliberations, without being influenced to misinterpret the good intentions of the family towards you,) to assure you, that, if at any time I fall short of doing any thing that may advance your interest and reputation, it must proceed only from my not having it in my power. And as to that part of my letter, which was made use of to procure that remonstrance, I do acknowledge it was designed as a cautionary direction, or limitation, upon the acting governor; but without the least apprehension that it could ever have been construed, by the assembly, as any design upon the liberties of the freemen of Pennsylvania: because the council, according to its constitution, either is, or ought to be, composed of persons of the best circumstances and abilities, residing and inhabiting within the said province; and whose interest must, without all doubt, be the same with your own, and that of the people whom you represent. Nor was this instruction any other, but in effect, the same with what had ever been given by my late husband, your proprietor, to all his deputy-governors: and (without mentioning the unhappy occasion given, for writing

that letter) I was the rather induced to renew this instruction, because by the proceedings of your own house, but a few years ago, it appears, the then assembly expressed a very particular concern at the deputy-governor's declining to take the advice of the council, upon the bills sent to him from their house, to be passed into laws; and, therefore, I must conclude, that, if in this, you had been entirely left to have followed the resolutions of your own judgments, you would have continued of the same sentiments, and have judged it a very necessary instruction at that time, all circumstances considered; (but more especially if you had been aware of what has happened but too plainly since,) that this very remonstrance was obtained with design to wrest the government out of the hands of the proprietor's family; and by that means, at once to deprive you of those valuable privileges, secured to you, as well by the royal charter, granted to the late proprietor, as by the several grants and laws made by him, under the same; for the preservation of which you express so just a concern: and I do assure you, it is not easy for me to say, whether for your safety, or my own, I am better pleased that this attempt upon the rights of our family, and your privileges, has proved unsuccessful: and, without saying any more of that piece of management, I hope, we shall, all of us, learn to cultivate and maintain so entire an agreement, and mutual good understanding, as may preserve us from ever becoming a prey to designing men; who, it is evident (notwithstanding their fair pretences,) consider none of us in any other light, than to serve their own ends and purposes, even, though at the expence of all that is valuable to us. My age, and low state of health make it tedious and difficult for me to apply my thoughts to business, and, therefore, I shall add no more, but that the governor, appointed by my grandson, with the concurrence and consent of the family, is, for his prudence, well recommended to us here, and hath in charge from us, as much as lies in his power, to do every thing, which he lawfully may, to make you a happy people; which we apprehend to be the surest way to advance the interest of our family in Pennsylvania, as well as most agreeable to my own inclination and desires.

"HANNAH PENN.

"London, 20th April, 1726."

To conclude the subject of the lawfulness of proprietary instructions, or of this kind of restrictions, in this case, though it take us beyond the present time, it is observable that the government of Pennsylvania was absolutely as much the property and estate of the proprietary under the crown, as the soil thereof. It was however subsequently contended, "That the power given to the deputy-governors of Pennsylvania, by the royal charter of making laws, with the advice and consent of the assembly, for public uses, &c., according to their best discretion is taken away by the proprietary instructions enforced by penal bonds, and restraining the deputy from the use of his best discretion." To this the proprietaries, Thomas and Richard Penn, by their agent, Ferdinand John Paris, in November 1758, answered; "As long as instructions are constantly given to every person entrusted with the government of any British colony; (and bonds also required from every such person, for observance of such instructions,) as long as instructions are constantly given to all persons whatsoever, executing, even the regal government of his majesty's kingdoms, during the royal absence; as long as these

propriétaires are repeatedly commanded by the crown, upon the nomination of each successive lieutenant-governor, to give instructions to such lieutenant; and as long as a lieutenant-governor may, by his misbehaviour (if left entirely to his discretion), bring the proprietaries' estate and franchises into danger; so long the proprietaries must contend to give instructions to, and take bonds from, their lieutenant-governors."

*Affirmation, &c. instead of an oath, established in Pennsylvania—Quakers' grateful address to the king on the occasion—Custom of the Quakers appearing in courts of justice with their hats on their heads interrupted and restored—Their address to the governor, and his compliance with their request—He is superseded in the government by Patrick Gordon, in 1726—Governor Gordon's administration—State of Pennsylvania about this time.*

The use of an affirmation, instead of an oath, was one of those privileges, for the enjoyment of which Pennsylvania was first settled by the Quakers; and which they had enjoyed uninterrupted for above twenty years. But after the resumption of the government, on the laws being revised, in 1700 and 1701, the law respecting the manner of giving evidence, with many others, was remitted to Queen Anne, in council, in 1705; when the said law was repealed; not with design to deprive the Quakers of the privilege, but solely on account of its making the punishment for false affirming greater than the law of England required for false swearing.

The repealing of this law occasioned much difficulty among the Quakers in the province; and numerous attempts were made, from time to time, for reviving their privilege, but without success, till the year 1725, when an act, prescribing the forms of declaration of fidelity, abjuration, and affirmation, instead of the forms before required, having been passed in the province, was ratified by the king in council; and thereby became perpetual.

The Quakers, in New Jersey, were, for a considerable time, subject to similar difficulties, upon the same account; though the equity of their right to an affirmation, in their own form, was as old as the constitution; and, in fact, the settlement of the province primarily depended upon the enjoyment of that religious and civil liberty, of which this was a part; yet means were found to put a considerable interruption to this just and reasonable privilege; which, at length, finally terminated in the act of the first year of George II.; which act was confirmed, and rendered perpetual, by the king in council, on the 4th of May, 1732.

The assembly of the province of Pennsylvania, in the year 1725, and also the Quakers, from their yearly meeting, at Philadelphia, separately, to manifest their gratitude for the royal confirmation of the affirmation act of Pennsylvania, addressed the king on the subject. The address of the latter was as follows:—

"To our gracious sovereign, George, king of Great Britain, &c.

"The humble address of his Protestant subjects, called Quakers, from their yearly meeting held at Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, the 21st day of the 7th month, 1725.

"In an humble sense of the many blessings and virtues which flow from the Divine Being, dispensed to the nations and people, over whom he hath been pleased to establish so gracious a prince, great, in his goodness and love to his people, great,

in the benignity of his reign, which reaches to the most distant of his subjects, and great in the sight of the nations round about.

"If any of the present age should yet, through wantonness or wickedness, shut their eyes, and not see, or be thankful for such happiness, ages to come will look upon it with admiration; and kings may set before them the example: posterity may mark it in their annals; and if ever again attempts should be made upon true liberty and the laws, princes may find the mistake and dishonour in such endeavours, in former times, and remark thy reign as the way to true grandeur.

"We have great cause, among the rest of our fellow subjects, to express our affection and duty to our sovereign, and to be, as we truly are, particularly thankful for the royal assent to an act of this province, entitled, 'An act for the prescribing forms of declaration of fidelity, abjuration, and affirmation, instead of the forms heretofore required in such cases.'

"This benevolence of our king, in a matter, which so nearly touches the conscience, makes deep impressions on our hearts; but to the Almighty, who sees them, do we earnestly pray for the long continuance of his reign, and that an increase of blessings may be showered down on his person and throne, and that his posterity may be established therein."

With the restoration of the enjoyment of this privilege to the Quakers in Pennsylvania, may be mentioned that of another, viz. the liberty of appearing covered, or with their hats on their heads (according to their usual custom every where), in all courts of judicature.

The institution of a court of chancery in the province, in the year 1720, has been already mentioned. At this court, in which Sir William Keith was president, John Kinsey, a Quaker, and a lawyer of eminence, who was afterwards chief justice of Pennsylvania, was, in the year 1725, obliged, in the way of his business, to attend; where appearing with his hat on his head, according to the usual manner of that people, the president ordered it to be taken off; which was accordingly done. His friends, the Quakers, took the affair under consideration; and soon after, at their quarterly meeting, in Philadelphia, appointed a committee to wait on the governor; and, in a respectful manner, to request him to continue the privilege, to which the Quakers conceived themselves legally entitled, 'of appearing in courts, or otherwise, in their own way, according to their religious persuasion;' an address being accordingly prepared, was presented to the president, Governor Keith; which, with the entry made thereon, by his order in the court of chancery, and certified by the register, is as follows:—

"To Sir William Keith, baronet, governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c

"The humble address of the people called Quakers, by appointment of their quarterly meeting, held in Philadelphia, for the city and county, 2d of the 2d month, 1725.

"May it please the governor,

"Having maturely considered the inconveniencies and hardships which we are apprehensive all those of our community may be laid under, who shall be required, or obliged, to attend the respective courts of judicature in this province, if they may not be admitted without first having their hats taken off from their heads by an officer; as we understand was the case of our friend, John Kinsey, when the governor was pleased to command his to be taken



off, before he could be admitted to speak, in a case depending at the court of chancery, after that he had declared that he could not, for conscience, comply with the governor's order to himself, to the same purpose; which being altogether new and unprecedented in this province, was the more surprising to the spectators, and, as we conceive (however slight some may account it), has a tendency to the subversion of our religious liberties.

"This province, with the powers of government, was granted by King Charles II. to our proprietor, who, at the time of the said grant, was known to dissent from the national way of worship in divers points, and particularly in that part of outward behaviour, of refusing to pay unto man the honour, that he, with all others of the same profession, believed to be due only to the Supreme Being; and they on all occasions have supported their testimony, so far as to be frequently subjected to the insults of such as required that homage.

"That the principal part of those who accompanied our said proprietor in his first settlement of this colony, with others of the same profession who have since retired into it, justly conceived, that by virtue of said powers granted to our proprietor, they should have a free and unquestioned right to the exercise of their religious principles, and their persuasion in the aforementioned point, and all others, by which they were distinguished from those of other professions; and it seems not unreasonable to conceive an indulgence intended by the crown, in graciously leaving the modelling of the government to him and them, in such manner as may best suit their circumstances; which appears to have been an early care in the first legislators, by several acts, as that for liberty of conscience; and more particularly, by a law of the province, passed in the 13th year of King William, chap. xcii., now in force: it is provided that, in all courts, all persons, of all persuasions, may freely appear 'in their own way,' and 'according to their own manner,' and there personally plead their own cause, or, if unable, by their friends; which provision appears to be directly intended to guard against all exceptions to any persons appearing 'in their own way,' as our friend did, at the aforesaid court.

"Now, though no people can be more ready, or willing, in all things essential, to pay all due regard to superiors, and honour the courts of justice, and those who administer it, yet in such points as interfere with our conscientious persuasion, we have openly and firmly borne our testimony in all countries and places where our lots have fallen.

"We must, therefore, crave leave to hope, from the reasons here humbly offered, that the governor, when he has fully considered them, will be of opinion with us, that we may justly and modestly claim it as a right, that we, and our friends, should at all times be excused, in the government, from any compliances against our conscientious persuasions, and humbly request that he would for the future account it as such to us, thy assured well-wishing friends.

"Signed by appointment of the said meeting, Richard Hill, Richard Hayes, Morris Morris, Anthony Morris, Evan Evans, John Goodson, Rowland Ellis, Reese Thomas, Samuel Preston, William Hudson.

"The 10th May, 1725."

"On consideration had of the humble address presented to the governor, this day read in open court, from the quarterly meeting of the people

called Quakers, for the city and county of Philadelphia, it is ordered, that the said address be filed with the register, and that it be made a standing rule of the court of chancery for the province of Pennsylvania, in all time to come, that any practitioner of the law, or other officer, or person whatsoever, professing himself to be one of the people called Quakers, may and shall be admitted, if they so think fit, to speak, or otherwise officiate, and apply themselves, decently unto the said court, without being obliged to observe the usual ceremony of uncovering their heads, by having their hats taken off, and such privilege hereby ordered and granted to the people called Quakers, shall at no time hereafter be understood, or interpreted, as any contempt, or neglect, of the said court, and shall be taken only as an act of conscientious liberty, of right appertaining to the religious persuasion of the said people, and agreeable to their practice in all civil affairs of life.

"By Sir William Keith, Chancellor."

Governor Keith, by his popular behaviour and administration, which, in many cases, had been highly beneficial to the province, had so much ingratiated himself in the favour of many of the people, that upon intelligence of his intended removal from the government, they were much displeased, and petitioned the assembly to make him a gratuity: and even after his removal chose him for a member of assembly, which he accepted.

Whatever might have been his motives for his popular conduct, and although he may have been anxious to gratify those whom he governed, more than was just and prudent, yet it is most certain that the real interest of the province of Pennsylvania was much indebted to his care and management.

After he was superseded by Patrick Gordon, in the summer of the year 1726, he resided some time in the province; very injudiciously using all his power to divide the inhabitants and distress the proprietary family; till at length having rendered himself odious to the people, as he had done before to the proprietaries, he returned to England, and it is said, died in poverty at London about the year 1749.

Patrick Gordon appears to have first met the assembly of Pennsylvania, in the beginning of August 1726, though he arrived in the province with his family some time before. But during the early part of his administration, for two or three years, the public transactions were not a little disturbed by the faction created by Sir William Keith. Gordon's administration was distinguished by moderation and prudence through a great variety of public and important transactions. The author of a publication, entitled "The importance of the British plantations in America to these kingdoms, &c. considered," London, 1731; gives the following account of the colony about this period:—

"That Pennsylvania, which has not any peculiar staple (like Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland), and was begun to be planted so late as 1680, should at present have more white inhabitants in it than all Virginia, Maryland, and both the Carolinas, is extremely remarkable! And although the youngest colony on the continent, they have, by far, the finest capital city of all British America, and the second in magnitude. The causes usually assigned for this vast increase of white people in so short a time, are these, viz. First, their kind treatment of the Indians, their neighbours;

hereby rendering that province absolutely safe from their attempts. Some indeed have gone so far as to assert, that they are the only British colony that have treated the poor native Indians with humanity: for that no other British colony admits of the evidence of an Indian against a white man: nor are the complaints of Indians against white men duly regarded in other colonies; whereby these poor people endure the most cruel treatment from the very worst of our own people without hope of redress! And all the Indian wars in our colonies were occasioned by such means. Secondly, the excellency of Pennsylvania's laws; whereby property is effectually secured to all its inhabitants. Thirdly, the unlimited toleration for all manner of religious persuasions, without permitting any claims to ecclesiastical power to take place. All men, who are Protestants, are indifferently eligible to the magistracy and legislature, let their private opinions be what they will, without any religious test.

"The product of Pennsylvania for exportation, is wheat, flour, biscuit, barrelled beef and pork, bacon, hams, butter, cheese, cider, apples, soap, myrtle-wax candles, starch, hair-powder, tanned leather, bees'-wax, tallow-candles, strong beer, linseed oil, strong waters, deer-skins, and other peltry, hemp, (which they have encouraged by an additional bounty of three half-pence per pound weight, over and above what is allowed by act of parliament,) some little tobacco, lumber, (i. e. sawed boards, and timber for building of houses, cypress wood, shingles, cask-staves and headings, masts and other ship timber,) also drugs of various sorts, (as sassafras, calamus aromaticus, snake-root, &c.) Lastly, (adds our author,) the Pennsylvanians build about 2000 tons of shipping a year for sale, over and above what they employ in their own trade; which may be about 6000 tons more. They send great quantities of corn to Portugal and Spain, frequently selling their ships as well as cargo; and the produce of both is sent thence to England, where it is always laid out in goods and sent home to Pennsylvania. They receive no less than from 4000 to 6000 pistoles from the Dutch isle of Curaçoa alone, for provisions and liquors. And they trade to Surinam in the like manner, and to the French part of Hispaniola, as also to the other French sugar islands; from whence they bring back molasses, and also some money. From Jamaica they sometimes return with all money and no goods; because their rum and molasses are so dear there. And all the money they can get from all parts, as also sugar, rice, tar, pitch, &c. is brought to England, to pay for the manufactures, &c. they carry home from us; which (he affirms) has not, for many years past, been less than 150,000*l.* per annum. They trade to our provinces of New England, Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina, and to all the islands in the West Indies (excepting the Spanish ones), as also to the Canaries, Madeira, and the Azores isles; likewise to Newfoundland for fish; which they carry to Spain, Portugal, and up the Mediterranean, and remit the money to England, which, one way or other, may amount to 60,000*l.* yearly; but without their trade to the French and Dutch colonies in the West Indies, they could not remit so much to England; neither could they carry on their trade with the Indians if they did not take off the rum and molasses, as well as sugars of those colonies, in part of payment of the cargoes they carry thither."

*Thomas Penn arrives in the province in 1732—Assembly's address to him, with his answer—Boundaries between Pennsylvania and Maryland—John Penn arrives in 1734—The assembly's address to him, with his answer—Lord Baltimore attempts to obtain of the king the territories—Death of John Penn and Governor Gordon—Administration of the Council, James Logan, President—Benjamin Franklin—Arrival of Governor Thomas—His administration—Andrew Hamilton's speech to the assembly.*

In August, 1732, Thomas Penn, one of the proprietaries from England, arrived in the province, where he continued a number of years. On the 15th of the month the assembly presented him with the following address:—

"To the honourable Thomas Penn, Esq., one of the proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania.

"The humble address of the representatives of the freemen of the said province, in general assembly met.

"May it please our honourable Proprietary.

"At the same time that we acknowledge the goodness of Divine Providence in thy preservation, we do most sincerely congratulate thee upon thy safe arrival into the province of Pennsylvania.

"Our long and ardent desires to see one of our honourable proprietaries amongst us are now fulfilled; and it is with pleasure we can say thou art arrived at a time when the government is in perfect tranquillity, and that there seems to be no emulation amongst us, but who shall, by a peaceable and dutiful behaviour, give the best proof of the sense they have of the blessings derived to us under our late honourable proprietary your father, whose goodness to his people deserves ever to be remembered with gratitude and affection.

"Be pleased to accept of our best wishes for thy health and prosperity; and give us leave to say, as no discouragements, nor any artifices of ill men, have hitherto been able to deter the good people of Pennsylvania from a firm adherence to your honourable family, so we shall always, to the utmost of our power, support and maintain that government, under which we do, with all gratitude, acknowledge we enjoy so many valuable privileges."

To which the proprietor returned the following answer:—

"That he heartily thanked the house for their affectionate address; and that, as he looked upon the interest of Pennsylvania, and that of his family to be inseparable, the house might assure itself, that it should be his study to pursue those measures which had rendered the name and government of his father so grateful to the good people of this province."

In the year 1732, on the 12th of May, a commission was signed by John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, directed to Governor Gordon, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, James Logan, and Andrew Hamilton, Esqs., and to James Steel and Robert Charles, gentlemen, appointing them, or any three, or more of them, commissioners, "with full power on the part of the said proprietaries, for the actual running, marking, and laying out the boundary lines between both the province and territories of Pennsylvania and Maryland, according to articles of agreement, indented, made and concluded upon the 10th of May, in the same year, between Charles, Lord

Baltimore, the proprietary of Maryland, and the above-mentioned proprietaries of Pennsylvania." And an instrument of the same tenour and date was executed by Lord Baltimore, directed to Samuel Ogle, Charles Calvert, Philemon Lloyd, Michael Howard, Richard Bennit, Benjamin Tasker and Mathew Tilghman Ward, Esquires, appointing them, or any six, five, four or three of them commissioners, for the same purposes.

In these articles, it is stipulated: "That a due east and west line shall be drawn from the ocean, beginning at cape Henlopen, which lies south of cape Cornelius, upon the eastern side of the Peninsula; and thence to the western side of the Peninsula, which lies upon Chesapeak bay, and as far westward as the exact middle of that part of the Peninsula, where the said line is run.

"That from the western end of the said east and west line, in the middle of the Peninsula, a strait line shall run northward up the said Peninsula, till it touch the western part of the periphery, or arch, of a circle, drawn twelve English statute miles distant from Newcastle, westward towards Maryland, so as to make a tangent thereto, and there the said strait line shall end.

"That from the northern end of the last mentioned strait line drawn northward, a line shall be continued due north, so far as to that parallel of latitude, which is fifteen English statute miles due south of the most southern part of the city of Philadelphia.

"That in the said parallel of latitude, fifteen miles due south from Philadelphia, and from the northern end of the last mentioned north and south line, a line shall be run due west across Susquehanna river to the western boundary of Pennsylvania; or so far at present, as is necessary, which is only about 25 miles westward of the said river, &c.

"All which lines to be the boundaries between the respective provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania, including the territories of the latter."

Notwithstanding this agreement, the performance was long obstructed by altercation between the parties, about the mode of doing it; said to have been occasioned principally by the proprietary of Maryland. The inhabitants on the Pennsylvania side, were consequently sometimes exposed to unreasonable demands from Maryland; and it was not finally executed till the year 1762; when it was agreed to employ two ingenious mathematicians, Charles Mason, and Jeremiah Dixon, after their return from the Cape of Good Hope; where they had been to observe the transit of Venus, in the year 1761. Stone pillars were erected, to render the boundaries more durably conspicuous.

In October 1734, John Penn, the eldest of the proprietaries, and a native of Pennsylvania, arrived from England. The assembly, on the 16th instant, presented the following address to him.

"To the honourable John Penn, Esq., one of the proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania, &c.

"The address of the representatives of the freemen of the said province, in general assembly met.

"May it please the Proprietary,

"Excited by affection and gratitude, we cheerfully embrace this opportunity of congratulating thee on thy safe arrival to the place of thy nativity. When we commemorate the many benefits, bestowed on the inhabitants of this colony, the religious and civil liberties we possess, and to whom these valuable privileges, under God and the king, are owing,

we should be wanting to ourselves, and them that we represent, did we not do justice to the memory of thy worthy ancestor, a man of principles truly humane, an advocate for religion and liberty.

"What may we not hope for from the son of so great a man, educated under his care, and influenced by his example! May his descendants inherit his virtues as well as his estate, and long continue a blessing to Pennsylvania.

"Signed, by order of the house,

"ANDREW HAMILTON, Speaker."

To which he returned the following answer:—

"Gentlemen.

"I return you my hearty thanks for this affectionate address. The kind regard you express for the memory of my father is most agreeable to me; and, as it was always his desire, so it is strongly my inclination, to do every thing in my power, that can promote the happiness and prosperity of this province."

In the summer of the year 1735, Governor Gordon received accounts from England, that application had been made to the king by the Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, for obtaining a grant, or confirmation, of the three lower counties on Delaware, and a part of Pennsylvania, as lands within the descriptive part of the charter, granted to his ancestors; and that his application had been opposed both by a petition, presented to the king by Richard Penn, one of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and also by a representation from the Quakers, in behalf of the province and territories, &c., upon which occasion the assembly drew up an address to the king.

This affair seems to have hastened the return of the proprietor John Penn, to England; who soon after this time left the country; upon which, about the middle of September, the assembly presented him with the following address:—

"To the honourable John Penn, Esq., one of the proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania.

"The humble address of the representatives of the freemen of the said province, in general assembly met.

"May it please the Proprietary,

"That just esteem and grateful sense, which the people of this province have always retained for the memory of thy honourable father, our late proprietary and governor, raised in them the strongest desires to see some of the descendants of that great man among us.

"As his wise example gave us just reason to hope, so it was our daily wishes, that his virtues, as well as his estate, might descend to his posterity. And it is with pleasure we can now say, it was not in vain we promised ourselves from thee that affection and regard, which is natural for a good man to have for the place of his nativity.

"That humility, justice and benevolence, which has appeared in thy conduct since thy arrival here, has very deservedly gained thee the esteem and affections of the people; and we do, with truth say, thy leaving us at this time, gives an universal concern to the inhabitants of this province.

"May thy voyage be prosperous, and thy success equal to the justness of thy cause; and may we soon have the happiness of seeing thee return a blessing to thy native country: and give us leave to hope, that thou wilt, upon every occasion, join thy favourable sentiments towards the people of this place, with those of thy honourable brother, who, by his stay here, will have frequent opportunities of doing

what will always endear your honourable family to the freemen of Pennsylvania."

To which the proprietary returned the following answer:—

"Gentlemen,—I am very sensible of the concern you express for me, and am obliged to you for this kind address. I am glad of this opportunity of seeing the representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania, at my departure; and you may be assured I shall make it my particular care to do every thing in my power that may advance the interest of this my native country."

John Penn, of whom the inhabitants of Pennsylvania appear to have conceived a favourable opinion, and great expectations, never returned; but died unmarried, in October 1746; and, by his will, left all his part of the province, which consisted of two shares, or half, to his brother Thomas, who, from that time forward, with the youngest brother Richard, became the sole proprietaries.

Governor Gordon, after a prudent and prosperous administration of about ten years, died in the summer of 1736; when the government devolved on the council, James Logan being president; a person of experience and ability.

Benjamin Franklin, afterwards the famous Dr. Franklin of Philadelphia, is first mentioned as being chosen clerk to the assembly, in October 1736; for which office he petitioned the house in succession to Joseph Growdon.

President Logan, in conjunction with the council, appears to have had occasion, among other things, to exert his abilities in the management of the Indians; among whom he had great influence. The claims of Maryland also upon the Pennsylvanians, who were settled near the place where the boundary line ought to have been marked out before this time, and the disturbances arising from the government and people of Maryland on that account, gave much uneasiness and trouble to many inhabitants who were settled within the bounds of Pennsylvania; but in general the public affairs seem to have been well conducted for two years, that is until the arrival of George Thomas, as governor, in the summer of the year 1738.

Governor Thomas appears to have been a man of abilities and resolution, but, in some things, did not sufficiently understand the nature and genius of the people over whom he presided: in the early part of his administration his conduct seems to have been satisfactory to the country; but afterwards, the war commencing between England and Spain, about the year 1740, his manner of urging some military demands, with which the assembly, being chiefly Quakers, could not comply, introduced much altercation and dispute for some years.

He first met the assembly of Pennsylvania in August 1738; and in his first speech to the house, on the 8th of that month, informed them he had been appointed to the government above a year before; but his embarkation was impeded by unexpected delays, made by Lord Baltimore's objecting against the proprietaries of Pennsylvania appointing a governor over the three lower counties; which objection, after some time, was disregarded, and his appointment, both over the province, and the said counties, approved by the king.

In the August of 1739, the speaker of the assembly, Andrew Hamilton, took leave of the house, on account of his age and infirmities, with the following speech:—

"I would beg leave to observe to you, that it is

not to the fertility of our soil, and the commodiousness of our rivers, that we ought chiefly to attribute the great progress this province has made, within so small a compass of years, in improvements, wealth, trade, and navigation, and the extraordinary increase of people, who have been drawn hither, from almost every country in Europe; a progress which much more ancient settlements on the main of America cannot, at present, boast of; no, it is principally, and almost wholly, owing to the excellency of our constitution; under which we enjoy a greater share both of civil and religious liberty than any of our neighbours.

"It is our great happiness that, instead of triennial assemblies, a privilege, which several other colonies have long endeavoured to obtain, ours are annual; and, for that reason, as well as others, less liable to be practised upon, or corrupted, either with money or presents. We sit upon our own adjournments when we please, and as long as we think necessary; and we are not to be sent a packing, in the middle of a debate, and disabled from representing our just grievances to our gracious sovereign, if there should be occasion; which has often been the fate of assemblies in other places.

"We have no officers but what are necessary; none but what earn their salaries, and those generally are either elected by the people, or appointed by their representatives.

"Other provinces swarm with unnecessary officers, nominated by the governors; who often make it a main part of their care to support those officers, (notwithstanding their oppressions) at all events. I hope it will ever be the wisdom of our assemblies to create no great offices nor officers, nor indeed any officer at all, but what is really necessary for the service of the country, and to be sure to let the people, or their representatives, have, at least, a share in their nomination or appointment. This will always be a good security against the mischievous influence of men holding places at the pleasure of the governor.

"Our foreign trade and shipping are free from all imposts, except those small duties, payable to his majesty, by the statute laws of Great Britain. The taxes which we pay for carrying on the public service are inconsiderable; for the sole power of raising and disposing of the public money for the support of government, is lodged in the assembly; who appoint their own treasurer; and to them alone he is accountable. Other incidental taxes are assessed, collected and applied by persons annually chosen by the people themselves. Such is our happy state, as to our civil rights.

"Nor are we less happy in the enjoyment of a perfect freedom as to religion. By many years experience we find, that an equality among religious societies, without distinguishing any one sect with greater privileges than another, is the most effectual method to discourage hypocrisy, promote the practice of the moral virtues, and prevent the plagues and mischiefs that always attend religious squabbling.

"This is our constitution; and this constitution was framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn, the first proprietary and founder of this province; whose charter of privileges, to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, will ever remain a monument of his benevolence to mankind, and reflect more lasting honour on his descendants, than the largest possessions. In the framing this government he reserved no powers to himself, or his heirs, to oppress the

people, no authority, but what is necessary for our protection, and to hinder us from falling into anarchy; and therefore (supposing we could persuade ourselves, that all our obligations to our great law giver, and his honourable descendants, were entirely cancelled, yet) our own interests should oblige us carefully to support the government, on its present foundation, as the only means to secure to ourselves and our posterity the enjoyment of those privileges, and the blessings flowing from such a constitution, under which we cannot fail of being happy, if the fault is not our own.

"Yet I have observed that in former assemblies there have been men who have acted in such a manner, as if they utterly disregarded all those inestimable privileges, and (whether from private pique and personal dislike, or through mistake, I will not determine) have gone great lengths in risking our happiness, in the prosecution of such measures as did not at all square with the professions they frequently made, of their love to our government.

"When I reflect on the several struggles which many of us, now present, have had with those men, in order to rescue the constitution out of their hands, which, through their mistakes (if they really were mistakes), was often brought on the brink of destruction, I cannot help cautioning you, in the most earnest manner, against all personal animosity in public consultations, as a rock, which if not avoided, the constitution will, at some time or other, infallibly split upon."

This able man died in the latter end of the summer, 1741. He had served in several considerable stations, both in the government of Pennsylvania and Delaware, with honour and integrity. He was a lawyer of considerable practice for many years; and acquired much reputation in that profession.

*Conduct of Governor Thomas respecting the enlisting soldiers—Assembly's address to Thomas Penn—Riotous election in 1742—Indian affairs in Governor Thomas's administration—He resigns the government in 1747—Succeeding administration and governors—Disputes as to money-bills and quit-rents—Conclusion.*

During the administration of Governor Thomas, it is observed that the enlisting of indented or bought servants for soldiers, was first permitted to be carried into execution, before the act of parliament in that case was made. The number of bought and indented servants, who were thus taken from their masters, as appears by the printed votes of the assembly, were about 276; whose masters were compensated by the assembly for their loss sustained thereby, to the amount of about 2,588*l*.

This enlistment being disagreeable and injurious to many of the inhabitants, and contrary to ancient usage, John Wright, one of the people called Quakers, a worthy magistrate of Lancaster county, and a member of assembly, having spoken freely against it in the assembly, was, with many others, dismissed from his office as a judge; but having got previous intelligence of the intention, he came to the court in May 1741, and took his leave, in a valedictory speech.

Thomas Penn, one of the proprietaries, being about to return to England, the assembly, in the August of 1741, presented him with the following address:—

"May it please the Proprietary,

"Gratitude to the first founder of our present

happy constitution, the regard paid to his merit, and the hopes of continued obligations from his descendants, united the desires of many of the inhabitants of this province to see one of them at least settled within it: this was evident in the joy, which discovered itself in the minds of all sorts and degrees of men, on thy arrival among us.

"In transacting of public affairs (as in those which are private), a diversity of sentiments may have appeared, sometimes among ourselves, sometimes perhaps with our proprietaries; and yet, as our different sentiments have been the result of honest minds, whose determinations (though possibly mistaken) were intended for the public good, it ought not, nor hath, erased those ties of gratitude, which we desire may ever remain between the descendants of our late worthy proprietary, and the freemen of this province.

"The welfare of the inhabitants of this colony, and that of our proprietary family, seem to us mutually to depend on each other, and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that we are so desirous of their residence among us: it being reasonable to think we are most secure from any attempts on our liberties, when the administration of government, and the management of the public affairs of the province are under the immediate inspection of those, whose interest it is to preserve our constitution from any encroachments.

"These considerations, as we are informed, the proprietary is determined to leave us, afford not the most pleasing reflections; but, as we presume, the affairs of the family render it necessary, and are in hopes that either he himself, or some other of our proprietaries, will, in a little time return, it behoves us to acquiesce under it. Whatever little differences in opinion may have happened, we hope the proprietaries will believe the freemen of this province retain that regard which is due to them; and would be glad of any proper opportunity of demonstrating it: and such is our confidence in the proprietary family, that if any attempt shall be made to the prejudice of those rights (which under our gracious king we now happily enjoy), they will, to the utmost of their power, oppose it, and thereby lay us under like obligations for the continuance of those privileges which we readily own are due to their worthy ancestor, for bestowing them.

"As the welfare of this province hath so near a dependance on that of our proprietary family, our interest and duty enjoin our particular concern for them; give us leave, therefore, on this occasion, to express our hearty desires for thy prosperous voyage, and safe return among us."

To this address, the proprietary answered as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—I thank you for the regard shewn to my family in this address, and for your good wishes for my prosperous voyage.

"As I am very sure both my brothers and myself have the true interest of the inhabitants of this province very much at heart, you may rest assured we will oppose any attempts that may be made on their just rights, which we think it is our indispensable duty to support.

"The affairs of my family now call me to England; and I cannot, at our parting, better evidence my regard for you, than to recommend it to you to act, in your station, as good subjects to the king, really sensible of the benefits you enjoy under his mild and equal administration; and that you will take such measures for the defence of this province,

as the present posture of affairs abroad require, in which you will have all the assistance from the governor, that can be expected from a gentleman in his station, who has no view, but the king's honour, and the security of your constitution.

"August 20th, 1741."

Thomas Penn, on the death of his brother John, in 1746, became the principal proprietor, and possessed three-fourths of the province. He lived the longest of the three brothers; but he appears never to have been very popular in the province: he is said, in general, to have conducted himself rather too reservedly towards the people, and to have been too solicitous of his private interest.

In the fifth year of Governor Thomas's administration, in October 1742, at the annual election, for the members of assembly, in Philadelphia, happened such an instance of the unwarrantable effect of party spirit, as, at that time, made a lasting impression on the minds of many of the inhabitants.

Liberty, which had long been conspicuous in the province, and of which the early inhabitants had, in general, so long showed themselves worthy, by not making an improper use of it, had drawn great numbers of various sorts of people into the country; many of whom were persons of very different principles and manners from those of the generality of the more early settlers, and many of their successors and descendants. Hence, in succeeding years, certain symptoms of an approaching change in this valuable blessing, began to grow more and more conspicuous, through the formation and increase of party, among many of the later inhabitants; who in their elections for members of assembly, fomented the spirit of opposition against the "old interest," and the defenders of the established constitution of the province.

In the year 1742, a large number of sailors from the shipping in the river Delaware, during the time of election, armed with clubs, unexpectedly appeared, in a tumultuous manner, and made a riot, at the place of election, knocking down a great number of the people, both magistrates, constables and others, worthy and reputable inhabitants, who opposed them; and, by violence having cleared the ground, several of the people were carried off as dead. This ferocious conduct was repeated upon the return of the electors; till at last, many of the inhabitants, being enraged, took measures to force them into their ships, and near 50 of them into prison; but they were soon discharged: for it afterwards appeared that they had been privately employed by some party leaders.

During Governor Thomas's administration, the Indian affairs seem mostly to have been well managed, and peace continued with that people; which had always been a matter of great importance, as well as expense to this province. But, as before observed, his ardour in pressing some matters of a military nature, appears to have introduced unprofitable altercation between him and the assembly; but afterwards for many years before his resignation, which was in the summer of the year 1747, a much better understanding existed between them.

In consequence of Governor Thomas's resignation, the administration, as usual, devolved on the council, Anthony Palmer being president, till November 1748; when James Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, arrived governor from England; a gentleman of considerable fortune in the province, and well esteemed by the people: the son of Andrew Hamilton, before mentioned.

Governor Hamilton continued till his resignation in October 1754; when he was succeeded in the government, by Robert Hunter Morris of New Jersey, son of Lewis Morris, who had been governor of that province.

In the year 1756, William Denny from England, succeeded Governor Morris; and continued in the administration till 1759: at which time he was succeeded by James Hamilton, second time governor; who continued till 1763.

During the administration of these latter governors, the party politics of the colony ran very high, relative to the paper currency, and to the exemption of the proprietaries' lands from taxation. We have not thought it necessary to enter into the virulent disputes which agitated the legislature on these hotly contested subjects; but to give some idea of them, we append the following document, which Franklin says, in his account of the conduct of the assembly in this contest, contains "as full a vindication of themselves and their conduct, as is in the power of thoughts and words to express; and consequently as full an exposition of the claims and demands brought against them."

"Report of a committee of assembly, September 23, 1756.

"In obedience to the order of the house, we have considered the proprietaries' eleventh, twelfth, and 21st instructions, relating to money bills, and now offer such remarks thereon as occur to us.

"The preamble to the eleventh instruction sets forth, 'That the interest money arising from the loan of bills of credit in this province, was intended by the proprietaries, and the house of representatives, to be applied for the publick service of the province, and of the inhabitants thereof, and should therefore, under the direction of the same power that raises it, be most carefully applied to those purposes, as a greater security to the people against misapplications, than if it was intrusted only to one branch of the legislature; and such was the ancient practice in their said province.' That the interest money was intended to be applied for the publick service of the province, and of the inhabitants thereof, is undoubtedly right; but that it was ever the 'practice,' or that there was ever even a single instance of the proprietaries or their deputies having a vote in the application of the interest money, we must absolutely deny. Their consent to the disposition is not required in any of our loan acts from the beginning to this day, the constant tenor of those laws being, that the 'interest money shall be disposed of as the assembly of this province shall from time to time order and direct.' Their consent was never asked, unless in the acceptance of presents made them out of that interest, which could not be forced on them without their consent; and that kind of application they have indeed been graciously pleased to consent to from time to time, to the amount of above 30,000*l.* given to themselves out of that fund and the excise. If this was a misapplication, and we know of no other, the power they contend for would not have prevented it; for 'tis scarce probable they should ever disapprove or refuse to sign acts, votes or resolves, which they thought so just and reasonable.

"And indeed, had these presents been always as regular as the seasons, and never intermitted, be the conduct of the governor ever so inconsistent with the publick good, your committee have reason to believe, this new instruction had never been formed or thought of. But since the representatives of the people have dared to signify their disapprobation of



a governor's measures, by withholding those tokens of their esteem, affection and gratitude, which were constantly given when they found themselves well governed; this instruction is thought necessary to be enforced. Not for the greater security of the people against misapplication; for they never complained of any; but to compel your continuance of those presents; to compel an addition to them, for they are thought too small; and to compel the payment of what they are pleased to call the arrears of such presents to any governors from whom they have at any time been withheld. For if the people's money cannot be disposed of for their own benefit, without the proprietary or his deputy's consent, the passage of the bill, or the approbation of the resolve, must be facilitated, as the proprietaries were pleased to tell us on a former occasion, by a regard to their interest,—that is, by putting at the same time into their private pockets whatever share of the publick money they shall be pleased to insist on, under the specious name of salary or support; though by the quit-rents, and even by their other fees and perquisites, established by law or taken by custom, they have already a support much more than sufficient.

"The money arising by the interest of the bills of credit, as well as that arising by the excise, is paid wholly by the people. To dispose of their own money, by themselves or their representatives, is, in our opinion, a natural right, inherent in every man, or body of men, antecedent to all laws. The proprietaries pay no part of this money, and therefore can have no right to a share in the power of disposing of it. They might as reasonably claim a right to a negative in the disposition of every man's private fortune, and for the same reasons, to wit, the man's greater security, and to prevent misapplication; nay, the reasons would be stronger, bodies of men not being generally so apt to misapply their money, as single prodigals. The people have never complained that any such misapplication has been made by their representatives: on the contrary, they have shewn their approbation of the conduct of the assembly in this tender point, by long repeated annual elections of the same men to the same trust in the same office. They have always seen their money disposed of, from time to time, for the advantage and honour of the publick, or for the king's immediate service, and they had reason to be contented with the disposition. The public credit has been constantly preserved, and every man who served the government, has been always duly and readily paid: but if this new-claimed negative in the proprietaries takes place, the people will not have it in their power to reward the man that serves them, or even to pay the hire of the labourer that works for them, without the governor's leave first purchased; much less will they be allowed to support an agent in England to defend their rights, or be able to pay the expence of prosecuting their complaints when oppressed. And to prevent their doing this, is, we conceive, another main view of this instruction.

"In short, it does not appear to your committee that this extraordinary instance of the proprietary's care of the people's money, to prevent its being wasted by their own representatives, was for the people at all necessary. Those representatives themselves are a part of the people, and must bear a share of their burdens. For their own sakes, therefore, as well as to recommend themselves to the esteem and regard of their constituents, it is highly

probable they will execute that trust, as they always have done, with justice, prudence and frugality; with freedom to the king's service, and grateful generosity to governors that sincerely seek their welfare, and do not join with the proprietaries to oppress them. But this instruction might perhaps be necessary to extort those grants to governors which they have been pleased to stile salary, and render that certain, which before depended on the good will of the people: for how else can the proprietaries be sure of that share of those grants, which, by their private contracts sometimes made with their governors, is (if report says true,) to be paid to themselves?

"The proprietaries are however willing to permit the renewal of the 80,000*l.*, which is now to sink in a few years, and even the adding 40,000*l.* more, the whole to be emitted on loan, provided, that the eleventh instruction be complied with, 'and half the power of applying the interest reserved to them, and provided, that all rents and quit-rents due, or to be due or payable to them, be always paid according to the rate of exchange at the times of payment between Philadelphia and London, or some other sufficient provision enacted in lieu thereof, as was done by a former act.' Your committee cannot help observing here, that the proprietaries' tenderness for their own interest appears in this instruction much stronger than their care for that of the people. Very great emoluments arise to them by emissions of paper money on loan, and the interest money is a tax they are clear of. They are therefore willing the quantity should be increased; but whatever advantages they receive from it, they are resolved to suffer no disadvantage from any occasional depreciation: for they will always be paid their rents and quit-rents, according to the rate of exchange between Philadelphia and London. By the original agreements, those rents and quit-rents were to be paid in sterling money (or the value in coin current,) to the proprietary receivers in the province. A bill of exchange, besides the sterling sum conveyed, includes all the freight, risk and expence of conveying that sum in specie to London. Now we conceive the people are not, nor can in justice or reason be, obliged to transmit their rents to London, and pay them there to the proprietaries. If the proprietaries should think fit to remove to China, they might as justly add to their demand the rate of exchange between London and Canton: this therefore is extortion, and ought never to be allowed in any future act, nor an equivalent made for it. For had that equivalent been really given as a matter of justice, and not extorted as purchase money for the law, it would have been extended to the rents of private landlords, as well as those of the proprietaries. Besides, the great sums to be yearly remitted to them in London, for which no returns come back to the country, naturally tend to raise the exchange; and even put it in the power of their agents to raise it occasionally, just before the periodical times of payment (to the great injury of the people), and to lower it again at their pleasure; a dangerous power this, if no inconvenience can arise to themselves by the rise of exchange! The depreciation of money in every country where it happens, is a common calamity. The proprietary estate ought not to be exempt from it, at the expence of all other estates. There are many fixed ground-rents, and other rents arising in the province belonging to the people, and due to private estates. These rents have as much right to be con-

sidered, and their deficiency, in case of depreciation, provided for out of the public funds, as those of the proprietaries. But of these they take no care, so their own are secured. It appears, however, to your committee, that all rents in the country ought to be on the same footing, with regard to any loss by the depreciation of its currency, since that is less likely ever to happen which it is the interest of all to prevent.

"Your committee now come to the twenty-first instruction, by the preamble of which it is insinuated, as if acts for provincial taxes had been common in this province, and that the proprietary's estate had been always exempted in such acts; whereas the truth is, that there never were but two or three, and those in the early times of the province, when the proprietary's circumstances were low, his affairs encumbered, and the quit-rents so small, as to be insufficient for his support, and therefore they were not only exempted from any part of such tax, but duties and licence fees were granted to help them out. For more than 40 years, as the excise and interest money have been sufficient for support of government, no provincial taxes have been levied (in this very instruction, a little lower, they themselves acknowledge none have been raised in their time), and the proprietary estate has vastly increased: those licence fees are also vastly increased, and yet they still receive them. But that their estate should now be exempt from provincial taxes, raised for the defence of that very estate, appears to us extremely unreasonable. During the distress of the family, there was likewise a voluntary subscription among the people to pay the proprietary's passage to England: they may from thence as justly claim a right of having their expences borne by the public whenever they cross the seas. But when those aids were granted to the old proprietary, he had a much better claim to them than his sons; for he undertook to act as an agent and advocate for his people, in England; to defend and secure their rights and privileges; not like his successors, to abolish and destroy them.

"The instruction farther says, that 'since the expiration of those former laws, no aid hath ever been granted by the assembly to them as proprietaries.' As proprietaries, what right have they to aids? Are they not hereditary governors of the province? and while they have indulged themselves with an almost constant residence in England, remote from their country, and greatly to its inconvenience and prejudice, have not the assemblies constantly supported their deputy, sent by the proprietaries to do what they ought themselves to have done in person; though he was often an imperfect deputy, restrained in those powers which should always subsist and be present in every government for the common welfare? But they are pleased to say, 'they have voluntarily and cheerfully expended several considerable sums of their own money for the advancement of the province.' This they said likewise to a former assembly, and the answer was, 'We are unacquainted with these expences; let the accounts be laid before us, and whatever expence appears to have been made for the service of the province shall be allowed, and repaid with thanks.' Those accounts have never yet appeared; and till they do, we think they ought not to be made the foundation of any claim whatever.

"They say farther, 'that they had no reason to suspect that the assembly would deviate so much

from the former usage, as to pretend, by any act of theirs, to charge the proprietary estate in the province with the burden of any taxes.' Amazing! If the assembly deviated from the former usage, by taxing their own estates, and those of their constituents (their usual funds failing) why should they not deviate in the same manner in taxing the proprietary estate? And what are the particular merits of this family, that when the whole British nation, when every estate in the kingdom, as well as in this province, is taxed, towards the recovery and defence of their estate in Pennsylvania, that very estate alone should be exempted, and they so confident of its right to an exemption, as to have no reason to suspect the assembly would attempt to tax it.

"But it seems 'the assembly have represented them in an untrue light, as if unwilling to assist the publick, by contributing towards the defence of the country, though no application had ever once been made to them for that purpose.' How far they are placed in an untrue light on this account, will, we presume, appear before we finish this report. It appears too, by a report of a former committee. They likewise say, 'no application was ever once made to them for their assistance towards the defence of the country.' Heretofore it was thought that the country was best defended by maintaining peace and a good understanding with the Indians. This was done from year to year by expensive and repeated presents. The proprietary reaped great advantages from this good understanding and these presents, in his bargains with the Indians for lands. The expences grew yearly more and more heavy, and repeated humble applications were made to the proprietaries, that they would be pleased to bear a part, but without success. They vouchsafed indeed an answer to the last application, but it was to reject it with the utmost pride and scorn, claiming an inherent right of exemption of their estate from all public charges whatsoever, in virtue of their being governors as well as proprietaries. And the Sixty Thousand Pound Bill is called an attempt of the assembly, by 'an act of theirs,' to charge the proprietary estate, as if they had presumed to do it alone, by their own authority. The assembly could not possibly think of taxing the proprietary estate, without the consent of the proprietaries by their deputy; the bill was therefore another humble application to the proprietaries for their consent to a thing so reasonable: and the very stile of it was, 'we pray that it may be enacted.' But that prayer could not be granted, though the province was on the brink of ruin. And yet it seems the proprietaries were not 'unwilling;' though their deputy declared they had expressly restrained him even by the words of his commission! The bill, however, is stigmatized with the character of 'most unjust and extraordinary.' Thus it is, when men judge in their own cases. These gentlemen think it unjust to tax their estates, though all the world thinks otherwise. As provincial taxes had not been usual, it might be so far extraordinary; but the mode of taxation was by no means extraordinary, being the same with that of raising our county rates and levies, long used and approved by the province. And the taxing of proprietary lands is used both in New Jersey and Maryland; and located unimproved lands have formerly been taxed in this province. Had such been taxed every where from the first settlement of America, we conceive it would have tended to the increase of the inhabitants; and the

greater strength of the colonies; for then such immense quantities of land would not have been monopolized and lain dormant, but people would more easily have obtained settlements, and been seated closer together.

"But the proprietaries would have it understood, that it is not for their own sake only, that they object to the Fifty Thousand Pound Bill which was refused, or the Sixty Thousand Pound Act that passed. They are tenderly concerned for the estates of others. No part of the lands of a delinquent, who refuses or neglects to pay his tax, ought, in their opinion, to be sold for payment; though lands in America are by act of parliament made liable to be sold for discharge of debts, and were almost always so here by the laws of this province. If lands, or parts of land may be sold to satisfy private, why not public debts? And though it be unusual in England, it has long been the practice, as we are informed, in several of the colonies, particularly in New England. But they say, a 'tax of one shilling in the pound, on the whole value, is what never was laid, nor can possibly be paid, in any country.' Strange! may not a country in imminent danger give a twentieth part of their estates to save the other nineteen? Is it impossible even to give a half, or three-fourths, to save the other half or quarter? May they not even give nineteen parts to save the twentieth? The proprietary's gift of 5000*l.*, they afterwards say, is twenty times more than their tax, if fairly and equally assessed, could by that bill have amounted to. If so, it is possible to give the whole twenty parts. But it has always been understood, that estates are not to be taxed to the full value they might singly sell for. In the same bill it was provided, that located unimproved lands should not be valued in the rates at more than 15*l.* per 100 acres: when it is well known, that the proprietary's lowest price for wild lands on the frontiers, is 15*l.* 10*s.* per hundred; and that the located unimproved lands in their manors, are, some of them valued at 300*l.* or 400*l.* per 100; they may therefore well say, that 'if that tax had been fully assessed, it must have amounted to many times the sum;' but then their next assertion is somewhat inconsistent, viz.: That the bill laying this tax was 'most unjustly calculated for the purpose of putting it in the power of the assessors to tax the proprietary estates up to the full value, and to ease other persons, by taxing them so slightly as only to make up the residue of the 50,000*l.*, in which case, much the greatest part of the burden might have been laid on the proprietary estates alone.' The value of the proprietary estate has long, for prudential reasons, been kept a profound secret: and the proprietaries have lately given 5000*l.* rather than submit it to the inquiry of the assessors. But your committee conceive some light may be obtained on that head, from this part of the instruction compared with the Fifty Thousand Pound Bill. By that bill, their wild, unsurveyed, or unlocated lands, which are many millions of acres, were not to be taxed at all, though they never sell any of them for less than 15*l.* 10*s.* per 100 acres. Their taxable estate consists chiefly in located (though uncultivated) tracts and manors, and in the reserved quit-rents arising from the lands they have sold. These manors and tracts are generally choice, being of the best lands, picked out of every new purchase from the Indians by their surveyors, before the office is opened, and laid by for a market, not to be disposed of till all the surrounding lands

are sold and settled. This has increased their value prodigiously, so that they are now, one with another, valued at more than 300*l.* per 100: yet by the bill, they were not to be taxed as worth more than 15*l.* per 100. And they own, that by the same bill, 'their quit-rents were to be taxed in the same manner as other estates,' consequently, as great an abatement to be made in the valuation. And yet by this same bill, under this very moderate valuation of their estate, they say, it would have been in the power of the assessors to have laid much the greatest part of the burden on their estates alone. Now, much the greatest part of 50,000*l.* may be 40,000*l.*; but we will say (for moderation's sake) it is only 30,000*l.*, and that sum might have been raised by that bill, on the proprietary estates, in two years, by a tax of one shilling in the pound, i.e. 15,000*l.* per annum. The shillings in 15,000*l.* are 300,000, consequently, their estates at that low valuation are worth 300,000*l.* But if you multiply that valuation by twenty, to bring it nearer the truth, those estates must amount to 6,000,000*l.*, exclusive of their wild lands as aforesaid. If this computation be too high, they may be able hereafter to show its mistakes. At present we conceive the consequences fairly drawn from facts and their own premises. And yet this their enormous estate is, by their instructions, to be exempted, while all their fellow-subjects groan under the weight of taxes for its defence! it being the first attacked in the present war, and part of it on the Ohio, the prize contended for by the enemy. For though they, towards the end of this instruction, pretend to be 'most ready and willing to bear a just proportion along with their tenants in any necessary tax for the defence of the province,' yet this appears clearly to be a mere pretence, since they absolutely except their quit-rents, and their located unimproved lands, their fines, and the purchase-monies they have at interest; that is, in a manner, their whole estate, as your committee know of little they have left to be taxed, but a ferry-house or two, a kitchen, and a dog-kennel.

"But unimproved lands should not, in our proprietaries' opinion, pay any taxes, because 'they yield no annual profit.' This may deceive people in England (where the value of land is much at a stay), as they are unacquainted with the nature of landed estates in growing plantations. Here new lands, without cultivation, without fencing, or so much as cutting down a tree, being reserved and laid by for a market till the surrounding lands are settled, improve much more in yearly value even than money at interest upon interest. Thirty years ago, the best and richest lands near the proprietary's Conestogoe manor, were worth and sold for about 40*l.* per 100 acres. That manor was then laid out and reserved, containing near 17,000 acres: and now the lands of that very manor, which, though so long located, have never yet been cultivated, will sell for 350*l.* per 100 acres; which is near nine for one, or 800 per cent. advance! Can an estate thus producing 25 per cent. per annum on the prime cost, be with any propriety called, 'an estate yielding no annual profit?' Is it not a well-known practice in the colonies, to lay out great sums of ready money for lands, without the least intent of cultivation, but merely to sell them again hereafter? Would people follow this practice if they could not make more profit of their money in that way than by employing it in improvement of land, in trade, or in putting it to interest, though

interest in the plantations is from six to ten per cent. Does not such land, though otherwise unimproved, improve continually in its value? How mean and unjust is it then, in these gentlemen, to attempt to conceal the advantages of this kind of estate, and screen it from taxes, by lurking under the ambiguous and deceitful terms, of unimproved lands, and lands yielding no annual profit?

"Meanly unjust indeed, in this instance, do they appear to your committee; who cannot but observe, that the proprietaries, knowing their own inclinations to screen their own estates, and load those of the people, from thence suspected the people might be equally unjust, and intend, by the Fifty Thousand Pound Bill, to ease their estates, and load those of the proprietaries. 'The bill, say they, appears to us to be most unjustly calculated, for the purpose of putting it in the power of persons, wholly chosen by the people, to tax our estates up to the full value therein mentioned, and to ease other persons by taxing them so lightly, as only to make up the residue that might be wanted to complete the 50,000*l*. In which case the persons chosen by the people might have laid by much the greatest part of the burden upon our estates alone.' Had they intended to raise much the greatest part of the tax of 50,000*l*. on the proprietaries' estate, would the house so readily have accepted of 5000*l*. in lieu of their share of that tax? But why this suspicion of the assembly? What instance of injustice can the proprietaries charge them with, that could give ground for such a supposition? If they were capable of such an intention, and an endeavour to get iniquity established by a law, must they not be the most unjust and dishonest of men? The assessors, it is true, are chosen by the people; they always were so by our laws; and let a man's estate be ever so great, he has but one vote in the choice of them: but have the proprietaries no friends in the province? What is become of all their dependants and expectants; those in place, or hoping for places; the thousands in their debt; the mortgagors at their mercy? Will none of these, out of love, or hope, or fear, vote for honest assessors, that may take care the proprietary is not oppressed by the weight of an unjust tax? Could the assembly be certain, that the whole people were so wicked, as to join in choosing and trusting sets of dishonest assessors, merely to wrong the proprietary? Are there no laws in the province against perjury? Are not the assessors by law to be sworn or affirmed to assess themselves and all others impartially? and have they not always been chosen as men of note for probity and justice? What a dark prospect must a man's own heart afford him, when he can from thence form such ideas of the hearts of a whole people! A people famous throughout the world for the justice and equity of their laws, the purity of their manners, their humanity and hospitality to strangers, their affection to their late honoured proprietary, their faithfulness in their manufactures and produce, and uprightness in all their dealings! and to whose virtue and industry these very gentlemen owe all their present greatness!

"The proprietaries are pleased farther to say, 'That the laying taxes on the real value of the fee-simple, and the sale of land for the payment of taxes, are contrary to the laws and statutes of Great Britain.' Your committee cannot find that any laws or statutes were ever made in Great Britain to regulate the mode of laying taxes in the plantations; and if there are none such, our bill could not

be contrary to what never existed. In Virginia the taxes are laid on slaves, and paid in tobacco; and every colony has its own mode of taxation, suited to its own circumstances, almost all different from each other, as well as from that used in England. But different from, and contrary to, we conceive to be distinct and different things; otherwise many of our laws, even those which have been approved at home, and received the royal assent, are contrary to the laws of England. But, as we said before, the laws of England themselves make lands liable to pay debts in the colonies; and therefore to sell them, or a part of them, to pay public debts, is not contrary to, but conformable with, the laws of England.

"But the proprietaries 'cannot find that the quit-rents reserved to the crown, in any of the other American colonies, have ever been taxed towards the raising any supplies granted in those colonies; and indeed those quit-rents are generally so small, (meaning the king's quit-rents, we suppose, for their own surely are large enough), that little or no land tax would be due or payable on them, if arising in Great Britain, &c.' If your committee are rightly informed, the king's quit-rents in the other colonies, are applied to public purposes, generally for the service of the colony that raises them. When our proprietaries shall think fit to apply those arising here in the same manner, we believe no assembly will attempt to tax them. The smallness of the parts we cannot conceive to be a good reason for not taxing the whole. Where every man worth less than twenty shillings a year is exempt from taxes, he who enjoys a thousand a year might, as well as our proprietaries, plead to be excused, for that his income is only 20,000*s*., each of which shillings is far within the sum exempted by law. In the whole, though what arises from each estate be no great sum, their quit-rents must amount to a very great revenue; and their speaking of them in the diminutive terms of very small quit-rents or acknowledgments, is only to amuse and deceive. They are property; and property should pay for its own preservation. They ought therefore to be taxed to the defence of the country. The proprietaries indeed say a land tax was unnecessary, as there are many other ways of raising money. They would doubtless choose any way in which their estate could not be included. But what are those many other ways? Britain, an independent state, can lay infinite duties, on all foreign wares, and imported luxuries. We are suffered little foreign trade, and almost all our superfluities are sent us from Britain itself. Will she permit us to discourage their importation by heavy imposts? or to raise funds by 'taxing her manufactures? A variety of excises and duties serve only to multiply offices and officers, and to make a part of the people pay for another part who do not choose to pay. No excise or duty was ever a fair and equal tax on property. The fairest, as the proprietaries themselves have acknowledged, is a poundage on all real and personal estate, according to its value.

"We are now to hear of the generosity of the proprietaries, who, as they say, 'were so far from desiring not to contribute to the defence and support of his majesty's rights and dominions, that immediately on the first notice of the defeat of General Braddock, they had sent over an order upon their receiver-general, to pay 5,000*l*., as a free gift towards the defence of the said province.' We may presume to ask why, when they knew the assemblies

were continually worried to give money, and the bills in which it was offered as constantly rejected; why did they not unmanacle their governor, and at the same time set an example of zeal for the common cause by a generous gift on their part, before they heard of that defeat? Why not, as soon as they knew he was sent to America? Why not, on Washington's defeat, or before his first expedition, as soon as ever their province was attacked, and they learnt that the enemy had built a fort in it? But the truth is, the order was sent, not immediately on the news of Braddock's defeat; the date of the order will show that it was a month after that news arrived in England. But it was immediately after they had advice, that the governor had refused a grant of 50,000*l.* to the crown for the defence of the proprietaries' province, because their estate was taxed in the bill, alledging restrictions from them on that head; against which all the world exclaimed, and an universal odium was falling on their heads, and the king's wrath justly dreaded; then it was, that the boasted order issued. And yet, as soon as their fears subsided, it was sincerely repented, and every underhand step taken to get the act, in which their gift was fixed, disapproved at home; though, if they had succeeded, when the bills emitted were abroad, and in the hands of the publick, many of the poor soldiers, who had received them in pay for their services, would have been ruined, and multitudes of others greatly injured. And, after all, this free gift, to be immediately paid, is not yet paid, though more than a year is elapsed since the order was given; and contracts entered into by the commissioners in confidence of receiving that money, are yet unsatisfied, to the loss and disappointment of many, and great detriment to the service.

"However, if we will have a land tax, they are pleased to form a bill for us, or at least to direct what clauses shall be in, and what shall not be in it, thus violating the most essential right of the commons in a British constitution! and with this particular injunction, that the tax shall be laid for no more than one year; and shall not exceed four shillings in the pound on the income; which, estimating estates at twenty years' purchase, is about a fifth of a twentieth, or, in plainer words, a hundredth part of the value. Perhaps this may be well enough in times of tranquillity; but when a province is invaded, must it be given up to the enemy if a tax of the hundredth penny is not sufficient to save it? Yes, that is our present situation; for the proprietaries' instructions are, it seems, unalterable. Their governor is bound to observe and enforce them, and must see the king's province perish before his eyes, rather than deviate from them a single tittle. This we have experienced within a few days, when advantage being cruelly taken of our present un-

happy situation, the prostrate condition of our bleeding country, the knife of the savages at her throat, our soldiers ready to mutiny for want of pay and necessaries, our people flying in despair from the frontier for want of protection, the assembly was compelled (like Solomon's true mother), to wave her right, to alter our money-bills, abridge our free grant to the crown by one half, and, in short, to receive and enact a law not agreeable to our judgments, but such as was made for us by the proprietary instructions, and the will and pleasure of the governor's council; whereby our constitution, and the liberties of our country are wounded in the most essential part, and even violated and destroyed. We have reason to confide, however, in the justice of our sovereign and a British parliament, that this tyranny shall not long subsist; and we hope no time will be lost in making the proper application.

"In fine, we must say, in justice to the house, that the proprietary's charge against the assembly, as 'being inclined by their authority to tax the proprietary estate disproportionately, &c.' is, to our knowledge, groundless and unjust. They had as little inclination as authority to wrong him. They have not, it seems, authority enough to oblige him to do justice. As to their inclination, they bear every one of them, and maintain, the character of *honest men*. When the proprietaries shall be truly willing to bear an equitable part of the publick burden; when they shall renounce their exorbitant demand of rent as the exchange shall then be; make restitution of the money which they have exacted from the assemblies of this province, and sincerely repent of their extortion, they may then, and not till then, have some claim to the same *noble title*."

In the year 1763, John Penn, son of Richard Penn, one of the proprietaries, succeeded Governor Hamilton, in the administration, and continued till 1771: when the government devolved on the council, James Hamilton being president for a short time; till in the latter part of the same year, Richard Penn, brother of John Penn, arrived from England, invested with the powers of government.

Richard Penn was superseded in the administration by his brother, John Penn, who became a second time governor of the province, in the latter part of the year 1771.

In the early part of the revolutionary war the people adopted a new constitution, by which the proprietor was excluded from all share in the government. He was offered, and finally accepted the sum of 570,000 dollars, in discharge of all quit-rents due from the inhabitants.

We have thus brought down the history of Pennsylvania to that period from whence we intend to give a collective history of all the states.

## MARYLAND.

*Origin—Government—First settlers—House of assembly—Laws—Ingle's insurrection—Power of taxation—State during the protectorate—On the accession of William and Mary—Inspection of the church—Establishment of the Protestant church—Value of the colony to the proprietary—General view of it.*

THE history of Pennsylvania has necessarily included so much of the affairs of this state, owing to the dissension of the proprietors, that we shall be very brief in our present notice.

This state was granted by a patent of King Charles I., June 30, 1632, to George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, in Ireland, who had been obliged, on account of the French government, to abandon the province of Avalon, in Newfoundland, after having expended 25,000*l.* in its advancement.

The government of this province was by charter vested in the proprietary; but it appears that he either never exercised these powers alone, or but for a short time; for we find, in 1637, that the freemen rejected a body of laws drawn up in England, and transmitted by his lordship, in order to be passed for the government of the province. In the place of these they proposed 42 bills to be enacted into laws, by the consent of the proprietary: these were, however, never enacted, at least they are not on record.

The first emigration to Maryland consisted of 200 gentlemen, of considerable fortune and rank, with their adherents, chiefly Roman Catholics, who hoped to enjoy liberty of conscience under a proprietary of their own profession. They sailed from England in November 1632, and landed in Maryland the beginning of 1633. The honourable Leonard Calvert, brother to Lord Baltimore, who was the first governor, very wisely and justly purchased, by presents of various goods, the rights of the Indians, and with their free consent took possession of their town, which he called St. Mary's. The country was settled with so much ease, and furnished with so many conveniences, that emigrants repaired thither in such numbers, and the colony soon became populous and flourishing.

In 1638 a law was passed, constituting the first regular house of assembly, which was to consist of such representatives, called burgesses, as should be elected pursuant to writs issued by the governor. These burgesses possessed all the powers of the persons electing them; but any other freemen, who did not assent to the election, might take their seats in person. Twelve burgesses or freemen, with the lieutenant-general and secretary, constituted the assembly or legislature. This assembly sat at St. Mary's.

Slavery seems to have gained an early establishment in Maryland, for an act of this assembly describes "the people" to consist of all Christian inhabitants, "slaves only excepted." The persecuting laws which were passed by the Virginians,

soon after this period, against the Puritans, made the latter emigrate in considerable numbers to Maryland, that they might enjoy, under a Popish proprietary, that liberty of conscience of which they were deprived by their fellow Protestants.

In 1642 it was enacted, that ten members of the assembly, of whom the governor and six burgesses were to be seven, should be a house; and if sickness should prevent that number from attending, the members present should make a house.

In 1644 one Ingle excited a rebellion, forced the governor to fly to Virginia for aid and protection, and seized the records and great seal; the last of which, with most of the records of the province, were lost or destroyed. From this period, to the year 1647, when order was restored, the proceedings of the province are involved in almost impentable obscurity.

In July 1646, the house of assembly, or more properly, the burgesses, requested that they might be separated into two branches—the burgesses by themselves, with a negative upon bills. This was not granted by the lieutenant-general at that time; but in 1650 an act was passed, dividing the assembly into two houses; the governor, secretary, and any one or more of the council, formed the upper house; the delegates from the several hundreds, who now represent the freemen, formed the lower house. At this time there were in the province but two counties, St. Mary's, and the Isle of Kent, but another (Ann Arundel) was added the same session. This was during the administration of Governor Stone.

In this year there was also passed "an act against raising money without the consent of the assembly." It enacted, "That no taxes shall be assessed or levied on the freemen of the province without their own consent, or that of their deputies, first declared in a general assembly." The printed words and early date of this Maryland act are worthy of particular notice. The acts of the general assembly and governor were of the same force in their own province as acts of parliament in England, and could not be repealed without the concurring assent of the proprietary or his deputy, with the other two estates.

In 1654, during Cromwell's usurpation in England, an act was passed, restraining the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion. This must have been procured by the mere terror of Cromwell's power, for the first and principal inhabitants were Catholics. Indeed the power of Cromwell was not established in Maryland without force and bloodshed. His friends and foes came to an open rupture, an engagement ensued, Governor Stone was taken prisoner, and condemned to be shot; this sentence, however, was not executed, but he was kept a long time in confinement.

In March 1658, Josiah Fendall, Esq. was appointed lieutenant-general of Maryland, by commission from Oliver Cromwell; he dissolved the upper



house, and surrendered the powers of government into the hands of the delegates.

Upon the restoration it reverted to Lord Baltimore, who, about the year 1662, sent over his son, Charles Calvert, to be his governor of the province, he having previously obtained a confirmation of the grant of 1631. This gentleman, who was afterwards himself Lord Baltimore, proved one of the best governors that any English plantation ever had in America. Though he was a Roman Catholic, he passed an act of the assembly, by which all Christians of every denomination had liberty to settle in the province; and his administration was so mild, moderate, and impartial, that the English inhabitants of Maryland, so early as the year 1665, amounted to 16,000. Even the Indian nations submitted to his authority; and when a chief called Naocosco, was chosen what they call emperor of Piscataway, his election was not thought to be valid, till it was confirmed by the governor of Maryland. In every other respect he kept his promises of protection and encouragement to the Protestants as well as the Papists; nor is there, during all the time of his long government, (for he resided there twenty years,) a single instance of an invasion upon the rights, properties, or privileges of any individual.

Sir William Berkeley, a violent royalist, was at this time governor of Virginia, where many severe laws passed against the dissenters. This son of the church of England drove great numbers of them into Maryland, where they were received with open arms, and kindly entertained by the popish proprietary. In the year 1677, the Indian war in Virginia communicated itself, but in a very small degree, to Maryland, and tranquillity was soon restored all over that province by the proprietary's wisdom and moderation. The comprehensive maxims of Lord Baltimore did not suit those of James II. when he mounted the throne of England. Though he had granted liberty of conscience to all the sectaries in Great Britain, that he might the more easily establish the Roman Catholic religion there, yet his popish counsellors suggested to him, that such a toleration ought not to take place in a province where the bulk of the people were already Roman Catholics. A resolution was therefore taken to deprive Lord Baltimore of the right to nominate a governor to his province of Maryland. Even after the revolution, the design of taking from him the right of nominating the governor of Maryland was still pursued. Advantage of the acts of parliament against Papists was taken against him, but Lord Baltimore had the spirit to dispute his right inch by inch at the council-board; and though his lordship retained that of proprietary, he was deprived of that of naming a governor, or a council, which power was vested in the crown. King William appointed Sir Edmund Andros to the government of Maryland. This gentleman called together an assembly in 1692, who recognised the right of King William and Queen Mary to the crown, and to prevent any inconveniences arising from the alteration of the judicature in the province, an act was passed, confirming all law proceedings, excepting where there was any error in process or pleas. When an act of parliament passed concerning the succession of declared Papists to paternal inheritances, the Baltimore family very wisely declared themselves Protestants, and were ever after eminently attached to the existing constitution in church and state.

Sir Edmund Andros was succeeded in the govern-

ment of Maryland by Colonel Nicholson, who passed the act of confirmation above mentioned; in which there is a proviso, that nothing in the act should justify Sir Edmund Andros in taking and disposing of the public revenues, or debar the assembly, or any other person, of their right or claims to the same. The proprietary enjoyed, as before, the revenues of the province, arising by grants from the assemblies, the exportation of tobacco, the sales of uncultivated and unpurchased lands, and various other articles; all which constituted a very considerable income. Maryland preserved the privilege of not submitting her laws to Great Britain for confirmation, as long as it was subjected to that kingdom. It was natural for the government of England, after the revolution, when the crown had appropriated to itself the appointment of the governor, to inquire more minutely into the state of Maryland than into that of any other of the American colonies, both as to its ecclesiastical and civil constitution. In 1692 it was thought proper that the bishop of London should appoint a commissary in Maryland, and he made choice of Dr. Thomas Bray, who went thither to inspect the church affairs of the province, which he found in great disorder, through the influence of the Papists on the one hand, and that of the Quakers on the other. An act of the assembly that same year, divided the then counties into 30 parishes, sixteen of which were supplied with ministers, provided with livings. By the doctor's care likewise, the people were furnished with many books of Protestant practical devotion, and several chapels were erected. The stipends allowed to the ministers were fixed by a perpetual law to be according to the taxable individuals in each parish. Every Christian male of sixteen years old, and Negroes, male and female, above that age, to pay 40 pounds of tobacco yearly to the minister, to be levied by the sheriff, and thereby each minister, one with another, would have an income of about 20,000 pounds weight of tobacco, equivalent to about 100*l.* sterling a year. This encouragement was greatly owing to Colonel Nicholson's zeal; for before his time the people of the colony had never seen any divines of the church of England, excepting some itinerent preachers, whose morals were a reproach to their profession. This neglect had given the papists, and the other sectaries, a great sway over the bulk of the people; but in a few years the latter were so well reconciled to the church of England, that it became the chief religion in the province; and their audiences were even crowded.

Colonel Nicholson left his government with a good character, and was succeeded by Colonel Nathaniel Blakiston, who promised to tread in the steps of his predecessors; but he was obliged to return to England for the recovery of his health; and, in 1703, her majesty was pleased to appoint Colonel William Seymour to be governor. This gentleman, in his passage to Maryland, in the Dreadnought man of war, was forced to put into Barbadoes, and, being afterwards driven off the coasts of Maryland, it was above eight months from his departure from England before he arrived at his government. He likewise had a good character; and the most remarkable of the succeeding governors were the Colonels Corbet and Hunt, Mr. Calvert, Mr. Bladen, and Mr. Ogle. The allowance of the governor's salary was by agreement, with the proprietary, and therefore uncertain; but the value of the proprietary's own revenue was very considerable. His original quit-rent was fixed at two shillings sterling a year

for every 100 acres. In time he patented vacant lands for double that sum, and at last he endeavoured to raise the quit-rent to ten shillings for every 100 acres; but failed in the attempt, though there is little room to doubt, that in the subsequent flourishing state of Maryland he may have received that sum. Some years after the assembly, with the consent of the lord-proprietary, granted him in lieu of his quit-rents for three years, a revenue of three shillings and sixpence sterling duty on every hog-head of tobacco, to be paid by the shipper. By this expedient the landed interest was eased of the burden of quit-rents; but this scheme did not hold. The lord-proprietary, by this new method of collection, received no more than 5000*l.* a year; and therefore, upon the expiration of the three years, he reverted to the revenue arising from his quit-rents. Besides these, he had large estates in many parts of the province, which he let to farm.

The situation of Maryland, which secured it in a great measure from the rapine and incursions of the Indians, has at all times preserved it in a tolerable state of tranquillity; and consequently it affords but little subject for history; the natives having wisely applied themselves to the culture of their country. And as the remaining portion of its history until the revolutionary war, is best learnt in the progress of its domestic affairs, we shall conclude this part of our account with a slight view of its internal condition.

This state is situated between 38 and 40 degrees north latitude; its length is about 134 miles, and its breadth 110. It is bounded on the north by the state of Pennsylvania; on the east by the state of Delaware; and on the south-east and south by the Atlantic ocean; and a line drawn from the ocean over the peninsula (dividing it from Accomack county in Virginia,) to the mouth of the Potomac river; thence up the Potomac to its source; thence by a north line till it intersects the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, in latitude 39° 43' 18"; so that it has Virginia on the south, south-west and west; it contains about 14,000 square miles, of which from one-sixth to one-fourth is water.

The climate is in general mild and agreeable, suited to agricultural productions, and a great variety of fruit trees: the air in the interior of the country is salubrious, and favourable to the inhabitants, who in the hilly parts are as healthy as in any part of the Union; but in the flat lands in the neighbourhood of marshes and stagnant waters, as in the other southern states, they are subject to intermittent and other complaints common to swampy situations.

East of the blue ridge of mountains, which stretches across the western part of this state, the land, like that in all the southern states, is generally level and free of stones; and appears to have been made much in the same way; of course the soil must be similar, and the natural growth not remarkably different.

The ground is uniformly level and low in most of the counties on the eastern shore, and consequently covered in many places with stagnant water, except where it is intersected by numerous creeks. Here also are large tracts of marsh, which, during the day, load the atmosphere with vapour, that again falls in dew in the close of the summer and fall seasons.

Chesapeake bay divides this state into the eastern and western divisions. This bay, the largest in the United States, affords many good fisheries, and is

remarkable for the excellence of its crabs, and also for a particular species of wild duck, called Canvas-back. In a commercial view, this bay is of immense advantage to the state; it receives a number of large rivers. From the eastern shore in Maryland, among other smaller ones, it receives the Pocomoke, Nantikoke, Choptank, Chester and Elk rivers; from the north, the rapid Susquehanna; and from the west, the Patapsco, Severn, Patuxent and Potomac, half of which is in Maryland, and half in Virginia. Except the Susquehanna and Potomac, these are small rivers. Patapsco river is but about 30 or 40 yards wide at the ferry, just before it empties into the basin upon which Baltimore stands; its source is in York county, in Pennsylvania; its course is southwardly till it reaches Elkridge landing, about eight miles westward of Baltimore; it then turns eastward, in a broad bay-like stream, by Baltimore, which it leaves on the north, and passes into the Chesapeake.

The entrance into Baltimore harbour, about a mile below Fell's Point, is hardly a pistol-shots cross, and of course may be easily defended against naval force.

Severn is a short, inconsiderable river, passing by Annapolis, which it leaves to the south, emptying by a broad mouth into the Chesapeake.

Patuxent is a larger river than the Patapsco; it rises in Ann Arundel county, and runs south-eastwardly, and then east into the bay, fifteen or twenty miles north of the mouth of the Potomac. There are also several small rivers, such as the Wighcoomico, Eastern Branch, Monocacy and Conegocheague, which empty into the Potomac from the Maryland side.

The soil of the good land in Maryland is of such a nature and quality as to produce from twelve to sixteen bushels of wheat, or from 20 to 30 bushels of Indian corn per acre. Ten bushels of wheat, and fifteen bushels of corn per acre, may be the annual average crops in the state at large.

Wheat and tobacco are the staple commodities. Tobacco is generally cultivated in sets, by negroes, in the following manner: the seed is sown in beds of fine mould, and transplanted the beginning of May; the plants are set at the distance of three or four feet from each other, and are hilled and kept continually free of weeds: when as many leaves have shot out as the soil will nourish to advantage, the top of the plant is broken off, which prevents its growing higher: it is carefully kept clear of worms, and the suckers, which put out between the leaves, are taken off at proper times, till the plant arrives at perfection, which is in August: when the leaves turn of a brownish colour, and begin to be spotted, the plant is cut down and hung up to dry, after having sweated in heaps one night. When it can be handled without crumbling, which is always in moist weather, the leaves are stripped from the stalk, and tied in bundles, and packed for exportation in hogsheds, containing 800 or 900 pounds. No suckers nor ground leaves are allowed to be merchantable. An industrious person may manage 6000 plants of tobacco, which yield 1000*l.*, and four acres of Indian corn.

In the interior country, on the uplands, considerable quantities of hemp and flax are raised. In 1751, in the month of October, no less than 60 waggons loaded with flax seed came down to Baltimore from the back country.

Two articles are said to be peculiar to Maryland, viz. the genuine white wheat, which grows in Kent,

Queen Ann's and Talbot counties, on the eastern shore, and which degenerates in other places, and the bright kite's foot tobacco, which is produced at Elkridge, on the Patuxent, on the western shore.

Among other kinds of timber is the oak, of several kinds, which is of a straight grain, and easily rives into staves for exportation. The black walnut is in demand for cabinet, tables and other furniture. The apples of this state are large, but mealy; the peaches plenty and good; from these the inhabitants distil cider and peach brandy.

In Worcester county a species of grape-vine, of a peculiar kind, has been discovered. The bark is of a gray colour, very smooth, and the wood of a firm texture. They delight in a high sandy soil, but will thrive very well in the Cyprus swamps. The leaf is very much like that of the English grape-vine, such as is propagated in the gardens near Philadelphia for table use. The grape is much larger than the English, of an oval shape, and when quite ripe, is black, adorned with a number of pale red specks, which on handling rub off. The pulp is a little like the fox grape, but in taste more delicious. These grapes are ripe in October, and yield an incredible quantity of juice, which, with proper management, would no doubt make a valuable wine.

There is an immense quantity of these vines growing on the beach, open to the sea; and they are also found in great plenty upon the ridges and in the swamps.

The forests abound with nuts of various kinds, which are collectively called mast; on this mast great numbers of swine are fed, which run wild in the woods: these swine, when fattened, are caught, killed, barrelled, and exported in great quantities. This traffic formerly was carried on to a very considerable extent. Mines of iron ore are found in several parts of this state, of a superior quality.

This state is at present divided into nineteen counties, eleven of which are on the western shore of Chesapeake bay, viz. Hartford, Baltimore, Ann Arundel, Frederick, Alleghany, Washington, Montgomery, Prince George, Calvert, Charles and St. Mary's; and eight on the eastern shore, viz. Cecil, Kent, Queen Ann, Caroline, Talbot, Somerset, Dorchester and Worcester. The principal towns in this state are as follow:—

Annapolis (city) is the capital of Maryland, and the wealthiest town of its size in America: it is situated at the mouth of Severn river, and was originally known by that name, which was changed for its present one in 1694, when it was made a port town, and the residence of a collector and naval officer: it stands on a healthy spot, 30 miles south of Baltimore, in north latitude  $39^{\circ} 2'$ : it is a place of but little note in the commercial world. The houses, about 300 in number, are generally large and elegant, indicative of great wealth; the number of inhabitants do not exceed 2500. The design of those who planned the city was to have the whole in the form of a circle, with the streets like radii, beginning at the centre where the state-house stands, and thence diverging in every direction. The principal part of the buildings are arranged agreeably to this awkward and stupid plan. It has a state house, which is an elegant building.

Baltimore has had the most rapid growth of any town on the continent, and is the fourth in size and the fifth in trade in the United States. It lies in latitude  $39^{\circ} 21'$ , on the north side of Patapsco river, round what is called the basin, in which the water, at common tides, is about five or six feet deep. Bal-

timore is divided into the town and Fell's Point by a creek, over which are two bridges. At Fell's-point the water is deep enough for ships of burden; but small vessels only go up to the town. The situation of the town is low, and was formerly unhealthy; but the increase of houses, and of course of smoke, the tendency of which is to destroy or dispel damp and unwholesome vapours, and the improvements that have been made, particularly that of paving the streets, have rendered it tolerably healthy.

Market-street is the principal street in the town, and runs nearly east and west a mile in length, parallel with the water; this is crossed by several other streets leading from the water, a number of which, particularly Calvert, South and Gay-streets, are well built. North and east of the town the land rises and affords a fine prospect of the town and bay.

George-town stands on the bank of the Potomac river, about 160 miles from its entrance into Chesapeake bay. The ground on which it stands is very broken, being a cluster of little hills, which, though at present elevated considerably above the surface of the river, were probably at some former period overflowed; as at the depth of eight or ten feet below the surface marine shells have been found.

Frederick-town is a fine flourishing inland town, of upwards of 300 houses, built principally of brick and stone, and mostly on one broad street. It is situated in a fertile country, about four miles south of Catokton mountain, and is a place of considerable trade: it has four places for public worship; one for Presbyterians, two for Dutch Lutherans and Calvinists, and one for Baptists; besides a public gaol and a brick market-house.

Hagars-town is but little inferior to Frederick-town, and is situated in the beautiful and well cultivated valley of Conegocheague, and carries on a considerable trade with the western country.

Elkton is situated near the head of Chesapeake bay, on a small river which bears the name of the town. It enjoys great advantages from the carrying trade between Baltimore and Philadelphia, and the tides ebb and flow up to the town.

The Roman Catholics, who were the first settlers in Maryland, are the most numerous religious sect. Besides these, there are Protestant Episcopalians, English, Scotch, and Irish Presbyterians, German Calvinists, German Lutherans, Friends, Baptists, Methodists, Menonists and Nicolites, or New Quakers, who all enjoy liberty of conscience.

There are many very respectable families in Baltimore, who are hospitable to strangers, and maintain a friendly and improving intercourse with each other; but the bulk of the inhabitants, are collected from almost all quarters of the world, bent on the pursuit of wealth, varying in their habits, their manners, and their religions.

The inhabitants, except in the populous towns, live on their plantations, often several miles distant from each other. To an inhabitant of the middle, and especially of the eastern states, which are thickly populated, they appear to live very retired unsocial lives. The effects of this comparative solitude are visible in the countenances, as well as in the manners and dress of many of the country people. One observes comparatively little of that cheerful sprightliness of look and action, which is the invariable and genuine offspring of social intercourse; nor do you find that attention paid to dress

which is common, and which custom has rendered necessary among people who are liable to receive company almost every day : unaccustomed, in a great measure, to frequent and friendly visits, they often suffer too much negligence in this respect. As the negroes perform all their manual labour, their masters are left to saunter away life in sloth, and too often in ignorance. These observations, however, must in justice be limited to the people in the country, and to those particularly whose poverty or parsimony prevents their spending a part of their time in populous towns, or otherwise mingling with the world; and with these limitations, they will equally apply to all the southern states. The inhabitants of the populous towns and these from the country who have intercourse with them, are, in their manners and customs, intelligent and agreeable.

That pride which grows on slavery, and is habitual to those who, from their infancy, are taught to believe and feel their superiority, is a visible characteristic of the inhabitants of Maryland; but with

this characteristic we must not fail to connect that of hospitality to strangers, which is equally universal and obvious. Many of the women possess all the amiable, and many of the elegant accomplishments of their sex.

Furnaces for running iron ore into pigs and hollow ware, and forges to refine pig-iron into bars, are numerous, and worked to great extent and profit. This is the only manufacture of importance carried on in the state, except it be that of wheat into flour and curing tobacco.

The trade of Maryland is principally carried on from Baltimore, with the other states; with the West Indies, and with some parts of Europe. To these places they send annually many thousand hogsheads of tobacco, besides large quantities of wheat, flour, pig-iron, lumber, and corn; beans, pork, and flax seed in smaller quantities; and receive in return, clothing for themselves and negroes, and other dry goods, wines, spirits, sugars, and other West Indian commodities.

## VIRGINIA.

ROBERTSON, in the fragments he has left on the United States, has entered so fully into the history of Virginia, that there is little left for us to add. The settlement of this colony is the most important part of its history; and from the English revolution of 1688, to the commencement of the American struggle for emancipation, there is little of an historical nature. Its position, remote from the settlements of the French in Canada, and of the Spaniards in Florida, was favourable to its quiet. New England and New York on the one hand, Georgia and the Carolinas on the other, protected it from savage incursions. Its affairs were administered by governors appointed by the king, and representatives chosen by the people.

The laudable efforts of these representatives to arrest the progress of slavery in the colony, ought not to be passed over in silence. Convinced of its inhumanity, and foreseeing the dreadful evils which it must produce, they often passed laws prohibiting the importation of slaves; but those who were higher in authority, yielding to the wishes of merchants engaged in the abominable traffic, persisted with criminal obstinacy in withholding their assent. England, not America, is responsible for the wretchedness which her kings and her officers were often importuned, but refused, to avert.

As we have little to say therefore on political matters, we shall give what we have, intermingled with an account of its physical condition; which is the more necessary, as it took so vigorous a share in the great struggle for emancipation; to the narration of which we are hastening.

This state is situated between 75° 25' and 83° 40' west longitude, and 36° 40', and 40° 43' north latitude. Its length is about 370 miles, and its breadth about 200. It is bounded on the east by the Atlantic and Maryland, on the north by Ohio, Pennsylvania

and Maryland; on the south by Carolina and Tennessee, and west by Ohio and Kentucky.

In an extensive country, it will be expected that the climate is not the same in all its parts. It is remarkable that, proceeding on the same parallel of latitude westerly, the climate becomes colder in like manner as when you proceed northwardly. This continues to be the case till you attain the summit of the Alleghany, which is the highest land between the ocean and the Mississippi. From thence, descending in the same latitude to the Mississippi, the change reverses; and, if we may believe travellers, it becomes warmer there than it is in the same latitude on the sea side. Their testimony is strengthened by the vegetables and animals which subsist and multiply there naturally, and do not on the sea coast.

That fluctuation between heat and cold, so destructive to fruit, in the spring season, prevails less in Virginia than in Pennsylvania; nor is the over flowing of the rivers in Virginia so extensive or so frequent at that season, as those of the New England states; because the snows in the former do not lie accumulating all winter, to be dissolved all at once in the spring, as they do sometimes in the latter. In Virginia, below the mountains, snow seldom lies more than a day or two, and seldom a week; and the large rivers seldom freeze over. The fluctuation of weather, however, is sufficient to render the winters and springs very unwholesome, as the inhabitants during those seasons have to walk in almost perpetual mire.

The months of June and July, though often the hottest, are the most healthy in the year. The weather is then dry, and less liable to change than in August and September, when the rain commences, and sudden variations take place.

On the sea-coast the land is low, generally within

twelve feet of the level of the sea, intersected in all directions with salt creeks and rivers, the heads of which form swamps and marshes, and fenny ground, covered with water in wet seasons. The uncultivated lands are covered with large trees and thick underwood. The vicinity of the sea, and salt creeks and rivers, occasion a constant moisture and warmth of the atmosphere; so that although under the same latitude, 100, or 150 miles in the country, deep snows and frozen rivers frequently happen, for a short season, yet here such occurrences are considered as phenomena; for these reasons, the trees are often in bloom as early as the last of February; from this period, however, till the end of April, the inhabitants are incommoded by cold rains, piercing winds, and sharp frosts, which subject them to the inflammatory diseases, known here under the names of pleurisy and peripneumony.

The whole country, below the mountains, is level, and seems, from various appearances, to have been once washed by the sea. The land, between York and James rivers, is very level, and its surface about 40 feet above high-water mark. It appears, from observation, to have arisen to its present height, at different periods far distant from each other, and that at these periods it was washed by the sea; for near York Town, where the banks are perpendicular, you first see a *stratum*, intermixed with small shells, resembling a mixture of clay and sand, and about five feet thick; on this lie, horizontally, small white shells, cockle, clam, &c. an inch or two thick; then a body of earth similar to that first mentioned, eighteen inches thick; then a layer of shells and another body of earth; on this a layer of three feet of white shells, mixed with sand, on which lies a body of oyster-shells, six feet thick, which are covered with earth to the surface. The oyster-shells are so united by a very strong cement, that they fall only when undermined, and then in large bodies, from one to twenty tons weight: they have the appearance on the shore of large rocks.

These appearances continue in a greater or less degree in the banks of James river, 100 miles from the sea; the appearances then vary, and the banks are filled with sharks' teeth, bones of large and small fish petrified, and many other petrifications, some resembling the bones of land and other animals, and also vegetable substances. These appearances are not confined to the river banks, but are seen in various places in gullies at considerable distances from the rivers. In one part of the state, for 70 miles in length, by sinking a well, you apparently come to the bottom of what was formerly a watercourse. And even as high up as Botetourt county, among the Alleghany mountains, there is a tract of land, judged to be 40,000 acres, surrounded on every side by mountains, which is entirely covered with oyster and cockle-shells, and, by some gullies, they appear to be of considerable depth. A plantation at Day's point, on James river, of as many as 1000 acres, appears at a distance as if covered with snow, but on examination the white appearance is found to arise from a bed of clam shells, which, by repeated plowing, have become fine, and mixed with the earth.

It is worthy of notice, that the mountains in this state are not solitary, and scattered confusedly over the face of the country; but commence at about 150 miles from the sea-coast, and are disposed in ridges one behind another, running parallel with the sea-coast, though rather approaching it as they advance north-eastwardly. To the south-west, as

the tract of country between the sea-coast and the Mississippi becomes narrower, the mountains converge into a single ridge; which, as it approaches the gulf of Mexico, subsides into plain country, and gives rise to some of the waters of that gulf, and particularly to a river called Apalachicola, probably from the Apalaches, an Indian nation formerly residing on it. Hence the mountains giving rise to that river, and seen from its various parts, were called the Apalachian mountains, being in fact the end or termination only of the great ridges passing through the continent. European geographers, however, have extended the same northwardly as far as the mountains extended; some giving it after their separation into different ridges, to the Blue Ridge, others to the north mountains, others to the Alleghany, others to the Laurel Ridge, as may be seen in their different maps. But none of these ridges were ever known by that name to the inhabitants, either native or emigrant, but as they saw them so called in European maps. In the same direction generally are the veins of lime-stone, coal, and other minerals hitherto discovered; and so range the falls of the great rivers: but the courses of the great rivers are at right angles with these. James and the Potomac penetrate through all the ridges or mountains eastward of the Alleghany, which is broken by no watercourse. The passage of the Potomac through the Blue Ridge is perhaps one of the most stupendous scenes in nature. You stand on a very high point of land. On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain 100 miles to seek a vent; on your left approaches the Potomac, in quest of a passage also: in the moment of their junction they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea. The first glance of this scene hurries us into the opinion, that this earth has been created by degrees, that the mountains were formed first, that the rivers began to flow afterwards; that in this place particularly they have been dammed up by the Blue ridge of mountains, and have formed an ocean which filled the whole valley; that continuing to rise, they have at length broken over at this spot, and have torn the mountain down from its summit to its base. The piles of rock on each hand, but particularly on the Shenandoah, the evident marks of their disruption and avulsion from their beds by the most powerful agents of nature, corroborate the impression: but the distant finishing which nature has given to the picture, is of a very different character. It is a true contrast to the fore ground; it is as placid and delightful, as that is wild and tremendous. For the mountain, being cloven asunder, presents to the eye, through the cleft, a small catch of smooth blue horizon, at an infinite distance, in the plain country, inviting you, as it were, from the riot and tumult roaring around, to pass through the breach, and participate of the calm below. Here the eye ultimately composes itself; and that way, too, the road actually leads. You cross the Potomac above the junction, pass along its side through the base of the mountain for three miles, its terrible precipices hanging in fragments over you, and within about twenty miles reach Frederick Town, and the fine country round it.

The Quasioto mountains are 50 or 60 miles wide at the gap. These mountains abound in coal, lime, and free-stone; the summits of them are generally covered with a good soil, and a variety of timber: and the low intervale lands are rich, and remarkably well watered.

An inspection of a map will give a better idea of the geography of the rivers, than any description in writing. Their navigation, however, may be imperfectly noted.

Roanoke, so far as it lies within this state, is no where navigable but for canoes, or light batteaux; and even for these, in such detached parcels, as to have prevented the inhabitants from availing themselves of it at all.

James river, and its waters, afford navigation as follows: the whole of Elizabeth river, the lowest of those which run into James river, is a harbour, and would contain upwards of 300 ships. The channel is from 150 to 200 fathoms wide, and at common flood-tide affords eighteen feet water to Norfolk. The Strafford, a 60 gun ship, went there, lightening herself across the bar at Sowell's point. The Fier Rodrigue, pierced for 64 guns, and carrying 50, went there without lightening. Craney island, at the mouth of this river, commands its channel tolerably well.

Nansemond river is navigable to Sleepy Hole, for vessels of 250 tons; to Suffolk, for those of 100 tons; and to Milner's, for those of 25. Pagan creek affords eight or ten feet water to Smithfield, which admits vessels of twenty tons. Chickahominy has at its mouth a bar, on which is only twelve feet water at common flood-tide. Vessels passing that, may go eight miles up the river; those of ten feet draught may go four miles further, and those of six tons burthen twenty miles further.

The Appamattox may be navigated as far as Broadways, by any vessel which has crossed Harrison's bar in James river; it keeps eight or nine feet water a mile or two higher up to Fisher's bar, and four feet on that and upwards to Petersburg, where all navigation ceases.

James river itself affords harbour for vessels of any size at Hampton road, but not in safety through the whole winter; and there is navigable water for them as far as Mulberry island. A 40-gun ship goes to James-town, and, lightening herself, may pass to Harrison's bar, on which there is only fifteen feet water. Vessels of 250 tons may go to Warwick; those of 125 go to Rocket's, a mile below Richmond; from thence is about seven feet water to Richmond; and about the centre of the town, four feet and a half, where the navigation is interrupted by falls, which, in a course of six miles descend about 80 feet perpendicular: above these it is resumed in canoes and batteaux, and is prosecuted safely and advantageously to within ten miles of the Blue Ridge; and even through the Blue Ridge a ton weight has been brought; and the expense would not be great, when compared with its object, to open a tolerable navigation up Jackson's river and Carpenter's creek, to within 25 miles of Howard's creek of Green Briar, both of which have then water enough to float vessels into the Great Kanhawa.

The Rivanna, a branch of James river, is navigable for canoes and batteaux to its intersection with the south-west mountains, which is about 22 miles.

York river, at York-town, affords the best harbour in the state for vessels of the largest size. The river there narrows to the width of a mile, and is contained within very high banks, close under which the vessels may ride. It holds four fathom water at high tide for 25 miles above York to the mouth of Potopotank, where the river is a mile and half wide and the channel only 75 fathoms, and

passing under a high bank. At the confluence of Pamunkey and Mattapony it is reduced to three fathoms depth, which continues up Pamunkey to Cumberland, where the width is 100 yards, and up Mattapony to within two miles of Frazier's ferry, where it becomes two and a half fathoms deep, and holds that about five miles. Pamunkey is then capable of navigation for loaded flats to Brockman's bridge, 50 miles above Hanover-town and Mattapony, to Downer's-bridge, 70 miles above its mouth.

Piankatank, the little rivers making out of Mob-jack bay, and those of the eastern shore, receive only very small vessels, and these can but enter them. Rappahannock affords four fathoms water to Hobbe's Hole, and two fathoms from thence to Fredericksburg, 110 miles.

The Potomac is seven and a half miles wide at the mouth; four and a half at Nomony bay; three at Aquia; one and a half at Hallooing point; one and a quarter at Alexandria. Its soundings are seven fathoms at the mouth; five at St. George's island; four and a half at Lower Matchodic; three at Swan's point, and thence up to Alexandria; thence ten feet water to the falls, which are thirteen miles above Alexandria. The tides in the Potomac are not very strong, excepting after great rains, when the ebb is pretty strong, then there is little or no flood; and there is never more than four or five hours flood, except with long and strong south winds.

The distance from the capes of Virginia to the termination of the tide-water in this river is above 300 miles, and navigable for ships of the greatest burden, nearly that distance. From thence this river, obstructed by four considerable falls, extends through a vast tract of inhabited country towards its source. These falls are, 1st, The Little Falls, three miles above tide-water, in which distance there is a fall of 36 feet; 2nd, The Great Falls six miles higher, where is a fall of 76 feet in one mile and a quarter; 3rd, The Seneca Falls, six miles above the former, which form short, irregular rapids, with a fall of about ten feet; and 4th, The Shenandoah Falls, 60 miles from the Seneca, where is a fall of about 30 feet in three miles: from which last, fort Cumberland is about 120 miles distant. The obstructions which are opposed to the navigation above and between these falls are of little consequence.

The great Kanhawa is a river of considerable note for the fertility of its land, and still more, as leading towards the head waters of James river. The Great Falls are 90 miles above the mouth, below which are only five or six rapids, and these passable, with some difficulty, even at low water. From the falls to the mouth of Green Briar is 100 miles, and thence to the lead mines 120: it is 280 yards wide at its mouth.

The Little Kanhawa is 150 yards wide at the mouth: it yields a navigation of ten miles only.

Besides the rivers we have now mentioned, there are many others of less note, nevertheless the state does not abound with good fish; sturgeon, shad and herring are the most plentiful; perch, sheeps-head, drum, rock fish, and trout, are common; besides these, they have oysters, crabs, shrimps, &c. in abundance. The springs in this state are almost innumerable. In Augusta there is a remarkable cascade, it bears the name of the Falling Spring. It is a water of James river, where it is called Jackson's river, rising in the warm spring mountains about twenty miles south-west of the warm spring, and flowing into that valley. About three quarters



of a mile from its source it falls over a rock 200 feet into the valley below. The sheet of water is broken in its breadth by the rock in two or three places, but not at all in its height. Between the sheet and rock, at the bottom, you may walk across dry. This cataract will bear no comparison with that of Niagara, as to the quantity of water composing it, the sheet being only twelve or fifteen feet wide above, and somewhat more spread below; but it is half as high again.

The soil below the mountains seems to have acquired a character for goodness which it by no means deserves. Though not rich, it is well suited to the growth of tobacco and Indian corn, and parts of it for wheat. Good crops of cotton, flax, and hemp are also raised; and in some counties they have plenty of cider, and exquisite brandy, distilled from peaches, which grow in great abundance upon the numerous rivers of the Chesapeake.

The planters, before the war, paid their principal attention to the culture of tobacco, of which there used to be exported, generally, 55,000 hogsheads a year. Since the revolution they have turned their attention more to the cultivation of wheat, Indian corn, barley, flax, and hemp.

Horned, or neat cattle, are bred in great numbers in the western counties of Virginia, as well as the states south of it, where they have an extensive range, and mild winters, without any permanent snows. They run at large, are not housed, and multiply very fast.

The gentlemen of this state, being fond of pleasure, have taken much pains to raise a good breed of horses, and have succeeded in it beyond any of the other states in the Union. They are more elegant, and will perform more service than the horses of the northern states.

With respect to subterraneous productions, Virginia is the most pregnant with minerals and fossils of any state in the Union. Mr. Jefferson mentions a lump of gold ore of about four pounds weight found near the falls of Rappahannock river, which yielded seventeen pennyweights of gold, of extraordinary ductility; but no other indication of gold has been discovered in its neighbourhood.

On the great Kauhawa, opposite to the mouth of Cripple creek, and also about 25 miles from the southern boundary of the state, in the county of Montgomery, are mines of lead. The metal is mixed, sometimes with earth, and sometimes with rock, which requires the force of gunpowder to open it; and is accompanied with a portion of silver, but too small to be worth separation under any process hitherto attempted there. The proportion yielded is from 50 to 80 pounds of pure lead from 100 pounds of washed ore. The most common is that of 60 to the 100 pounds. The veins are sometimes most flattering; at others they disappear suddenly and totally. They enter the side of the hill, and proceed horizontally.

A mine of copper was opened in the county of Amherst, on the north side of James river, and another in the opposite county, on the south side; but were discontinued. There are also several iron mines in this state.

The country, on both sides of James river, from fifteen to twenty miles above Richmond, and for several miles northward and southward, is replete with mineral coal of a very excellent quality. Being in the hands of many proprietors, pits have been opened and worked to an extent equal to the demand.

Mr. Jefferson informs us, that he has known one instance of an emerald found in this country. Amethysts have been frequent, and crystals common; yet not in such numbers any of them as to be worth seeking.

There is very good marble, and in very great abundance, on James river, at the mouth of Rockfish: some white, and as pure as one might expect to find on the surface of the earth; but generally variegated with red, blue, and purple.

But one vein of lime-stone is known below the Blue Ridge; its first appearance is in Prince William, two miles below the Pignut ridge of mountains; thence it passes on nearly parallel with that, and crosses the Rivanna about five miles below it, where it is called the South-west ridge; it then crosses Hardware, above the mouth of Hudson's creek, James river, at the mouth of Rockfish, at the marble quarry before spoken of, probably runs up that river to where it appears again at Ross's iron works, and so passes off south-westwardly by Flat creek of the river Otter: it is never more than 100 yards wide. From the Blue ridge westwardly the whole country seems to be founded on a rock of lime-stone, besides infinite quantities on the surface, both loose and fixed: this is cut into beds, which range as the mountains and sea-coast do, from south-west to north-east, the laminae of each bed declining from the horizon towards a parallelism with the axis of the earth. Mr. Jefferson, being struck with this observation, made, with a quadrant, a great number of trials on the angles of their declination, and found them to vary from 22 to 60 degrees; but averaging all his trials, the result was within one-third of a degree of the elevation of the pole, or latitude of the place, and much the greatest part of them taken separately were little different from that; by which it appears, that these laminae are in the main, parallel with the axis of the earth. In some instances, indeed, he found them perpendicular, and even reclining the other way; but these were extremely rare, and always attended with signs of convulsion, or other circumstances of singularity, which admitted a possibility of removal from their original position. These trials were made between Madison's cave and the Potomac.

Near the eastern foot of the north mountain are immense bodies of schist, containing impressions of shells in a variety of forms. Mr. Jefferson received petrified shells of very different kinds, from the first sources of the Kentucky, which bore no resemblance to any he had ever seen on the tide waters. It is said, that shells are found in the Andes, in South America, 15,000 feet above the level of the ocean.

There is great abundance, more especially when you approach the mountains, of stone of white, blue, brown, and other colours, fit for the chisel, good mill-stone, such also as stands the fire, and slate-stone. We are told of flint, fit for gun-flints on the Meherrin in Brunswick, on the Mississippi, between the Ohio and Kaskaskia, and on others of the western waters. Isinglass, or mica, is in several places; loadstone also, and an asbestos of a ligneous texture, is sometimes to be met with.

Marble abounds generally. A clay, of which, like the Stourbridge in England, bricks are made, which will resist long the action of fire, has been found on Tuckahoe creek of James river, and no doubt will be found in other places. Chalk is said to be in Botetourt and Bedford. In the latter county is some earth, believed to be gypseous. Ochres are found in various parts.

In the lime-stone country are many caves, the earthly floors of which are impregnated with nitre. On Rich creek, a branch of the great Kanhawa, about 60 miles below the lead mines, is a very large one, about twenty yards wide, and entering a hill a quarter or half a mile. The vault is of rock, from nine to fifteen or twenty feet above the floor. Mr. Lynch, who gives this account, undertook to extract the nitre. Besides a coat of the salt which had formed on the vault and floor, he found the earth highly impregnated to the depth of seven feet in some places, and generally of three, every bushel yielding on an average three pounds of nitre. Mr. Lynch having made about 1000*lb.* of the salt from it, consigned it to some others, who have since made large quantities. They have done this by pursuing the cave into the hill, never trying a second time the earth they have once exhausted, to see how far or soon it receives another impregnation. At least fifty of these caves are worked on the Greenbriar, and there are many of them known on Cumberland river.

There are several medicinal springs, some of which are indubitably efficacious, while others seem to owe their reputation as much to fancy, and change of air and regimen, as to their real virtues. Few of them have undergone a chemical analysis in skilful hands, or been so far the subject of observation, as to have produced a reduction into classes, of the disorders which they relieve; it is in our power to give little account of them.

In the lime-stone country there are many caverns of very considerable extent. The most noted is called Maddison's cave, and is on the north side of the blue ridge, near the intersection of the Rockingham and Augusta line with the south fork of the southern river of Shenandoah. It is in a hill of about 200 feet perpendicular height, the ascent of which, on one side, is so steep, that you may pitch a biscuit from its summit into the river which washes its base. The entrance of the cave is, in this side, about two-thirds of the way up. It extends into the earth about 300 feet, branching into subordinate caverns, sometimes ascending a little, but more generally descending, and at length terminates in two different places, at basins of water of unknown extent, and which appear to be nearly on a level with the water of the river. The water in these basins is always cool, it is never turbid, nor does it rise or fall in times of flood or drought. It is probably one of the many reservoirs with which the interior parts of the earth are supposed to abound, and which yield supplies to the fountains of water, distinguished from others only by its being accessible. The vault of this cave is of solid lime-stone, from 20 to 40 or 50 feet high, through which water is continually percolating. This, trickling down the sides of the cave, has incrustated them over in the form of elegant drapery; and dripping from the top of the vault, generates on that, and on the base below, stalactites of a conical form, some of which have met and formed massive columns.

Another of these caves is near the north mountain, in the county of Frederick. The entrance into this is on the top of an extensive ridge. You descend 30 or 40 feet, as into a well, from whence the cave then extends nearly horizontally, 400 feet into the earth, preserving a breadth of from 20 to 50 feet, and a height of from five to twelve feet. Mr. Jefferson observes, that after entering this cave a few feet, the mercury, which in the open air was at 50°, rose to 57° of Fahrenheit's thermometer, an-

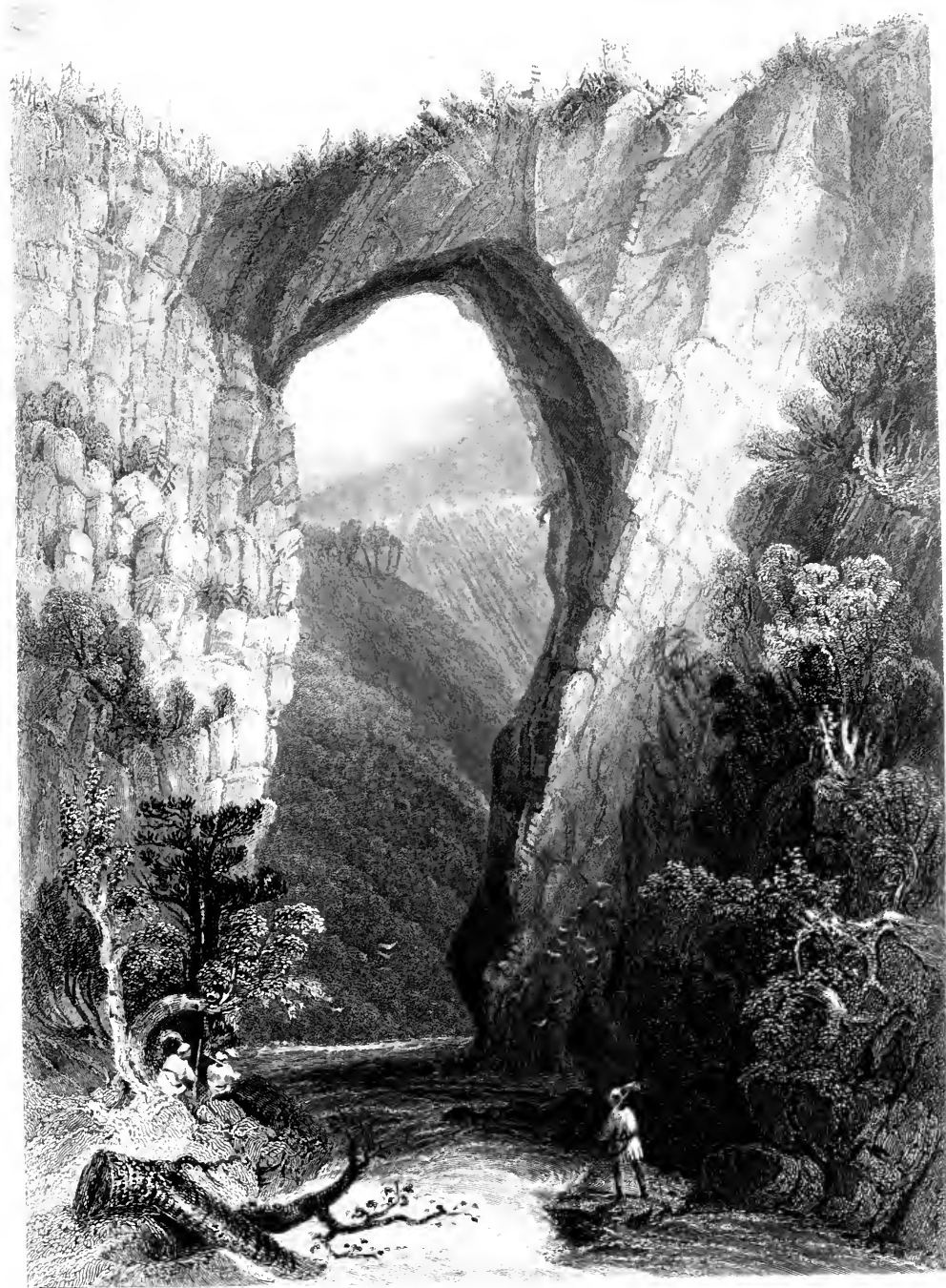
swering to 11° of Reaumur's, and it continued at that to the remotest parts of the cave. The uniform temperature of the cellars of the observatory of Paris, which are 90 feet deep, and of all subterranean cavities of any depth, where no chymical agents may be supposed to produce a factitious heat, has been found to be 10° of Reaumur, equal to 54½° of Fahrenheit. The temperature of the cave above mentioned so nearly corresponds with this, that the difference may be ascribed to a difference of instruments.

At the Panther gap, in the ridge which divides the waters of the Cow and Calf pasture, is what is called the blowing cave. It is in the side of a hill, is of about 100 feet diameter, and emits constantly a current of air of such force, as to keep the weeds prostrate to the distance of 20 yards before it. This current is strongest in dry frosty weather, and weakest in long periods of rain. Regular inspirations and expirations of air, by caverns and fissures, have been probably enough accounted for, by supposing them combined with intermitting fountains, as they must of course inhale the air while the reservoirs are emptying themselves, and again emit it while they are filling. But a constant issue of air, only varying in its force as the weather is drier or damper, will require a new hypothesis. There is another blowing cave in the Cumberland mountain, about a mile from where it crosses the Carolina line. All we know of this is, that it is not constant, and that a fountain of water issues from it.

The natural bridge is on the ascent of a hill, which seems to have been cloven through its length by some great convulsion. The fissure, just at the bridge, is by some admeasurements 270 feet deep, by others only 205. It is about 45 feet wide at the bottom, and 90 feet at the top; this of course determines the length of the bridge, and its height from the water. Its breadth in the middle is about 60 feet, but more at the ends, and the thickness of the mass at the summit of the arch about 40 feet, but more at the ends, and 90 feet at the top. A part of this thickness is constituted by a coat of earth, which gives growth to many large trees. The residue, with the hill on both sides, is solid rock of lime-stone. The arch approaches the semi-elliptical form; but the larger axis of the ellipsis, which would be the cord of the arch, is many times longer than the transverse. Though the sides of this bridge are provided in some parts with a parapet of fixed rocks, yet few men have resolution to walk to them and look over into the abyss. You involuntarily fall on your hands and feet, creep to the parapet and peep over it. If the view from the top be painful and intolerable, that from below is delightful in an equal extreme. This bridge is in the county of Rockbridge, to which it has given name, and affords a public and commodious passage over a valley, which cannot be crossed elsewhere for a considerable distance. The stream passing under it is called Cedar creek: it is a water of James river, and sufficient in the driest seasons to turn a grist mill, though its fountain is not more than two miles above. There is a natural bridge similar to the above, over Stock creek, a branch of Peleson river, in Washington county.

This state is divided into 103 counties, comprised within two districts, Eastern and Western.

There are no townships in this state, and very few towns of consequence, owing, probably, to the intersection of the country by navigable rivers, which brings the trade to the doors of the inhabitants, and prevents the necessity of their going in





quest of it to a distance. Williamsburgh, which, till the year 1780, was the seat of government, never contained above 1800 inhabitants, and Norfolk, the most populous town then in Virginia, contained but 6000. The towns, or more properly villages or hamlets, are as follow :—

On James river and its waters—Norfolk, Portsmouth, Hampton, Suffolk, Smithfield, Williamsburgh, Petersburg, Richmond, the seat of government, Manchester, Charlottesville, New London. On York river and its waters, York, Newcastle, Hanover. On Rappahannock, Urbanna, Port Royal, Fredericksburgh, Falmouth. On Potomac and its waters, Dumfries, Colchester, Alexandria, Winchester, Staunton.

Norfolk is the emporium for all the trade of the Chesapeake bay and its waters; and a canal of eight or ten miles brings to it all that of Albemarle sound and its waters. Secondary to this place, are the towns at the head of the tide waters, to wit, Petersburg on Appamattox, Richmond on James river, Newcastle on York river, Fredericksburgh on the Rappahannock, and Alexandria on the Potomac.

Mount Vernon, the celebrated seat of President Washington, is pleasantly situated on the Virginia bank of the Potomac, where it is nearly two miles wide, and is about 280 miles from the sea, and 127 from Point Look-out, at the mouth of the river. The area of the mount is 200 feet above the surface of the river, and, after furnishing a lawn of five acres in front, and about the same in rear of the buildings, falls off rather abruptly on those two quarters. On the north end it subsides gradually into extensive pasture-grounds; while on the south it slopes more steeply in a shorter distance, and terminates with the coach-house, stables, vineyard, and nurseries. On either wing is a thick grove of different flowering forest trees. Parallel with them, on the land side, are two spacious gardens, into which one is led by two serpentine gravel walks, planted with weeping willows and shady shrubs. The mansion-house itself (though much embellished by, yet not perfectly satisfactory to the chaste taste of Washington), appears venerable and convenient. A lofty portico, 96 feet in length, supported by eight pillars, has a pleasing effect when viewed from the water; the whole assemblage of the green-house, school-house, offices and servants' halls, when seen from the land-side, bears a resemblance to a rural village; especially as the lands on that side are laid out somewhat in the form of English gardens, in meadows and grass grounds, ornamented with little copses, circular clumps and single trees. A small park on the margin of the river, where the English fallow-deer and the American wild deer are seen through the thickets, alternately with the vessels as they are sailing along, add a romantic and picturesque appearance to the whole scenery. On the opposite side of a small creek to the northward, an extensive plain, exhibiting corn-fields and cattle grazing, affords in summer a luxuriant landscape; while the blended verdure of woodlands and cultivated declivities, on the Maryland shore, variegates the prospect in a charming manner.

Fredericksburgh, in the county of Spotsylvania, is situated on the south side of Rappahannock river, 110 miles from its mouth, and contains about 500 houses, principally on one street, which runs nearly parallel with the river.

Richmond, in the county of Henrico, is the present seat of government, and stands on the north side of James river, just at the foot of the falls, and

contains upwards of 16,000 inhabitants. Part of the houses are built upon the margin of the river, convenient for business; the rest are upon a hill which overlooks the lower part of the town, and commands an extensive prospect of the river and adjacent country. The new houses are well built. A large state-house, or capitol, has lately been erected on the hill. The lower part of the town is divided by a creek, over which is a convenient bridge. A bridge between 300 and 400 yards in length has been thrown across James river, at the foot of the fall, by Colonel Mayo.

Petersburgh, 25 miles southward of Richmond, stands on the south side of Appamattox river, and contains a population of about 8000. There is no regularity, and very little elegance, in Petersburg; it is merely a place of business. It is very unhealthy, being shut out from the access of the winds by high hills on every side. This confined situation has such an effect upon the constitutions of the inhabitants, that they very nearly resemble those of hard drinkers; hence, in the opinion of physicians, they require a considerable quantity of stimulating aliments and vinous drinks, to keep up a balance between the several functions of the body.

Like Richmond, Williamsburgh, and Norfolk, it is a corporation; and Petersburg city comprehends a part of three counties. The celebrated Indian Queen Pocahonta, from whom descended the Randolph and Bowling families, formerly resided at this place. Petersburg and its suburbs contain about 3000 inhabitants.

Williamsburgh, 60 miles eastward of Richmond, is situated between two creeks; one falling into James river, the other into York river. The distance of each landing-place is about a mile from the town, which, with the disadvantage of not being able to bring up large vessels, are the reasons why it never flourished. It is regularly laid out in parallel streets, with a square in the centre, through which runs the principal street, east and west, about a mile in length, and more than 100 feet wide. At the ends of this street are two public buildings, the college and capitol: besides these, there is an episcopal church, a prison, a hospital for lunatics, and the palace; all of them extremely indifferent. In the capitol is a large marble statue, the likeness of Narbone Berkley, Lord Botetourt, a man distinguished for his love of piety, literature and good government, and formerly governor of Virginia: it was erected at the expense of the state some time since the year 1791. The capitol is little better than in ruins, and this elegant statue is exposed to the rudeness of negroes and boys, and is shamefully defaced. The unprosperous state of the college, but principally the removal of the seat of government, have contributed much to the decline of this city.

York-town, thirteen miles eastward from Williamsburgh, and fourteen from Monday's point at the mouth of the river, situated on the south side of York river, has been rendered famous, by the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army, on the 19th of October, 1781, by the united forces of France and America.

James-town deserves notice as the site of the earliest English settlements in the United States; it is now quite desolate. It was situated on the James river, in a most picturesque country.

Before the war, the inhabitants of this state paid but little attention to the manufacture of their own clothing, and it has been thought they used to import as much as seven-eighths of their clothing.

Before the war this state exported one year with another, according to the best information that could be obtained, as follows:—

	Amount in Dollars.
55,000 hhd's of 100lb. of tobacco.....	1,650,000
800,000 bushels of wheat. ....	666,666
600,000 bushels of Indian corn. ....	200,000
Shipping.....	100,000
Masts, planks, skantling, shingles and staves.....	66,666
30,000 barrels of tar, pitch, and pentine.....	40,000
180 hhd's. of 600lb. Peltry, viz. skins of deer, beavers, otters, musk-rats, racoons, foxes, &c....	42,000
4,000 barrels of pork.....	40,000
Flax-seed, hemp, and cotton. ....	8,000
Pit-coal and pig iron. ....	6,666
5,000 bushels of peas. ....	3,333
1,000 barrels of beef. ....	3,333
Sturgeon, white shad, herring. ....	3,333
Brandy, from peaches and apples } and whiskey.....	1,666
Horses.....	1,666
	<u>2,833,329</u>

This sum is equal to eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds Virginia money, six hundred and fifty-seven thousand one hundred forty-two guineas.

In the year 1758, this state exported 70,000 hogs-heads of tobacco, which was the greatest quantity ever produced in this country in one year. But its culture has fast declined since the commencement of the war, and that of wheat taken its place. The price which it commands at market will not enable the planter to cultivate it. Were the supply still to depend on Virginia and Maryland alone, as its culture becomes more difficult, this price would rise, so as to enable the planter to surmount those difficulties and to live. But the western country on the Mississippi, and the midlands of Georgia, having fresh and fertile lands in abundance, and a hotter sun, are able to undersell these two states, and will oblige them in time to abandon the raising of tobacco altogether. And a happy obligation for them it will be. It is a culture productive of infinite wretchedness. Those employed in it are in a continued state of exertion beyond the powers of nature to support. Little food of any kind is raised by them, so that the men and animals on these farms are badly fed, and the earth is rapidly impoverished. The cultivation of wheat is the reverse in every circumstance. Besides clothing the earth with herbage, and preserving its fertility, it feeds the labourers plentifully, requires from them only a mo-

derate toil, except in the season of harvest, raises great numbers of animals for food and service, and diffuses plenty and happiness among the whole. It is easier to raise 100 bushels of wheat than 1000 weight of tobacco, and it is worth more when produced.

It is not easy to say what are the articles either of necessity, comfort, or luxury, which cannot be raised here, as every thing harder than the olive, and as hardy as the fig, may be raised in the open air.

The college of William and Mary was founded in the time of King William and Queen Mary, who granted to it 20,000 acres of land, and a penny a pound duty on certain tobaccos exported from Virginia and Maryland, which had been levied by the statute of 25 of Charles II. The assembly also gave it, by temporary laws, a duty on liquors imported, and skins and furs exported. From these resources it received upwards of 3000*l*. The buildings are of brick, sufficient for an indifferent accommodation of perhaps 100 students. By its charter it was to be under the government of 20 visitors, who were to be its legislators, and to have a president and six professors, who were incorporated: it was allowed a representative in the general assembly. Under this charter, a professorship of the Greek and Latin languages, a professor of mathematics, one of moral philosophy, and two of divinity, were established. To these were annexed, for a sixth professorship, a considerable donation by Mr. Boyle of England, for the instruction of the Indians, and their conversion to Christianity: this was called the professorship of Brafferton, from an estate of that name in England, purchased with the moneys given. The admission of the learners of Latin and Greek filled the college with children: this rendering it disagreeable to the young gentlemen already prepared for entering on the sciences, they desisted from resorting to it, and thus the schools for mathematics and moral philosophy, which might have been of some service, became of very little use. The revenues too were exhausted in accommodating those who came only to acquire the rudiments of science. After the revolution, the visitors having no power to change those circumstances in the constitution of the college which were fixed by the charter, and being therefore confined in the number of professorships, undertook to change the objects of the professorships. They excluded the two schools for divinity, and that for the Greek and Latin languages, and substituted others; so that at present they stand thus—a professorship for law and police; anatomy and medicine; natural philosophy and mathematics; moral philosophy, the law of nature and nations, the fine arts; modern languages; for the Brafferton.



## NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA.

*Original grant to Sir Robert Heath—First settlers from Virginia and Massachusetts—Charter granted Lord Clarendon and others—Locke's constitutional code—Governor Sayle—Difficulties of the early settlers—Foundation of Charlestown—Sir John Yeomans, governor—Treaty with Spain—Formation of a legislature—Contentions with the Spaniards—Domestic dissensions—Arrival of Dutch settlers—Governor West—Description of the country—Governor Morton—Fresh settlers on account of the religious persecution in England and France—Mode of gathering turpentine—Governor Colleton—Civil commotions—Seth Sothel usurps the governorship—Is deposed.*

IN 1630, Charles I. granted to Sir Robert Heath all the territory between 30° and 36° of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic ocean to the South sea, by the name of Carolina. Under this grant, no settlement was made. Between 1640 and 1650, persons suffering from religious intolerance in Virginia, fled beyond her limits, and without licence from any source, occupied that portion of North Carolina, north of Albemarle sound. They found the winters mild and the soil fertile. As their cattle and swine procured their own support in the woods and multiplied fast, they were enabled, with little labour, to live in the enjoyment of abundance. Their number was annually augmented; they acknowledged no superior upon earth, and obeyed no laws but those of God and nature.

In 1661, another settlement was made, near the mouth of Clarendon river, by adventurers from Massachusetts. The land being sterile and the Indians hostile, they, in 1663, abandoned it; but immediately afterwards, their place was supplied by emigrants from Barbadoes.

In the year 1662, Edward, earl of Clarendon, George, duke of Albemarle, William, Lord Craven, John, Lord Berkeley, Antony, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton, being apprized of the excellent soil of this country, united and formed a project for planting a colony in it. Upon application to the crown for a charter, Sir Robert Heath having neglected to comply with the condition of his patent, Charles granted them all the lands lying between 31° and 36° of north latitude. Two years afterwards he confirmed this grant, and by a second charter enlarged the boundaries of it, from the 29th degree of north latitude to 36° 30', and from these points on the sea-coast westward in parallel lines to the Pacific ocean. Of this immense region the king constituted them absolute lords and proprietors, saving to himself, his heirs and successors, the sovereign dominion of the country. At the same time he invested them with all the rights, jurisdiction, royalties, privileges and liberties within the bounds of their province, to hold, use and enjoy the same, in as ample a manner as the bishop of Durham did in that county palatine in England. This province

they were to hold and possess of the king, his heirs and successors, as of his manor of East Greenwich in Kent, not *in capite*, or by knight's service, but in free and common soccage.

These absolute lords and proprietors were by their charter empowered to enact, and, under their seal, to publish any laws or constitutions they judged necessary to the public state of the province, with the assent, advice, and approbation of the freemen of the colony; to constitute counties, baronies, and colonies within the province; to erect courts of judicature, and appoint civil judges, magistrates, and officers; to erect forts, castles, cities, and towns; to make war; to levy, muster, and train men to the use of arms, and, in cases of necessity, to exercise the martial law; to confer titles of honour, only they must be different from those conferred on the people of England; to build harbours, make ports, and enjoy customs and subsidies, which they, with the consent of the freemen, should impose on goods loaded and unloaded; reserving the fourth part of the gold and silver ore found within the province to the crown. By the said charter the king granted them the patronage and advowson of all churches and chapels, to hold and exercise the same rights, powers, and privileges as the bishop of Durham did in England: but as it might happen that several of the inhabitants could not in their private opinions conform to the exercise of religion, according to the liturgy and ceremonies of the church of England; the proprietors had power and authority granted them, to allow the inhabitants of the province such indulgences and dispensations as they should think reasonable; and no person, to whom such liberty should be granted, was to be molested, punished, or called in question for any differences in speculative opinions with respect to religion; so that all persons, of what denomination soever, had liberty to enjoy their own judgments and consciences in religious concerns, provided they disturbed not the civil order and peace of the province. And as the assembly of freeholders could not be immediately called, the proprietors had power granted them to make such orders and ordinances as might be necessary to the government of the people, and the preservation of peace, and as were not repugnant to the laws and statutes of England. Liberty was given to the king's liege subjects to transport themselves and families to settle the province, only they were to remain immediately subject to the crown of England, and to depend thereon for ever; and were not compellable to answer to any cause or suit in any other part of his majesty's dominions but in England and Wales.

Agreeably to the powers with which the proprietors were invested by their charter, they began to frame a system of laws for the government of their colony; in which arduous task they called in the great Locke to their assistance. A model of government, consisting of no less than 120 different articles, was framed by this learned man, which

they agreed to establish, and to the careful observance of which, to bind themselves and their heirs for ever. But there is danger of error, where speculative men of one country attempt to sketch out a plan of government for another, in a different climate and situation. This legislator must be acknowledged to have possessed great abilities and merit; yet his fine-spun system proved in effect useless and impracticable. Several attempts were afterwards made to amend these fundamental constitutions, but all to little purpose; the inhabitants, sensible of their impropriety, and how little they were applicable to their circumstances, neither by themselves, nor by their representatives in assembly, ever gave their assent to them as a body of laws, and therefore they obtained not the force of fundamental and unalterable laws in the colony. What regulations the people found applicable and useful, they adopted at the request of their governors; but observed them on account of their own propriety and necessity, rather than as a system of laws imposed on them by British legislators.

As the proprietors were so fond of these constitutions, and expressed so much zeal for their establishment, it may not be improper to give a short and imperfect view of them, especially such as were allowed to take place in the government of the colony. The eldest of the eight proprietors was always to be palatine, and at his decease was to be succeeded by the eldest of the seven survivors. This palatine was to sit as president of the palatine's court, of which he and three more of the proprietors made a quorum, and had the management and execution of all the powers of their charter. This palatine's court was to stand in room of the king, and give their assent or dissent to all laws made by the legislature of the colony. The palatine was to have power to nominate and appoint the governor, who, after obtaining the royal approbation, became his representative in Carolina. Each of the seven proprietors was to have the privilege of appointing a deputy to sit as his representative in parliament, and to act agreeably to his instructions. Besides a governor, two other branches, somewhat similar to the old Saxon constitution, were to be established, an upper and lower house of assembly; which three branches were to be called a parliament, and to constitute the legislature of the country. The parliament was to be chosen every two years. No act of the legislature was to have any force unless ratified in open parliament during the same session, and even then to continue no longer in force than the next biennial parliament, unless in the mean time it were ratified by the hands and seals of the palatine and three proprietors. The upper house was to consist of the seven deputies, seven of the oldest landgraves and cassiques, and seven chosen by the assembly. As in the other provinces, the lower house was to be composed of the representatives from the different counties and towns. Several officers were also to be appointed, such as an admiral, a secretary, a chief justice, a surveyor, a treasurer, a marshal, and register; and besides these, each county was to have a sheriff and four justices of the peace. Three classes of nobility were to be established, called barons, cassiques, and landgraves; the first to possess twelve, the second 24, and the third 48,000 acres of land, and their possessions were to be unalienable. Military officers were also to be nominated, and all inhabitants, from sixteen to 60 years of age, as in the times of feudal government, when summoned by the gover-

nor and grand council, were to appear under arms, and, in time of war, to take the field.

With respect to religion, three terms of communion were fixed: First, to believe that there is a God: Secondly, That he is to be worshipped: and, Thirdly, that it is lawful, and the duty of every man when called upon by those in authority to bear witness to the truth. Without acknowledging which, no man was to be permitted to be a freeman, or to have any estate or habitation in Carolina. But persecution for observing different modes and ways of worship was expressly forbid, and every man was to be left full liberty of conscience, and might worship God in that manner which he in his private judgment thought most conformable to the divine will and revealed word. This was the opinion of Mr. Locke with respect to religious matters. He chose the word of God for his rule of life, and used to say, "That, at the day of judgment, it would not be asked whether he was a follower of Luther or Calvin; but whether he embraced the truth in the love of it."

Notwithstanding these preparations, several years elapsed before the proprietors of Carolina made any serious efforts towards its settlement. In 1667 they fitted out a ship, gave the command of it to Captain William Sayle, and sent him out to bring them some account of the coast. In his passage, Captain Sayle was driven by a storm among the Bahama islands, which accident he improved to the purpose of acquiring some knowledge of them; particularly the island of Providence, which he judged might be of service to the intended settlement of Carolina: for, in case of an invasion from the Spaniards, this island, fortified, might be made to serve either as a check to the progress of their arms, or a useful retreat to unfortunate colonists. Leaving Providence, he sailed along the coast of Carolina, where he observed several large navigable rivers emptying themselves into the ocean, and a flat country covered with woods. He attempted to go ashore in his boat, but observing some savages on the banks of the rivers, he was obliged to drop his design; and, after having explored the coast and the mouth of the rivers, he took his departure, and returned to England.

His report to his employers, as might naturally be expected, was favourable. He praised their possessions, and encouraged them to engage with vigour in the execution of their project. His observations respecting the Bahama islands induced them to apply to the king for a grant of them. Charles bestowed on them by patent all those islands lying between the 22nd and 27th degrees of north latitude. Nothing then remained but to make preparations for sending a colony to Carolina. Two ships were procured, on board of which a number of adventurers embarked, with provisions, arms, and utensils requisite for building and cultivation. William Sayle, who had visited the country, was appointed the first governor of it, and received a commission, bearing date July 26, 1669. The expenses of this first embarkation amounted to 12,000*l.*, which vigorous effort was a proof that the proprietors entertained no small hopes with respect to their palatinate. The number of men, however, must have been inconsiderable, and no ways adequate to the undertaking, especially when we consider the multitude of savages that ranged through that extensive wilderness.

In what place Governor Sayle first landed is uncertain; but he was dissatisfied with his first situa-

tion, and, moving to the southward, took possession of a neck of land between Ashley and Cooper rivers. The earliest instructions we have seen upon record were directed to the governor and council of Ashley river, in which spot the first settlement was made that proved permanent and successful. This place, however, was more eligible for the convenience of navigation than for the richness of its soil. But to struggle amidst a complication of difficulties and dangers was the lot of such adventurers; to surmount which, at this early period, no small degree of fortitude, patience, and perseverance must have been requisite.

The difficulties of the first settlers of Carolina must have equalled, if not surpassed, every thing of the kind to which men in any age have been exposed. To fell the trees of the thick forest, and build habitations for themselves, would probably be their first employment, before they began to clear their spots of ground for raising the necessaries of life. In such a low country, and warm climate, even this task must have been a considerable burden. But Carolina, like other level countries, overflowed with water, is productive of many disorders, such as putrid fevers, agues, dysenteries, and the like; and to fix habitations on such places where the exhalations from stagnated waters and marshy swamps poisoned the air, must have rendered them extremely unwholesome. During the summer months the climate is so sultry, that no European, without hazard, can endure the fatigues of labouring in the open air: for the most part, the weather, during this season, is very clear and serene, excepting when a thunder-storm happens, which cools the air, suddenly stops perspiration, and becomes exceedingly dangerous to labourers of little precaution. Besides, the violent heat continues through the night, and denies the weary workman the natural refreshment of sleep. The autumn introduces cool evenings and mornings, while the noon-day is intolerably warm; which change, together with the thick fogs that commonly fall at this season, render it the most unhealthy division of the year. In winter, though the degree of cold is not so great as in the more northern climates of America, yet it is severely felt by the human body, exhausted and relaxed with the summer heat; and when the wind shifts suddenly from any quarter to the north-west or north, it blows extremely sharp and piercing, brings along with it sometimes frost and snow, and renders the warmest clothing requisite. The spring is the most temperate and delightful season of the year: it begins early, and diffuses its enlivening influence over the fields and forests. Experience had not yet taught the young colonists the methods either of improving the advantages, or guarding against the disadvantages of the climate, and therefore it is no wonder that they found themselves involved at this period in a complication of hardships.

To enhance their distress, they were surrounded with tribes of warlike savages, who viewed them with a jealous eye, and were by no means pleased at the encroachments made on their natural possessions. The tribes called Stonoes and Westoes were particularly troublesome. The colonists, indeed, were furnished with arms and ammunition from the storehouse of the proprietors, yet as they lived in the midst of perpetual alarms, their condition must have been deplorable. Nor did the musket give those strangers to the woods such an advantage over the bow and arrow in the hands of the Indians, as some people may be apt to imagine.

The savage, quick-sighted, and accustomed to perpetual watchfulness, springs from his den behind a bush, and surprises his enemy with the pointed arrow before he is aware of danger. He ranges through the trackless forest like the beasts of prey, and safely sleeps under the same canopy with the wolf and bear. His vengeance is concealed, and sends the tidings in the fatal blow. The first settlers were obliged to stand in a continual posture of defence; and as they could not be supposed to understand the political methods of managing their barbarous neighbours, they must have been subjected to all the hardships arising from their ignorance, and dangerous condition.

While one party was employed in raising their little habitations, another was always kept under arms, to watch the motions of these Indians. The governor shared those hardships along with his fellow-adventurers, and by his example animated and encouraged them to perseverance. The only fresh provisions they could procure were fish from the river, and what game they could kill with their gun. While the settlers were struggling under the difficulties inseparable from the first state of colonization, the ship *Blessing*, belonging to the proprietors, commanded by Captain Matthias Halstead, happily arrived, and brought them a seasonable supply of necessaries. At the same time deputies from the other proprietors came over, to assist the governor in the discharge of the duties of his office. They brought with them 23 articles of instruction, called Temporary Agrarian Laws, intended for the equitable division of lands among the people; but whatever difficulties or inconveniences might occur in the execution of them, the governor had directions to represent them to the proprietors, who had reserved to themselves the sole power of making alterations in them. At the same time, the governor received a plan of a magnificent town, to be laid out on the neck of land between the two rivers, to be called Charles-town, in honour of the king. Captain Halstead was employed, during his stay, in sounding the rivers, for the benefit of navigation, which were found sufficiently deep, and excellently calculated for the purposes of trade.

About this time, the duke of Albemarle, who was the first palatine, died, and was succeeded by the earl of Craven, as eldest proprietor. John Locke, Sir John Yeamans, and James Carteret, were created landgraves, to make part of the nobility required by the fundamental constitutions. Sir John was the eldest son and heir of Robert Yeamans, alderman of Bristol, who was imprisoned and executed in 1643, by order of Nathaniel Fiennes, son to Lord Say, who had been appointed governor of Bristol by the parliament. His son, Sir John, was afterwards advanced to the dignity of baronet by King Charles II., in 1664, as a reward for the steady loyalty and heavy sufferings of his father. But as the violence of the preceding times, which had deprived Sir John of his father, had also injured him in his private fortune, he embarked for the island of Barbadoes, at that time in a flourishing condition, to hide his poverty from his acquaintance in England, and endeavour to acquire a fortune suitable to his dignity. When Carolina was settled, having received a grant of a large tract of land from the proprietors, he, with several respectable followers, retired to that infant colony, to forward, by his presence and example, the interest of his generous and beloved friends, from whom he had received great encouragement and assistance.

(A. D. 1671.) Soon after his arrival in Carolina, Governor Sayle fell a sacrifice to the hardships of the climate. Upon his death the council met, and Sir John claimed the office of vice-palatine in consequence of his rank, being the only landgrave resident in the colony. But the council, who were empowered to elect a governor in such a case, chose to prefer Joseph West, until a special appointment arrived from England. West was a popular man, much esteemed among the colonists for his activity, courage, and prudence. However, he did not long remain in office, for the first vessel that arrived from England brought a commission to Sir John Yeamans, constituting him governor of the colony.

Reasons of state contributed to render those new settlements reasonably useful and important to the king. By this time several of the settlers in Virginia and Barbadoes had been successful, and having surmounted the difficulties attending the first state of colonization, were living in easy and plentiful circumstances. The lands of Carolina were esteemed equal, if not superior in value, to those of the northern colonies. Here the ministers of the king could provide for his friends without any expense to the nation, and by this means not only secured their attachment, but also extended his power. Grants of land were allowed them in Carolina by the proprietors, where it was thought they might in time enrich themselves, and become beneficial to the commerce and navigation of the mother country.

From this period every year brought new adventurers to Carolina. The friends of the proprietors were invited to it, by the flattering prospects of obtaining landed estates at an easy rate; and others took refuge there from the rigour of their creditors. It cannot be deemed wonderful if many of them were disappointed, especially such as emigrated with sanguine expectations, the manners and vices of the city were bad qualifications for rural industry, and rendered some utterly unfit for the frugal simplicity and laborious task of the first state of cultivation. Nor could the Puritans, who settled before them, promise themselves much greater success than their neighbours: though more rigid and austere in their manners, and more religiously disposed, their scrupulosity about trifles and ceremonies, and their litigious dispositions, created trouble to all around them, and disturbed that general harmony so necessary to the welfare and prosperity of the young settlement. From the various principles which actuated the populace of England, and the different sects who composed the first settlers of Carolina, nothing less could be expected, but that the seeds of division should be imported into that country with its earliest inhabitants.

Before the year 1667, there is no mention made of America in any treaty between England and Spain: but a few years after Carolina was settled, Sir William Godolphin concluded a treaty with Spain, in which, among other articles, it was agreed, "That the king of Great Britain should always possess, in full right of sovereignty and property, all the countries, islands, and colonies, lying and situated in the West Indies, or any part of America, which he and his subjects then held and possessed, inasmuch that they neither can nor ought thereafter to be contested on any account whatsoever." The Buccaneers, who had for many years infested Spanish America, were now cut off from all future protection from the English government in their hostile invasions of these dominions, and all

commissions formerly granted to such pirates, were recalled and annulled. By this treaty, the freedom of navigation in these American seas was opened to both nations; and all ships in distress, whether from storms, or the pursuit of enemies and pirates, taking refuge in places belonging either to Britain or Spain, were to be treated with humanity, to meet with protection and assistance, and to be permitted to depart without molestation. These things merit particular notice, as by this treaty Spain evidently gave up all future pretensions to the country of Carolina granted to the proprietors by the king; and this freedom of navigation, provided for in such express terms, was violated, as we shall afterwards see, by the Spaniards, and proved the occasion of a destructive war between the two nations. Not long after this, a treaty of neutrality between Britain and France was also concluded; by which negotiations the possessions of Great Britain, France, and Spain, in the western world, were better ascertained; and the freedom of commerce and navigation was more firmly established by those three great potentates, than had taken place in any former period.

In Carolina Sir John Yeamans had entered on the government with an uncommon zeal for the success of the settlement, and a grateful anxiety to discharge the duties of his trust with fidelity and honour. The proprietors, fond of their new form of government, had instructed him to use his endeavours to introduce it, as the most excellent of its kind, and wisely adapted to promote the prosperity and happiness of the people. Accordingly, Sir John summoned the people together, ordered the fundamental constitutions to be read, and representatives to be elected. The province was divided into four counties, called Berkeley, Colleton, Craven, and Carteret counties. The people, who had hitherto lived under a kind of military government, now began to form a legislature for establishing civil regulations. Ten members were elected as representatives for Colleton, and ten for Berkeley counties. A committee, consisting of Stephen Bull, Ralph Marshal, and William Owen, were nominated for framing some public regulations. Three acts were proposed by them as beneficial; the first, to prevent persons leaving the colony; the second, to prohibit all men from disposing of arms and ammunition to Indians; and the third, for the regular building of Charles-town.

Notwithstanding the public treaty already mentioned, a religious society of the Spanish nation laid claim to the large territory of Florida, not only on the foot of prior discovery, but also by virtue of a grant from the pope; and the garrison kept at Augustine regarding the British settlement as an encroachment on their possessions, were disposed to throw every difficulty in the way of the Carolinians, in order to compel them to relinquish the country. They encouraged indentured servants to leave their masters, and fly to them for liberty and protection. They instilled into the savage tribes the most unfavourable notions of British heretics, and urged them on to the destruction of the colony. Good policy required that the governor should keep a watchful eye on the motions of such neighbours, and guard his weak and defenceless colony against the pernicious designs of their Spanish rivals. Some men he discovered who were attempting to entice servants to revolt; these were ordered to receive so many stripes. Others, in defiance of the feeble power of the magistrate, took to such courses as were subver-

sive of public peace and justice. Except a few negroes whom Sir John Yeamans and his followers brought along with them from Barbadoes, there were no labourers but Europeans for the purposes of culture. Until the fields were cleared, cattle could afford the planters no assistance; and hard indeed was the task of these labourers while employed in felling the large and lofty trees, exposed to the heat of an inclement sky, and the terrors of barbarous enemies. After all, the provisions they raised were exposed to the plundering parties of savage neighbours, and one day often robbed them of the dear-bought fruits of their whole year's toil.

During the government of Sir John Yeamans a civil disturbance broke out among the colonists, which threatened the ruin of the settlement. At such a distance it was very difficult for the proprietors to furnish their colony with regular supplies; and the spots of sandy and barren land they had cleared poorly rewarded their toil. Small was the skill of the planter; and European grain, which they had been accustomed to sow, proved suitable to neither soil nor climate. The emigrants being now, from sad experience, sensible of difficulties inseparable from their circumstances, began to murmur against the proprietors, and to curse the day they left their native land, to starve in a wilderness. While they gathered oysters for subsistence with one hand, they were obliged to carry their muskets for self-defence in the other. A great gun had been given to Florence O'Sullivan, which he placed on an island situated at the mouth of the harbour, to alarm the town in cases of invasion from the Spaniards. O'Sullivan deserted his island, being ready to perish with hunger, and joined the discontented party in the town. The people became seditious and ungovernable, and threatened to compel the governor to relinquish the settlement: even one Culpepper, the surveyor-general, joined them in their complaints and murmurs. The greatest prudence and courage were requisite to prevent tumults, and animate the colonists to perseverance. Florence O'Sullivan was taken up by the marshal on a charge of sedition, and compelled to find security for his future good behaviour. One sloop, commanded by Joseph Harris, was dispatched to Virginia, another to Barbadoes, to bring provisions. Happily before their return a seasonable supply arrived from England, together with a number of new settlers, which revived the drooping spirits of the people, and encouraged them to engage in more vigorous efforts. The governor, sensible of the hardships the people had suffered, the more readily forgave them for their past misconduct: but as Culpepper held an office from the proprietors, he sent him to England to be tried by them for joining the people in treasonable conspiracies against the settlement.

The garrison at Augustine having intelligence from servants who fled to them of the discontented and miserable situation of the colony in Carolina, advanced with a party under arms as far as the island of St. Helena, to dislodge or destroy the settlers. Brian Fitzpatrick, a noted villain, treacherously deserted his distressed friends on purpose to join their enemies. However, Sir John Yeamans having received a reinforcement, set his enemies at defiance. Fifty volunteers, under the command of Colonel Godfrey, marched against the Spaniards, who, on his approach, evacuated the island of St. Helena, and retreated to Augustine.

At this period, to form alliances with Indian tribes was an object of great importance with the go-

vernor and council; and one circumstance proved favourable to the colony at the time of its settlement. The Westoes, a powerful and numerous tribe, who harboured an irreconcilable aversion to the white faces of strangers, would have proved a dangerous enemy to them, had not their attention been occupied by the Seranuas, another Indian nation. A bloody war between these two tribes fortunately for the settlers was carried on with such fury, that in the end it proved fatal to both. This served to pave the way for the introduction and establishment of this British settlement, which otherwise might have shared the same unhappy fate with the first adventurers to Virginia. Many tribes besides might no doubt have extirpated the colony, but it is probable the governor studied by every means to avoid giving them any provocation, and to conciliate their affection and esteem.

After the conquest of the Dutch settlements in New York, many of the Dutch colonists, who were discontented with their situation, had formed resolutions of moving to other provinces. The proprietors of Carolina offered them lands and encouragement in their palatinate, and sent their ships Blessing and Phoenix, and brought a number of Dutch families to Charlestown. Stephen Bull, surveyor-general of the colony, had instructions to mark out lands on the south-west side of Ashley river for their accommodation. There each of the Dutch emigrants drew lots for their property, and formed a town, which was called James-town. This was the first colony of Dutch who settled in Carolina, whose industry surmounted incredible hardships, and whose success induced many from Holland afterwards to follow them to the western world. The inhabitants of James-town, afterwards finding their situation too narrow and circumscribed, in process of time spread themselves through the country, and the town was totally deserted.

About the year 1674, Sir John Yeamans having his health much injured by the climate, and his indefatigable labours for the success of the settlement, returned to Barbadoes, where he died. After his departure the grand council again chose Joseph West governor; and the palatine confirmed the election. A meeting of all the freemen was called at Charles-town, where they elected representatives, for the purpose of making laws for the government of the colony. Thomas Gray, Henry Hughes, Maurice Mathews, and Christopher Portman, were chosen deputies from the people, and took their seat at the upper house of assembly. These new members were obliged to take an oath, that they should show equity and justice to both rich and poor, without favour or affection; that they should observe the laws of England, and those that should hereafter be established in the colony; that they should obey the rules and directions of the proprietors; that they should not divulge the secrets of the grand council, without sufficient authority from that board. A question being put, whether the deputies of the proprietors should take the same oath? it was judged unnecessary, as they held their appointments during pleasure, and were immediately answerable to the proprietors for their conduct. The colony at this time had its governor, and its upper and lower house of assembly, which three branches took the name of parliament, agreeably to the constitution. This was the first parliament that passed acts which are ratified by the proprietors, and found on record in the colony.

It might have been expected, that these adven-

turers, who were all embarked on the same design, would be animated by one spirit, and zealous above all things to maintain harmony and peace among themselves; they had all the same hardships to encounter, the same enemies to fear, and the same cause, the prosperity of the settlement, to promote. In such circumstances, the governor had good reason to hope, that one common desire of safety would pervade the whole colony; yet the contrary effect took place. The most numerous party in the country were dissenters, of various denominations, from the established church of England; a number of cavaliers also having received grants from the proprietors, had now brought over their families and effects, and joined the Puritans in Carolina. The royalists were looked upon by the proprietors with a partial eye, and met with great indulgence and encouragement; by which means they thrust themselves into offices of trust and authority. The Puritans, on the other hand, viewed them with the eye of envy and jealousy, and having suffered from them in England, could not bear to see the smallest share of power committed to them in Carolina. Hence the seeds of strife and division, which had been imported into the colony, began to spring forth. No common dangers or difficulties could blot out of their memories the prejudices and animosities contracted in England: the odious terms of distinction were revived and propagated among the people, and while one party were attached to the church of England, the other, who had fled from the rigour of ecclesiastical power, were jealous above all things of religious liberties, and could bear no encroachment on them. The governor found that matters of religion were tender points, and therefore wisely avoided all deliberations about them, choosing rather to leave every man to his free choice, than propose an establishment of any kind, which he saw would occasion trouble and division among the people.

Another source of difficulty arose to government from the different manners of these colonists. The sober and morose Puritans, were made the objects of ridicule by the royalists, and all the powers of wit were employed in exposing them to public derision and contempt. The Puritans, on the other hand, possessed of no small share of rancour, and exasperated by their licentious manners and grievous abuse, violently opposed their influence among the people. Governor West, observing those dissensions breaking out in the settlement, was at no small pains to keep them within the bounds of moderation, but having a council composed of ambitious cavaliers, was unable entirely to check the disorder. In spite of his authority, the Puritans were treated with insolence and neglect, and the colony, distracted with domestic differences, were ill prepared for defence against external enemies; or to provide for their own wants.

At this unfavourable juncture, the Indians from Stono, came down in straggling parties, and plundered the plantations of the scanty fruits of labour and industry. Being accustomed to the practice of killing whatever came in their way, they ranked the planters' hogs, turkeys and geese among their game, and freely preyed upon them. The planters as freely made use of their arms in defence of their property, and several Indians were killed during their depredations. This occasioned a war, and the Indians poured their vengeance indiscriminately, as usual, on the innocent and guilty, for the loss of their friends. Governor West found it necessary to

encourage and reward such of the colonists as would take the field against them for the public defence. Accordingly, a price was fixed on every Indian the settlers should take prisoner, and bring to Charlestown. These captive savages were disposed of to the traders, who sent them to the West Indies, and there sold them for slaves. This traffic was indeed an inhuman method of getting rid of troublesome neighbours.

Though Carolina lies in the same latitude with some of the most fertile countries on the globe, yet many local circumstances concur to occasion a difference between it and Palestine, the North of Egypt, or the dominions in the same latitude in China. Besides the bleak mountains, frozen lakes, and the large uncultivated territory over which the north and north-west winds blow in winter, by which they are rendered dangerous; when the extreme heat of summer is united with a low marshy soil, where the water stagnates, and the effluvia arising from it thicken and poison the air, it must prove the occasion of a numberless list of fatal distempers. The winds in Carolina are changeable and erratic, and, about the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, commonly boisterous. In summer, they are sultry and suffocating; in winter, cold and dry. Beyond doubt, the flat maritime part is a most unhealthy situation, and the first settlers could scarcely have been cast ashore in any quarter of the globe where they could be exposed to greater hazards from the climate.

Yet the country, low and unhealthy as it is, affords many advantages for commerce and navigation. As you approach towards the shore, the sea gradually ebbs, which furnishes good soundings for the help of navigators. For 80 and in some places 100 miles from the Atlantic, the country is an even plain; no rocks, nor stones, nor scarce a hill of any height are to be seen. Backwards from this the lands begin to rise gradually into little hills and beautiful inequalities, which continue increasing in height and variation until you advance to the Apalachian mountains, 300 miles and more from the sea. Here a vast ridge of mountains begins, which give rise to four large rivers, called by their Indian names, *Alatahama*, *Savanna*, *Santee* and *Pedee*. Among the hills these rivers are composed of different branches, and run in a rapid course; but lose their velocity when they reach the plains, through which they glide smoothly along, in a serpentine course, to the ocean. Up these large rivers the tide flows a considerable way, and renders them navigable for ships, brigs, sloops and schooners, and smaller craft force their way still higher than the tide flows. Besides these large rivers, the hills in the heart of the country give rise to others of a secondary size, such as *Ogetchee*, *Cusaw*, *Cambahee*, *Edisto*, *Ashley*, *Cooper*, and *Black* rivers; all which are also navigable many miles from the ocean. The coast is also checkered with a variety of fine islands, around which the sea flows, and opens excellent channels, for the easy conveyance of produce to the market.

By the different trees which cover the lands the soil is distinguished, which in some places is very rich, and in others very poor. Where the pine-trees grow the ground is sandy and barren, and produces little except in rainy seasons. The oaks and hickories grow in a lower and richer soil, running in narrow streaks through the different eminences; which grounds, when cleared and cultivated, amply reward the planter. The cypresses and canes require a still deeper and more miry soil, which is



exceedingly fruitful, having had the fruits and foliage of trees from the higher grounds flowing into it from the creation. The river swamp-lands, by proper culture and judicious management, are of inexhaustible fertility. The savannas and open plains are of a deep fat mould, which, when drained and freshened, become also fruitful, and excellent parts of a plantation. The marshy grounds, some of which are fresh, and others salt, are much neglected, yet they yield a kind of grass grateful to some animals, and are used as yet only for pasturage. Many years elapsed before the planters found out the different grains suited to these different soils. The soil of the hilly country differs from all these; for there, in the valleys between the hills, a black and deep loam is found, probably formed of rotten trees and vegetables, which the showers and floods have carried into them from the adjacent heights. Marble, clay, chalk, and gravel grounds are also observed among these hills, in the middle of the country, and a variety of soil nearly similar to that found in Europe.

No earthquakes, such as are commonly known in the West India islands, have ever been felt here; but whirlwinds sometimes have made avenues through the thick forests, by levelling the loftiest trees, or sweeping them away before them. These terrible blasts are generally confined to a narrow tract, and run in an oblique and crooked direction. Hurricanes have also often visited the country, and through such low and flat lands have spread their desolation far and wide.

In travelling along the coast of Carolina, partly by water and partly by land, the stranger has an excellent view of its natural beauties. At a distance the marshes and savannas appear like level meadows, with branches or creeks of the sea running through them. On one hand the evergreen pines appear, and engross almost the whole higher lands of the country; on the other the branching oaks and stately hickories appear; a grove covered with cypress; laurels, palmetoes, beech, and mulberry-trees, all growing wild. In the spring the dogwood, cherry-trees, and many other blossoms, together with the jessamines, perfume the air; while luxuriant vines climb over the loftiest trees, and bushes, or shrubs of lower growth, fill up the thickets.

At this early period the savage hunters were masters of the woods. Numbers of deer, timorous and wild, ranged through the trees, and herds of buffaloes were found grazing in the savannas; and the feathered tribes were more remarkable for the splendour of their plumage than the harmony of their notes; there was also an abundance of reptiles and insects.

The alligator, probably a species of the crocodile, is found here nigh the rivers and ponds, and is very destructive to young creatures about a plantation. The bear is a fierce animal, but in many respects a rich prize to the Indian hunter. The beaver is also a native of Carolina, and his fur is a precious article of American commerce. The racoon and opossum are also natives of the country, and are scarcely found in any other continent. The leopard, the panther, the wolf, the fox, the rabbit, wild and polecats, are all found in the country. Squirrels of various kinds and different hues are numerous; one of which is called the flying-squirrel, not from its having wings like a bird, but from its being furnished with a fine loose skin between its fore and hind legs, which it contracts or expands at pleasure, and which buoys it up, and enables it to spring

from branch to branch, at considerable distances, with great nimbleness.

In the mouth of the rivers, and on the coast, the shark, the porpoise, the sword, the guarr, and devil fishes, are all found, but in no respects rendered useful. However, the sea-coast and rivers furnish a variety of fine fish for human use, both of the salt and fresh-water kinds. The angel-fish, so called for their uncommon splendour; the sheephead, so named from its having teeth like those of sheep; the cavalli, the mullet, the whiting, the plaice, and young bass, are all esteemed delicate food. Besides these, porgy, shads, trout, stingre, drum, cat, and black fish, are all used, and taken in great abundance. The fresh-water rivers and ponds furnish stores of fish, all of which are excellent in their season. The sturgeon and rock-fish, the fresh-water trout, the pike, the bream, the carp and roach, are all fine fish, and found in plenty. Near the sea-shore vast quantities of oysters, crabs, shrimps, and other shell-fish, may be taken, and sometimes a kind of turtle.

Besides eagles, falcons, cormorants, gulls, buzzards, hawks, herons, cranes, marsh-hens, jays, woodpeckers; there are wild turkeys, pigeons, black-birds, woodcocks, little partridges, plovers, curlews, and turtle-doves, in great numbers; and also incredible flocks of wild geese, ducks, teal, snipes, and rice-birds. There has been found here, near rivers, a bird of an amazing size, thought to be a species of the pelican. Under its beak, which is very long, it is furnished with a large bag, which it contracts, or lets loose at pleasure, to answer the necessities or conveniences of life. The summer duck is a well known and beautiful creature, and has got this name to distinguish it from others of the same species, which continue not in the country during the summer months, but search for a cooler retreat. The mocking-bird of Carolina is a fine bold creature, which mimics the various voices of the forest, both in captivity, and in the enjoyment of natural freedom. The red bird is exceedingly beautiful, and has a soft melodious note, but with few variations. The humming-bird is remarkable for its small size, flies from flower to flower like a bee, and is sometimes caught by children while lying buried in a large flower, of which it sucks the juice: its nest is very curious, and discovers amazing art and contrivance. These are some of the feathered inhabitants of this forest, among which there is little melody, and, were it otherways, the music would all be lost, by the continual croaking of frogs, which swarm in millions over the flat country.

There is no reptile merits more particular notice than the rattle-snake, which is one of the most formidable living creatures. It is fortunately furnished with a tail which makes a rattling noise, and no doubt was intended to warn every other creature of the danger of approaching nigh it; although it is harmless unless provoked. It is never the aggressor, and flies from man; but when pursued, and it finds it cannot escape, it instantly gathers itself into a coil, and prepares for self-defence. It has a sharp and sparkling eye, and quickly sees any person approaching towards it, and winds its course out of the way into some thicket or concealed place. The greatest danger is, when it is inadvertently trampled on, as it lies coiled among the long grass, or thick bushes. On each side of the upper jaw there are two long fangs, which are hollow, and through which the poison is injected into the wound. When it penetrates a vein or nerve, sudden death

ensues, unless some remedy be instantly applied. The usual symptoms from the bite are acute pains from the wound, inflammatory swellings round it, sickness at the stomach, and convulsive vomitings. The Indians, as quickly as possible, after being bit, swallow a strong dose of the decoction of snake-root, which is found every where growing in the woods; this causes a plentiful vomit; and at the same time, having sucked the poison out of the wound, they chew a little snake-root, and apply it externally to it. This remedy, when applied in time, sometimes proves efficacious. Besides the rattle-snake, the black and brown vipers have fangs, and are also venomous. The horn-snake is also found here, which takes its name from a horn in the tail, with which it defends itself, and strikes with great force into every aggressor. This reptile is also deemed very venomous, and the Indians, when wounded by it, usually cut out the part wounded as quickly as possible, to prevent the infection spreading through the body. There are, besides these, a variety of other snakes, such as the green, the chicken, the copperbelly, the wampum, the coach-whip and corn-snakes; all of which are esteemed harmless.

The insects in Carolina are innumerable, as might naturally be expected from the heat of the climate, and the moistness of the soil. Bees are found in several places, and they choose the hollow trees for their habitation, but whether they have been imported or not is uncertain. The fire-fly, is so called from its emitting sparks of fire in the night, resembling flashes from the strokes of steel upon flint. About the beginning of summer, when these insects are very numerous, they almost illuminate the woods. Millions of pestiferous gnats, called mosquitoes, are hatched during the summer, and swarm over the country in such numbers, that, during the day, it requires no small trouble for the inhabitants to defend themselves in every quarter against them; and during the night, gauze pavilions are necessarily used, to exclude them from their beds, without which it is impossible to get any rest. The sand-flies are also vexatious insects, and exceedingly minute; yet, wherever they bite, their poison occasions itching and painful inflammation. Besides these, there are ticks, flies, wasps, and many more insects which are very troublesome. To these plagues, with which this country is cursed, we may also add the water wood-worms, which infest the rivers as far as the salt-water flows, eat the bottoms of vessels into the form of honeycombs, and prove extremely destructive to shipping.

About the year 1682, Governor West having incurred the displeasure of the proprietors, Joseph Morton, who had lately been created a landgrave, received a commission from Lord Craven, investing him with the government of the colony. About the same time, Joseph Blake sold his estate in England, and with his family and several substantial followers retired to Carolina. Lord Cardross also, a nobleman of Scotland, having formed a project for carrying over some of his countrymen to Carolina, embarked with a few families, and made an attempt to establish a colony on Port Royal Island: but observing the government in a confused and fluctuating state, he soon after returned to Britain. The island on which he left his few followers having excellent conveniences for navigation, was a place of all others in the country the most advantageous for a settlement; but, to effect it, a greater number of emigrants was absolutely requisite. The Spaniards sent an armed force, and dislodged the Scotch set-

tlers, after which no attempts were made for many years towards establishing a colony in that quarter.

The proprietors of Carolina had instructed Governor Morton to take all Indians within 400 miles of Charlestown under his protection, and to treat them with humanity and tenderness; but such instructions were very disagreeable to many of the people, especially to those members of the council who were concerned in the Indian trade, and therefore great opposition was raised to the execution of them. Maurice Mathews, James Moore, and Arthur Middleton, members of the council, warmly opposed the governor, while he proposed regulations for the peaceable management of Indians, and considered the proprietors as strangers to the interest of their colony by such impolitic restrictions. The people who had lost some friends and relations by the savages were also greatly irritated against them, and breathed nothing but vengeance and implacable resentment. These members of the council were removed from it for their disobedience; nevertheless they had such influence among the people, as to occasion great trouble to the governor, and totally to subvert his authority; in consequence of which, Joseph West appeared again at the head of the colony, and gave his assent to several laws made in it. During which time the people followed their former practice, of inveigling and kidnapping Indians wherever they found them, and shipped them off to the West Indies, without any restraint from government.

Soon after, Governor West was superseded by Sir Richard Kirtle, an Irish gentleman, who died six months after his arrival in the country. After his decease, Colonel Robert Quarry was chosen his successor. During the time of his government, a number of pirates put into Charlestown, and purchased provisions with their Spanish gold and silver. These public robbers, instead of being taken and tried by the laws of England, were treated with great civility and friendship, in violation of the laws of nations. Whether the governor was ignorant of the treaty made with Spain, by which England had withdrawn its former toleration from these plunderers of the Spanish dominions; or whether he was afraid to bring them to trial from the notorious courage of their companions in the West Indies, we have not sufficient authority to affirm; but it is certain, that Charles II. for several years after the restoration, connived at their depredations, and many of them performed such actions as, in a good cause, had justly merited honours and rewards. Even as the case was, Charles, out of mere whim, knighted Henry Morgan, a Welchman, who had plundered Porto Bello and Panama, and carried off large treasures from them. This body of plunderers was for several years so formidable in the West Indies, that they struck a terror into every quarter of the Spanish dominions. Their gold and silver, which they lavishly spent in the colony, ensured to them a kind reception among the Carolinians, who opened their ports to them freely, and furnished them with necessaries. They could purchase the favour of the governor, and the friendship of the people, for what they deemed a trifling consideration. Leaving their gold and silver behind them, for clothes, arms, ammunition and provisions, they embarked in quest of more. However, the proprietors, having intelligence of the encouragement given to pirates by Governor Quarry, dismissed him from the office he held; and, in 1685, Landgrave Joseph Morton was reinstated in the government of the colony.

During the reign of James II., the hardships under which the people of Britain laboured, and the troubles they apprehended, brought much strength to the colonies. The unsuccessful or unfortunate are easily induced to emigrate; but the oppressed and persecuted are driven from their country, however closely their affections may cleave to it. Such imprudent attempts were made by this prince against what the nation highly revered, that many Protestants deserted it, preferring the hardships of the first state of colonization abroad to oppression at home.

The next acquisition America gained, was from the revocation of the edict of Nantz; in consequence of which the flames of persecution broke out in France, and drove many of its best subjects out of that kingdom. These Protestant refugees were beneficial in many respects to England and Holland, and served greatly to promote the trade and manufactures of these nations. Among the other colonies in America which reaped advantage from this impolitic measure of France, Carolina had a large share. Many of the Protestant refugees, having purchased lands from the proprietors, embarked with their families for that colony, and proved some of its best and most industrious inhabitants.

The progress in cultivation which the colonists of Carolina had yet made was small, and the heat of the climate, and the labours of the field, had proved fatal to many of them. Yet their cattle increased in an amazing manner, and thrived exceedingly well in the forests. Having little winter, the woods furnished them with both shelter and provisions all the year; neither houses nor attendants were provided for them, but each planter's cattle, distinguished only by his mark, every where grazed with freedom. Hogs still fared better, and increased faster. The woods abounded with acorns, and roots of different kinds, on which they fed and fattened, and were reckoned most excellent food. Stocks of cattle, at this period, were a great object with the planters, for several reasons. Little labour was requisite to raise and render them profitable. The planters were at no trouble in building houses for them, nor at any expense in feeding them. If either cattle or hogs were fed, it must only have been intended to accustom them to keep nigh their owner's abode, or to return under his eye every evening. Besides, a planter fond of hunting might supply his family with game through the year, with which the woods abounded, and save his stock. Horses were also bred in the same manner, and though they degenerated greatly, they multiplied fast. No part of the world could prove more favourable to poultry of all kinds. By the trade of the colony to the West Indies, they had rum and sugar in return for their lumber and provisions; and England supplied them with clothes, arms, ammunition, and utensils, for building and cultivation, in exchange for their deer-skins, furs, and naval stores.

Turpentine is the gum in a liquid state of that species of the pine-tree called the pitch-pine, extracted by incision and the heat of the sun, while the tree is growing. The common manner of obtaining it is as follows. About the first of January the persons employed in making turpentine begin to cut boxes in the trees, a little above the ground, and make them large or small, in proportion to the size of the tree; the box of a large tree will hold two English quarts, of a middling tree one, and of a small one, a pint. About the middle of March,

when the weather becomes warm, they begin to bleed, which is done by cutting about an inch into the sap of the tree with a joiner's hatchet; these channels made in the green standing tree, are framed so as to meet in a point where the boxes are made to receive the gum; then the bark is peeled off that side of the tree which is exposed to the sun, that the heat may extract the turpentine. After bleeding, if rain should happen to fall, it not only condenses the sap, but also contracts the orifices of the vessels that discharge the gum, and therefore the trees must be bled afresh. About fourteen days after bleeding, the boxes will be full of turpentine, and must be emptied into a barrel. When the boxes are full, an able hand will fill two barrels in a day. A thousand trees will yield at every gathering about two barrels and a half of turpentine, and it may be gathered once every fourteen days, till the frost comes, which chills the sap, and obliges the labourer to apply to some other employment, until the next season for boxing shall approach. The oil of turpentine is obtained by distillation; and rosin is the remainder of the turpentine, after the oil is distilled from it.

From the same pine-trees tar and pitch are also made, but by a different mode of operation. "For extracting tar they prepare a circular floor of clay, declining a little towards the centre, from which there is laid a pipe of wood, extending almost horizontally two feet without the circumference, and so let into the ground, that its upper side may be level with the floor; at the outer end of this pipe they dig a hole large enough to hold the barrels of tar, which, when forced out of the wood, naturally runs to the centre of the floor as the lowest part, and from thence along the pipe into the barrels. Matters being thus prepared, they raise upon the clay floor a large pile of dry pine-wood split in pieces, and enclose the whole pile with a wall of earth, leaving only a little hole in the top, where the fire is to be kindled; when that is done, and the enclosed wood begins to burn, the whole is stopped up with earth, that there may be no flame, but only heat sufficient to force the tar out of the wood, and make it run down to the floor. They temper the heat as they think proper, by thrusting a stick through the wall of earth, and letting the air in at as many places as they judge necessary. As to pitch, it is nothing more than the solid part of the tar separated from the liquid by boiling."

As Carolina abounds with this kind of pine trees, vast quantities of pitch, tar, and turpentine might have been made in it. At this early period the settlers, having little strength to fell the thick forest, and clear the lands for cultivating grain, naturally applied themselves to such articles as were in demand in England, and for procuring which moderate labour was requisite. Lumber was a bulky article, and required a number of ships to export it. Naval stores were more valuable and less bulky, at the same time that the labour necessary to obtain them was easier, and more adapted to European constitution. The province as yet could supply Britain with very inconsiderable quantity of naval stores; but by encouraging the planters in preparing them, the expense of its vast importations from the Baltic might have been in some measure saved to the nation.

Though Governor Morton was possessed of a considerable share of wisdom, and was connected with several respectable families in the colony, yet so inconsistent were his instructions from England, with the prevailing views and interests of the people,

that he was unable, without great trouble, to execute the duties of his trust. He was a man of a sober and religious temper of mind, and had married a Mr. Blake's sister, lately arrived from England, by which alliance it was hoped the hands of government would be strengthened, and a check given to the more licentious and irregular party of the people. His council was composed of John Boone, Maurice Mathews, John Godfrey, Andrew Percival, Arthur Middleton, James Moore, and others; some of whom differed widely from him in opinion with respect to public measures, and claimed greater indulgences for the people than he had authority to grant. Hence two parties arose in the colony: one in support of the prerogative and authority of the proprietors, the other in defence of the liberties of the people. The former contended, that the laws and regulations received from England respecting government ought to be strictly and implicitly observed: the latter kept in view their local circumstances, and maintained, that the freemen of the colony were under obligations to observe them only so far as they were consistent with the interest of individuals, and the prosperity of the settlement. In this situation of affairs, no governor could long support his power among a number of bold adventurers, who improved every hour for advancing the interest, and could bear no restraints which had the least tendency to defeat their favourite views and designs: for whenever he attempted to interpose his feeble authority, they insulted his person and complained of his administration, till he was removed from his office.

The proprietors also finding it prudent to change their governor so soon as he became obnoxious to the people, James Colleton at this time was appointed to supersede Joseph Morton. He was a brother to Sir Peter Colleton, one of the proprietors, but was possessed neither of his address nor abilities for the management of public affairs. He left Barbadoes and retired to Carolina, where he built an excellent house on Cooper river, in hopes of settling in that country, and long enjoying, by the influence of his brother, the emoluments of his office in tranquillity and happiness. To give him the greater weight, he was created a landgrave of the colony, to which dignity 48,000 acres of land were unalienably annexed: but to his mortification he soon found, that the proprietary government had acquired but little firmness and stability, and, by his imprudence and rigour, fell into still greater disrespect and contempt.

About the year 1687, having called an assembly of the representatives, he proposed to make some new regulations respecting the government of the colony. Having examined the fundamental constitutions, and finding the people disposed to make many objections to them, he thought proper to nominate a committee, to consider wherein they were improper or defective, and to make such alterations and amendments in them as they judged might be conducive to the welfare of the country. This committee consisted of the Governor, Paul Grimballe, the secretary, William Dunlop, Bernard Schinking, Thomas Smith, John Far, and Joseph Blake. Accordingly, by these men a new code of laws was framed, consisting of many articles different from the former, which they called "Standing Laws," and transmitted to England for the approbation of the proprietors. These standing laws, however, the proprietors rejected, and insisted on the observance of the fundamental constitutions; and all the while

the people treated both with equal indifference and neglect.

At this early period a dissatisfaction with the proprietary government appeared, and began to gain ground among the people. A dispute having arisen between the governor and the house of assembly about the tenures of lands and the payment of quit-rents, Landgrave Colleton determined to exert his authority, in compelling the people to pay up their arrears of quit-rents, which, though very trifling and inconsiderable, were burdensome, as not one acre out of a thousand of these lands for which quit-rents were demanded yielded them any profit. For this purpose, he wrote to the proprietors, requesting them to appoint such deputies as he knew to be most favourably disposed towards their government, and would most readily assist him in the execution of his office. Hence the interest of the proprietors and that of the people were placed in opposition, and the more rigorously the governor exerted his authority, the more turbulent the people became. At last they proceeded to avowed usurpation: they issued writs in their own name, and held assemblies in opposition to the governor and the authority of the proprietors. Letters from England, containing deputations to persons obnoxious to the people, they seized and suppressed, and appointed other men better affected to the popular cause. Paul Grimballe, the secretary of the province, they imprisoned, and forcibly took possession of the public records. The militia act they refused to settle, because recommended by the governor, even though their own security depended on it. In short, the little community was turned into a scene of confusion, and every man acted as he thought proper, without any regard to legal authority, and in contempt of the governor and other officers of the proprietors.

Landgrave Colleton, mortified at the loss of power, and alarmed at the bold and seditious spirit of the people, was not a little perplexed what step to take in order to recall them to the obedience of legal authority. Gentle means he perceived would be vain and ineffectual. One expedient was suggested, which he and his council flattered themselves might be productive of the desired effect, and induce the people through fear to return to his standard, and stand by the person who alone had authority to punish mutiny and sedition, which was to proclaim the martial law, and try to maintain by force of arms the proprietary jurisdiction. Accordingly, without acquainting the people with his design, he caused the militia to be drawn up, as if some danger had threatened the country, and publicly proclaimed the martial law at their head. His design, however, did not long remain a secret, and when discovered, served only to exasperate the people the more. The members of the assembly met, and taking this measure under their deliberation, resolved, that it was an encroachment upon their liberties, and an unwarrantable exertion of power, at a time when the colony was in no danger from any foreign enemy. The governor, however, insisted on the articles of war, and tried to carry the martial law into execution; but the disaffection was too general to admit of such a remedy. In the year 1690, at a meeting of the representatives, a bill was brought in and passed, for disabling Landgrave James Colleton from holding any office, or exercising any authority, civil or military, within the province: and so outrageous were they against him, that they gave him notice, that in a limited time, he must depart from the country.

During these public commotions Seth Sothell pretending to be a proprietor by virtue of some regulations lately made in England, usurped the government of the colony. At first the people seemed disposed to acknowledge his authority, while the current of their enmity ran against Landgrave Colleton; and as he had stood forth as an active and leading man in opposition to that governor, and ratified the law for his exclusion and banishment: but afterwards, finding him to be void of every principle of honour and honesty, they persecuted him also with deserved and implacable enmity. Such was the insatiable avarice of this usurper, that his popularity was of short duration. Every restraint of common justice and equity was trampled upon by him; and oppression, such as usually attends the exaltation of vulgar and ambitious scramblers for power, extended her rod of iron over the distracted colony. The fair traders from Barbadoes and Bermuda were seized as pirates by order of this popular governor, and confined until such fees as he was pleased to exact were paid him: bribes from felons and traitors were accepted to favour their escape from the hands of justice: plantations were forcibly taken possession of, upon pretences the most frivolous and unjust, and planters were compelled to give bonds for large sums of money, to procure from him liberty to remain in possession of their property. These, and many more acts of the like atrocious nature, did this rapacious governor commit, during the short time of his administration, to increase his fees as governor and proprietor. At length the people, weary of his impositions and extortions, agreed to take him by force, and ship him off for England. To his other vile qualities he added meanness of spirit, and humbly begged of them liberty to remain in the country, promising to submit his conduct to the trial of the assembly at their first meeting. When the assembly met, thirteen different charges were brought against him, and all supported by the strongest evidence: upon which, being found guilty, they compelled him to abjure the government and country for ever. An account of his conduct was drawn up and sent to the proprietors, which filled them with indignation. He was ordered to England, to answer the accusations brought against him before the palatine's court, and, in case of refusal, was given to understand it would be taken as a further evidence and confirmation of his guilt. The law for disabling Landgrave James Colleton from holding any authority, civil or military in Carolina, was repealed, and strict orders were sent out to the grand council, to support the power and prerogative of the proprietors. To compose the minds of the people, they declared their detestation of such unwarrantable and wanton oppression, and protested that no governor should ever be permitted to oppress them; enjoining them, at the same time, to return to the obedience of their magistrates, and subjection to legal authority.

Hitherto this little community had been a scene of continual contention and misery. The fundamental constitutions, which the proprietors thought the most excellent form of government possible, had been little regarded. The governors had been either ill qualified for their office, or the instructions given them had been unacceptable to the people. The inhabitants, far from living in friendship and harmony among themselves, had also been seditious and ungovernable. Indeed, while the proprietary government continued to be thus weak and unstable, its authority could be little respected; and

while the encouragement given to civil officers and magistrates was trifling and inconsiderable, men of judgment and ability would not throw away their time and pains for supporting the honour and authority of others, which might be otherwise employed to purposes more advantageous to themselves. The titles of Landgraves and Cassiques did not compensate for the loss of such time and labour, especially when they were only joined with large tracts of land which, for want of hands, must lie uncultivated. The money arising from quit-rents and the sale of lands was inconsiderable, hard to be collected, and by no means adequate to the support of government. The proprietors were unwilling to involve their English estates for the improvement of American property; and hence their government was feeble and ill supported in Carolina.

*The French refugees—Philip Ludwell, governor—Harsh treatment of the refugees—Juries chosen by ballot—Pirates favoured by the colonists—Thomas Smith, governor—The planting of rice introduced—The employment of negroes—Indians' complaints—John Archdale, governor—His new regulations—Joseph Blake, governor—The French in Florida—Refugees incorporated by law—Depredations of pirates—Calamities of the province—James Moore, governor—Lord Granville, palatine—An established church projected—Expedition against Augustine—The first paper currency—Expedition against the Apalachian Indians—System of culture in the colony.*

The French Protestant refugees met with encouragement in England after King William's accession to the throne, and the parliament voted 15,000*l.* sterling, to be distributed among persons of rank, and all such as through age or infirmities were unable to support themselves or families. To artificers and manufacturers encouragement was offered in England and Ireland, which contributed much to the improvement of the silk and linen manufactures of these kingdoms. To husbandmen and merchants agreeable prospects were opened in the British colonies; and, in 1690, the king sent a large body of these people to Virginia. Lands were allotted them on the banks of St. James's river, which, by their industry, they soon improved into excellent estates. Others purchased lands from the proprietors of Carolina, transported themselves and families to that quarter, and settled a colony on Santee river. Others, who were merchants and mechanics, took up their residence in Charlestown, and followed their different occupations. At this period these new settlers were a great acquisition to Carolina. They had taken the oath of allegiance to the king, and promised fidelity to the proprietors. They were disposed to look on the colonists, whom they had joined, in the favourable light of brethren and fellow-adventurers, and though they understood not the English language, yet they were desirous of living in peace with their neighbours, and willing to stand forth on all occasions of danger with them for the common safety and defence.

About the same time Philip Ludwell, a gentleman from Virginia, being appointed governor of Carolina, arrived in the province. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had been general of the Leeward Islands in the reign of King James, being created a Cassique of Carolina, after the revolution retired to that country, and took his seat as a member of the council. The proprietors having found the fundamental constitutions disagreeable to the people, and inef-

fectual for the purposes of government, repealed all their former laws and regulations, excepting those called Agrarian Laws, and sent out a new plan of government to Mr. Ludwell, consisting of 43 articles of instruction, for the better management of their colony. The inhabitants, who had been long in a turbulent state, were enjoined to obedience; but liberty was granted to the representatives of the people to frame such laws as they judged necessary to the public welfare, which were to continue in force for two years, but no longer, unless they were in the mean time ratified and confirmed by the palatine and three more proprietors. Lands for the cassiques and landgraves were ordered to be marked out in square plats, and freedom was granted them to choose their situation. Hitherto the planters remained utter strangers to the value and fertility of the low lands, the swamps were therefore carefully avoided, and large tracts of the higher lands, which were esteemed more precious, were surveyed, and marked out for estates by the provincial nobility.

Governor Ludwell, who was a man of great humanity, and considerable knowledge and experience in provincial affairs, by the many indulgences he was authorized to grant, had the good fortune to allay the ferment among the people, and reconcile them to the proprietors. But this domestic tranquillity was of short duration. New sources of discontent broke out from a different quarter. He had instructions to allow the French colony settled in Craven county, the same privileges and liberties with the English colonists. Several of the refugees being possessed of considerable property in France, had sold it, and brought the money with them to England. Having purchased large tracts of land with this money, they sat down in more advantageous circumstances than the poorer part of English emigrants. Some of them, who had gone to the northern provinces, hearing of the kind treatment and great encouragement their brethren had received in Carolina, joined their countrymen there. Having clergymen of their own persuasion, for whom they entertained the highest respect and veneration, they were disposed to encourage them as much as their narrow circumstances would admit. Governor Ludwell received the foreigners with great civility, and was not a little solicitous to provide them with settlements equal to their expectations. While these refugees were entering on the hard task of clearing and cultivating spots of land, encouraging and relieving each other as much as was in their power, the English settlers began to revive the odious distinctions and rooted antipathies of the two nations, and to consider them as aliens and foreigners, entitled by law to none of the privileges and advantages of natural-born subjects. The governor had instructions to allow them six representatives in assembly; which privilege the Englishmen considered as contrary to the English laws, and beyond the power of the proprietors to grant; and instead of considering these persecuted strangers as fellow-labourers, they began to execute the laws of England respecting aliens in their utmost rigour against them. Their turbulent spirits thought it a degradation to receive laws in common with Frenchmen, who they said were the favourers of a system of slavery and absolute government. In this unfavourable light they were held forth to the people, to their great prejudice, and the occasioning no small jealousies and apprehensions in the colony.

The refugees, alarmed at these proceedings, and discouraged at the prospect of being deprived of all

the rights and liberties of British subjects, began to suspect that the oppression of England would fall heavier upon them than that of France from which they had fled. Dejected at the thoughts of labouring they knew not for whom, if their children could not reap the fruits of their labours, or if their estates should escheat to the proprietors at their decease, they could consider themselves only as deceived and imposed upon by false promises and prospects; and after holding several consultations among themselves about their deplorable circumstances, they agreed to state their case before the proprietors, and beg their advice. In answer to which the proprietors instructed Governor Ludwell to inform them, "that they would enquire what does in law qualify an alien born for the enjoyment of the rights and privileges of English subjects, and in due time let them know; that, for their part, they would take no advantages of the present grievous circumstances of the refugees; that their lands should descend to such persons as they thought proper to bequeath them; that the children of such as had been married in the same way were not deemed bastards in England, nor could they be considered as such in Carolina, where such unlimited toleration was allowed to all men by their charter." Though this served in some measure to compose the minds of the refugees, yet while the people harboured prejudices against them, the relief was only partial; and at the next election of members to serve in assembly, Craven county, in which they lived, was not allowed a single representative.

From the first settlement of the colony, the common method of obtaining lands in it was by purchase, either from the proprietors themselves, or from officers commissioned by them, who disposed of them agreeably to their directions. Twenty pounds sterling for 1000 acres of land, and more or less, in proportion to the quantity, was commonly demanded, although the proprietors might accept of any acknowledgment they thought proper. The emigrants having obtained warrants, had liberty to go in search of vacant ground, and to fix upon such spots as they judged most valuable and convenient. This was surveyed, and marked out to them, according to the extent of their purchase, and plats and grants were signed, registered and delivered to them, reserving one shilling quit-rent for every 100 acres, to be paid annually to the proprietors. Such persons as could not advance the sum demanded by way of purchase, obtained lands on condition of paying one penny annual-rent for every acre to the landlords. The former, however, was the common method of obtaining landed estates in Carolina, and the tenure was a freehold. The refugees having purchased their estates, and meeting with such harsh treatment from the colonists, were greatly discouraged, and became apprehensive, notwithstanding the promises of the proprietors, that they had only escaped one abyss of misery to plunge themselves deeper into another.

About this time 40 men arrived in a privateer called the Royal Jamaica, who had been engaged in a course of piracy, and brought into the country a great quantity of Spanish gold and silver. These men were allowed to enter into recognisances for their good behaviour for one year, with securities, till the governor should hear whether the proprietors would grant them a general indemnity. At another time a vessel was shipwrecked on the coast, the crew of which openly and boldly confessed, they had been on the Red sea plundering the dominions of



the Great Mogul: an assertion which proved as unfortunate to themselves as it was apparently incorrect; for it is difficult to say when the Mogul empire was extended to the Red Sea: it probably means the ships of that monarch. The proprietors were disposed to consider piracy in an inimical manner, and therefore instructed Governor Ludwell to change the form of electing juries, and required that all pirates should be tried and punished by the laws of England made for the suppression of piracy. Before such instructions reached Carolina, the pirates, by their money and freedom of intercourse with the people, had so ingratiated themselves into the public favour, that it was become no easy matter to bring them to trial, and dangerous to punish them as they deserved. The courts of law became scenes of altercation, discord and confusion. Bold and seditious speeches were made from the bar, in contempt of the proprietors and their government. Since no pardons could be obtained but such as they had authorized the governor to grant, the assembly took the matter under deliberation, and fell into hot debates among themselves about a bill of indemnity. When they found the governor disposed to refuse his assent to such a bill, they made a law empowering magistrates and judges to put in force the habeas corpus act made in England. Hence it happened, that several of those pirates escaped, purchased lands from the colonists, and took up their residence in the country. While money flowed into the colony in this channel, the authority of government was a barrier too feeble to stem the tide, and prevent such illegal practices. At length the proprietors, to gratify the people, granted an indemnity to all the pirates, excepting those who had been said to have plundered the Great Mogul, most of whom found means of making their escape out of the country.

In this community there subsisted a constant struggle between the people and the officers of the proprietors: the former claiming great exemptions and indulgences, on account of their indigent and dangerous circumstances; the latter being anxious to discharge the duties of their trust, and to comply with the instructions of their superiors. When quit-rents were demanded, some refused payment, and others had nothing to offer. When actions were brought against all those who were in arrears, the poor planters murmured and complained among themselves, and were discontented at the terms of holding their lands, though, comparatively speaking, easy and advantageous. It was impossible for any governor to please both parties. The fees also of their courts and sheriffs were such, that, in all actions of small value, they exceeded the debt to be recovered by them. To remedy this inconvenience, the assembly made a law for empowering justices of the peace to hear, and finally to determine, all causes of 40s. sterling value and under. This was equally agreeable to the people, as it was otherwise to the officers of justice. At length, to gratify the planters, the governor proposed to the assembly, to consider of a new form of a deed for holding lands, by which he encroached on the prerogative of the proprietors, who had reserved to themselves the sole power of judging in such a case, incurred their displeasure, and was soon after removed from the government.

To find another man equally well qualified for the trust, was a matter at this time of no small difficulty to the proprietors. Thomas Smith, possessed of considerable property, was much esteemed by the people for his good sense and sobriety; and such a person they deemed would be the most proper to

succeed Ludwell, as he would naturally be both zealous and active in promoting the prosperity of the settlement. Accordingly a patent was sent out to him, creating him a landgrave, and, together with it, a commission, investing him with the government of the colony. Mr. Ludwell returned to Virginia, happily relieved from a troublesome office, and Landgrave Smith, under all possible advantages, entered on it. He was previously acquainted with the state of the colony, and with the tempers and complexions of the leading men in it. He knew that the interest of the proprietors, and the prosperity of the settlement were inseparably connected; and he was disposed to allow the people, struggling under many hardships, every indulgence consistent with the duties of his trust. No stranger could have been appointed to the government that could boast of being in circumstances equally favourable and advantageous.

About this time a fortunate accident happened, which occasioned the introduction of rice into Carolina, a commodity which was afterwards found very suitable to the climate and soil of the country. A brigantine, from the island of Madagascar, touching at that place in her way to Britain, came to anchor off Sullivan's island. There Landgrave Smith, upon an invitation from the captain, paid him a visit, and received from him a present of a bag of seed-rice, which he said he had seen growing in eastern countries, where it was deemed excellent food, and produced an incredible increase. The governor divided his bag of rice between Stephen Bull, Joseph Woodward, and some other friends, who agreed to make the experiment, and planted their small parcels in different soils. Upon trial they found it answer their highest expectations. Some years afterwards, Mr. Du Bois, treasurer to the East India Company, sent a bag of seed-rice to Carolina, which, it is supposed, gave rise to the distinction of red and white rice, which are both cultivated in that country. Several years, however, elapsed, before the planters found out the art of beating and cleaning it to perfection, or discovered that the lowest and richest lands were best adapted to the nature of the grain; yet, from this period, the colonists persevered in planting it, and every year gave them greater encouragement. From this small beginning did the staple commodity of Carolina take its rise, which soon became the chief support of the colony, and its great source of opulence. Besides provisions for man and beast, as rice employs a number of hands in trade, it became also a source of naval strength to the nation, and of course more beneficial to it, than even mines of silver and gold.

With the introduction of rice planting into this country, and the fixing upon it as its staple commodity, the necessity of employing African slaves for the purpose of cultivation was coupled; a circumstance which could only be justified if their labour had been voluntary, and they had been induced to settle in a climate not unsuitable to their constitution.

During the government of Cromwell in England, considerations of mercantile profit became connected with those of government. After the conquest of Jamaica, it was resolved, that the nation should make a commercial profit of every colony that had been, or should be, planted in the western world. At the restoration the same turn in politics was also adopted, and the parliament which brought about that great event made a law, by which it was enacted, that no sugar, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, fustic

or other dyeing wood, of the growth of any English plantation in Asia, Africa, or America, should be transported to any other place than to some English plantation, or to England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed, upon pain of forfeiture of ship and goods; that, for every vessel sailing from England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed, bond shall be given, with security of 1000*l.* or 2000*l.* sterling, money of Great Britain, that if she load any of the said commodities at such plantations, she shall bring them to some port of these English dominions. And for every vessel coming to the said plantations the governor shall, before she be permitted to load, take such bond as aforesaid, that she shall carry such commodities to England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick upon Tweed. This laid the foundation of what was afterwards called "enumerated commodities;" and to these already mentioned, rice, hemp, copper-ore, beaver-skins, and naval stores, were afterwards added, and, with some exceptions, subjected to the same restraint.

This navigation law, though it cramped the trade of the colonies, yet has been attended with many beneficial consequences to Britain: and while it maintained the supreme power of legislation throughout the empire, and wisely regulated the trade and commerce of its foreign settlements, it might reap many and substantial advantages from them. It might render them a market for its own manufactures, and at the same time supply itself with such commodities as its northern climate obliged it to purchase from other nations. By such means it might enlarge commerce and trade, at the same time it increased its naval strength. Colonies planted in the same latitude with the parent state, raising the same productions, and enjoying the same privileges, must in time be both detrimental and dangerous; for while they drain it of inhabitants, they are growing strong upon its ruins. They meet at the same market with the same commodities, a competition arises between them, and occasions jealousies, quarrels, and animosities.

From Carolina indeed Britain had less to fear than from the more northern colonies, as the latitude was more remote, and the soil better suited to different productions. Here the people naturally engaged in pursuits different from those of the mother-country, and a mutual exchange of commodities and good offices would of consequence be more necessarily take place. They might barter their skins, furs, and naval stores, for clothes, arms, ammunition, and utensils necessary for cultivation, imported from England. They might send their provisions, lumber, and Indian captives to the West Indies, and receive the luxuries of these islands, and the refuse of their cargoes of slaves, in return, without any prejudice to Britain: for as the two climates differed greatly, they were of consequence adapted to different articles of produce. To such staples the first views of the planters ought to have been chiefly directed, and, for their encouragement in raising them, premiums from the proprietors might have been attended with the most beneficial effects.

Before this time the Carolinians had found out the policy of setting one tribe of Indians against another, on purpose to save themselves. By trifling presents they purchased the friendship of some tribes, whom they employed to carry on war with others, which not only diverted their attention from them, but encouraged them to bring captives to Charles-town, for the purpose of transportation to the West Indies, and the advantage of trade.

In the year 1693, twenty Cherokee chiefs waited on Governor Smith, with presents and proposals of friendship, craving the protection of government against the Esaw and Congaree Indians, who had destroyed several of their towns, and taken a number of their people prisoners. They complained also of the outrages of the Savanna Indians, for selling their countrymen, contrary to former regulations established among the different tribes; and begged the governor to restore their relations, and protect them against such insidious enemies. The governor declared to them, that there was nothing he wished for more than friendship and peace with the Cherokee warriors, and would do every thing in his power for their defence: that the prisoners were already gone, and could not be recalled; but that he would for the future take care that a stop should be put to the custom of sending them out of the country. At the same time the Chihaw king complained of the cruel treatment he had received from John Palmer, who had barbarously beat and cut him with his broad-sword. In answer to which charge Palmer was contumacious, and protested, in defiance and contempt of both governor and council, that he would again treat him in like manner upon the same provocation; for which he was ordered into custody, until he asked pardon of the house, and found security for his future peaceable behaviour to the Indians. Such instances of harsh treatment serve to account for many outrages of Indian nations, who were neither insensible to the common feelings of human nature, nor ignorant of the grievous frauds and impositions they suffered in the course of traffic. By some planters indeed they were used with greater humanity, and employed as servants to cultivate their lands, or hunt for fresh provisions to their families; and as the woods abounded with deer, rabbits, turkeys, geese, ducks, snipes, &c., which were all accounted game, an expert hunter was of great service in a plantation, and could furnish a family with more provisions than they could consume.

With respect to government, Carolina still remained in a confused and turbulent state. Complaints from every quarter were made to the governor, who was neither able to quiet the minds of the people, nor afford them the relief they wanted. The French refugees were uneasy that there was no provincial law to secure their estates to the heirs of their body, or the next in kin, and were afraid that their lands at their death would escheat to the proprietors, and their children become beggars, notwithstanding their industry and application; and concluded that, in such case, the sooner they removed from the colony the better it would be for themselves and their posterity. The English colonists not only kept up variances among themselves, but also perplexed the governor with their complaints of hardships and grievances. At last Landgrave Smith wrote to the proprietors, and frankly told them, that he despaired of ever uniting the people in interest and affection; that he and many more, weary of the fluctuating state of public affairs, had resolved to leave the province; and that he was convinced nothing would bring the settlers to a state of tranquillity and harmony but the arrival of one of the proprietors, with full powers to redress grievances, and settle differences.

The proprietors, astonished at the discontented and turbulent spirit of the people, yet anxious to prevent the settlement from being deserted and ruined, resolved to try the remedy Smith had suggested;

and accordingly selected Lord Ashley, to visit Carolina, and invested him with full powers to establish such regulations as he judged most conducive to the peace and welfare of the colony. Lord Ashley, however, having either little inclination to the voyage, or being detained in England by business of greater consequence, John Archdale agreed to embark in his place. Archdale was a man of considerable knowledge and discretion, a Quaker, and a proprietor; and great trust was reposed in him, and much was expected from his negotiations.

In the mean time Landgrave Smith having resigned his charge, Daniel Blake was chosen governor, until the pleasure of the proprietors was known. To so great a height had the antipathy of the English settlers to the French refugees now grown, that they insisted on their total exclusion from a voice in the legislature; and for this purpose an address was prepared and signed by a great number of them, and presented to Governor Blake, praying that the refugees might not only be denied the privilege of sitting as members of the legislative body, but also of a vote at their election, and that the assembly might be composed only of English members, chosen by Englishmen. Their request, however, being contrary to the instructions of the proprietors, Blake, it is probable, judged beyond his power to grant, and therefore matters relating to them continued in the same unsettled state, until the arrival of Governor Archdale, which happened about the middle of the year 1695.

The arrival of this pious man occasioned no small joy among all the settlers, who crowded about him, each expecting some favour or indulgence. Amidst the general joy, private animosities and civil discord seemed for a while to lie buried in oblivion. The governor soon found, that three interesting matters demanded his particular attention. The first was, to restore harmony and peace among the colonists themselves; the second, to reconcile them to the jurisdiction and authority of the proprietors; and the third, to regulate their policy and traffic with the Indian tribes. For these purposes he summoned his council for advice, and the commissions to the different deputies were read. The members appointed were Joseph Blake, Stephen Bull, James Moore, Paul Grimbail, Thomas Carey, John Beresford, and William Hawett. All former judges of the courts, officers of the militia, and justices of the peace, were continued in their respective offices. But such was the national antipathy of the English settlers to the poor French refugees, that Archdale found their total exclusion from all concern in legislature was absolutely necessary to the peaceable convocation of the delegates, and therefore issued writs directing them only to Berkley and Colleton counties. Ten members for the one, and ten for the other, all Englishmen, were accordingly chosen by the freemen of the same nation. At their meeting the governor made a seasonable speech to both houses, acquainting them with the design of his appointment, his regard for the colony, and great desire of contributing towards its peace and prosperity. They, in return, presented affectionate addresses to him, and entered on public business with great temper and unanimity. Many matters of general concern, by the governor's sensible discretion, were settled to the satisfaction of all, excepting the French refugees. The price of lands and the form of conveyances were fixed by law. Three years' rent was remitted to those who held land by grant, and four years to such as held them by survey, without grant. Such lands as had es-

cheated to the proprietors, were ordered to be let out or sold for their lordships' benefit. It was agreed to take the arrears of quit-rents either in money or commodities, as should be most easy and convenient for the planters. Magistrates were appointed, for hearing all causes between the settlers and Indians, and finally determining all differences between them. Public roads were ordered to be made, and water passages cut, for the more easy conveyance of produce to the market. Some former laws were altered, and such new statutes made as were judged requisite for the good government and peace of the colony. In short, public affairs began to put on an agreeable aspect, and to promise fair towards the future progress and welfare of the settlement. But as for the French refugees, all the governor could do for them was, to recommend it to the English freeholders to consider them in the most friendly and compassionate point of light, and to treat them with lenity and moderation.

No man could entertain more benevolent sentiments, with respect to the ignorant savages, than Governor Archdale; his compassion for them was probably one of the weighty motives which induced him to undertake the voyage to this country. To protect them against insults, and establish a fair trade and friendly intercourse with them, were regulations which both humanity required, and sound policy dictated. But such was the rapacious spirit of individuals, that it could be curbed by no authority. Many advantages were taken of the ignorance of Indians in the way of traffic. The seizing and selling them for slaves to the West Indian planters, the colonists could not be prevailed on entirely to resign, without much reluctance. At this time a war raged between two Indian nations, the one living in the British, the other in the Spanish territories. The Yamasees, a powerful tribe in Carolina, having made an incursion into Florida, took a number of Indians prisoners, whom they brought to Charlestown for sale to the provincial traders to Jamaica and Barbadoes. Governor Archdale no sooner heard of their arrival, than he ordered the Spanish Indians to be brought to him, and finding that they had been instructed in the rites and principles of the Catholic religion, he represented it as an atrocious crime to sell Christians of any denomination. To maintain a good understanding between the two provinces, he sent the prisoners to Augustine, and along with them the Ymasee warriors, to treat of peace with the Indians of Florida. The Spanish governor wrote a letter to Mr. Archdale, thanking him for his humanity, and expressing a desire to live on terms of friendship and peace with the Carolinians. In consequence of which, Governor Archdale issued orders to all Indians in the British interest, to forbear molesting those under the jurisdiction of Spain. The two kings being at that time confederates, the like orders were issued at St. Augustine, and in a short time they were attended with beneficial effects. Such wise steps served not only to prevent slaughter and misery among these savages themselves, but an English vessel being accidentally shipwrecked on the coast of Florida, the Indians did the crew no harm, but, on the contrary, conducted them safe to Augustine, where the commandant furnished them with provisions, and sent them to the English settlements.

Governor Archdale did not confine his views to the establishment of a good correspondence with the Indian nations on the south of this settlement, but extended them also to those on the north side of it.

Stephen Bull, a member of the council and an Indian trader, at his request entered into a treaty of friendship with the Indians living on the coast of North Carolina. This proved also favourable for some adventurers from New England, who were soon after the conclusion of the treaty shipwrecked on that coast. These emigrants got all safe to land, but finding themselves surrounded by barbarians, expected nothing but instant death. However, to defend themselves in the best manner they could, they encamped in a body on the shore, and drew up an intrenchment around them; where they remained until their small stock of provisions was almost exhausted. The Indians, by making signs of friendship, frequently invited them to quit their camp; but they were afraid to trust them, until hunger urged them to run the hazard at all events. After they came out, the Indians received them with great civility, and not only furnished them with provisions, but also permitted some of them peaceably to travel over land to Charlestown, to acquaint the governor with their misfortune. Upon which a vessel was sent to North Carolina, which brought them to Cooper river, on the north side of which, lands were allotted them for their accommodation; and they formed that settlement afterwards known by the name of Christ's-church parish.

About the same time, two Indians of different tribes being intoxicated with liquor, a vice which they learned from the English settlers, quarrelled at Charlestown, and the one murdered the other. Among these barbarians, not to avenge the death of a friend is considered as pusillanimous, and whenever death ensues, drunkenness, accident, or even self-defence, are in their eyes no extenuation of the crime. The relations of the deceased, hearing of his death, immediately came to Charlestown, and demanded satisfaction. Governor Archdale, who had confined the murderer, being desirous to save his life, offered them a compensation; but they refused it, and insisted on blood for blood, and death for death, according to the law of retaliation. To prevent the quarrel spreading wider among them, he was obliged to deliver the prisoner up to punishment and death. While they were conducting him to the place of execution, his king, coming up to him, enjoined him, since he must die, to stand and die like a man; adding, at the same time, that he had often warned him of the danger of rum, and now he must lose his life for neglecting his counsel. When he had advanced to the stake to which he was to be fastened, he desired that they would not bind him, promising not to stir a foot from the spot; and accordingly he did not, but with astonishing resolution braved the terrors of death.

It may now be thought a matter of surprise by some men, especially by such as know the advantages of agriculture, that the proprietors of Carolina, who were men of knowledge, and zealous for the interest and improvement of the colony, paid so little regard to the only thing upon which the subsistence of the inhabitants and the success of the settlement depended. Instead of framing codes of laws, and modelling the government of the country on principles of speculation, in which men are always in danger of error, especially when living in a different climate, far remote from the country they mean to govern; had they established a plantation in it for the particular purpose of making experiments, to find out what productions were most suitable to the soil and climate; this would have been of more real use than all the visionary laws they ever framed. The

first planters were men of little knowledge or substance, many of them utter strangers to the arts of agriculture; and those who had been accustomed to husbandry in Europe, followed the same rules, and planted the same grain in Carolina, as they had formerly done in England; which were by no means adapted to the climate. They proceeded in their old method, exhausted their strength in fruitless efforts, without presuming to imagine, that different articles of produce, and a deviation from the European modes of cultivation, could be beneficial. Hence the planters, though they had lands on the easiest terms, remained poor; and the fault was occasioned more by their ignorance and inexperience than by the climate or soil.

Governor Archdale having finished his negotiations in Carolina, made preparations for returning to England. During his time, though the government had acquired considerable respect and stability, yet the differences among the people still remained. Former animosities were rather smothered for awhile than extinguished, and were ready on the first occasion to break out again with greater violence. Before he embarked, the council presented to him an address, to be transmitted to the proprietors, expressing the deep sense they had of their lordships' paternal care for their colony, in the appointment of a man of such abilities and integrity to the government, who had been so happily instrumental in establishing its peace and security. They told them, they had now no contending factions in government, or clashing interests among the people, excepting what respected the French refugees; that, by the governor's prudent conduct, they hoped all misunderstandings between their lordships and the colonists were now happily removed; that they would for the future cheerfully concur with them in every measure for the speedy population and improvement of the country; that they were now levying money for building fortifications, to defend the province against foreign attacks, and that they would strive to maintain harmony and peace among themselves. Governor Archdale received this address with peculiar satisfaction, and promised to present it to the proprietors on his arrival in England. Being empowered to nominate a lieutenant-governor, he made choice of Joseph Blake, for his successor, and embarked for England about the close of the year 1696.

After Mr. Archdale's arrival in England, he laid this address, together with a state of the country, and the regulations he had established in it, before the proprietors, and showed them the necessity of abolishing many articles in the constitutions, and framing a new plan of government. Accordingly, they began to compile new constitutions; and from his information and intelligence 41 different articles were drawn up and sent out by Robert Daniel, for the better government of the colony. But when the governor laid these new laws before the assembly for their assent and approbation, recommending the careful perusal and consideration of them, they treated them as they had done the former constitutions, and, instead of taking them under deliberation, modestly laid them aside.

A treaty of peace having been concluded between England and France, a project was formed by Louis XIV. for establishing a French colony at the mouth of the great river Mississippi. To that immense territory lying to the eastward of that river, and extending along the back of the Appalachian mountains, from the Mexican seas to Canada, he laid claim, which, in honour of him, was afterwards called

Louisiana. Some discerning men in England early warned the nation of danger to the British settlements from a French colony established in this quarter; yet many years elapsed before they began to feel the inconvenience arising from it. It was foreseen, that, besides the Spaniards, another competitor for power and dominion would spring up, in a situation where they had a fair opportunity of engrossing the trade and affections of Indian tribes, and harassing the weakest frontiers of the British colonies: and doubtless, from the influence and address of the Frenchmen among Indians, the English settlers had more to fear, than from the religious zeal and bigotry of the indolent Spanish settlers.

John, earl of Bath, having succeeded Lord Craven as Palatine, several persons of character and influence in Carolina were by him created landgraves; among whom were Edmund Ballenger, John Bayley, and Robert Daniel; and Edmund Bohun was appointed chief justice of the colony. About the same time Nicholas Trott, a learned and ambitious man, left the Bahama islands, and took up his residence in Carolina. Numbers from different quarters continued to resort to this country, and, notwithstanding its warm and unhealthy climate, the flattering prospects of landed estates induced men to run every risk; and the proprietors neglected no means which they judged conducive towards its speedy population.

With respect to the French refugees, the national antipathies among the colonists now began to abate, who, from their quiet and inoffensive behaviour, began to entertain more favourable sentiments of them. Along with their neighbours they had defied the dangers of the desert, and given ample proofs of their fidelity to the proprietors, their love to the people, and their zeal for the success of the colony. They had cleared little spots of land for raising the necessities of life, and in some measure surmounted the difficulties of the first state of colonization. Yet none of them could boast of great success, excepting one man who had taught the Indians dancing and music, for which arts they discovered an amazing fondness, and liberally rewarded him for his instructions. At this favourable juncture the refugees, by the advice of the governor and other friends, petitioned the legislature to be incorporated with the freemen of the colony, and allowed the same privileges and liberties with those born of English parents. Accordingly an act passed for making all aliens free, for enabling them to hold lands, and to claim the same as heirs to their ancestors, who should take the oath of allegiance to King William. With this condition the refugees joyfully complied, and the proprietors, without scruple, ratified the law; in consequence of which, the French and English settlers, united in interest and affection, and have ever since lived together in harmony and peace.

Though every person enjoyed liberty of conscience with respect to religion, yet as the proprietors were Episcopalians, the tendency of their government leaned towards that mode of religious worship. Governor Blake, though a dissenter himself, possessed the most liberal sentiments towards men of a different persuasion. During his time a bill was brought into the assembly, for allowing the episcopal minister of Charlestown, and his successors for ever, a salary of 150*l.* sterling, together with a house, glebe, and two servants. Samuel Marshal, a pious and learned man, being the episcopal minister at that time, whose prudence and ability had gained him great esteem from Christians of all denominations, the bill passed

with less opposition. The Dissenters who found a large body of the people, conscious of the amiable character and great merit of the man, acquiesced in the measure; and as no motion had been made respecting any established church, they seemed apprehensive of no ill consequences from it. However, soon after this, when the design of the proprietors became more evident, this party, jealous above all things of their religious liberties, took the alarm, and opposed the establishment of the church of England amongst them with such violence, as occasioned no small ferment for many years in the colony.

About this time the coast of Carolina was infested with pirates, who hovered about the mouth of Ashley river, and obstructed the freedom of trade. In the last year of the seventeenth century, the planters had raised more rice than they could find vessels to export. Forty-five persons, from different nations, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Portuguese, and Indians, had manned a ship at the Havanna, and entered on a cruise of piracy. While they were on the coast of Carolina, the people felt severely the pernicious effects of that lawless trade, which in former times they were too apt to encourage. Several ships belonging to Charlestown were taken by them, who sent the crews ashore, but kept the vessels as their prizes. At last, having quarrelled among themselves about the division of the spoil, the Englishmen proving the weaker party, were turned adrift in a long-boat. They landed at Sewee bay, and from thence travelled over land to Charlestown, giving out that they had been shipwrecked, and fortunately escaped to shore in their boat. But, to their disappointment and surprise, no less than three masters of ships happened to be at Charlestown at the time, who had been taken by them, and knew them; upon whose testimony the pirates were instantly taken up, tried, and condemned, and seven out of nine suffered death.

During the autumn of the same year, a dreadful hurricane happened at Charlestown, which did great damage, and threatened the total destruction of the town. The lands on which it is built being low and level, and not many feet above high-water mark, the swelling sea rushed in with amazing impetuosity, and obliged the inhabitants to fly for shelter to the second stories of their houses. Happily few lives were lost in the town; but a large vessel, called the Rising Sun, belonging to Glasgow, and commanded by James Gibson, which had come from Darien with part of the unfortunate Scotch settlers, at the time of the storm rode at anchor off the bar. This ship the hurricane drove from her anchor, and dashed to pieces against the sand-banks, and every person on board perished.

Nor was this the only disaster which distinguished this year in the annals of Carolina. A fire broke also out in Charlestown, and laid the most of it in ashes. The small-pox raged through the town, and proved fatal to multitudes of the younger population.

To complete their distress, another infectious distemper broke out, and carried off a great number of people, among whom were Chief Justice Bohun, Samuel Marshal, the episcopal clergyman, John Ely, the receiver-general, Edward Rawlins, the provost-marshal, and almost one half of the members of assembly. Never had the colony been visited with such general distress and mortality. Few families escaped a share of the public calamities. Almost all were lamenting the loss, either of their habitations by fire, or of friends or relations by the infectious maladies. Discouragement and despair

oppressed every one. Many of the survivors could think of nothing but abandoning a country in which there was so little prospect of success, health, or happiness. They had heard of Pennsylvania, and how pleasant and flourishing a province it was described to be, and therefore were determined to embrace the first opportunity that offered of retiring to it with the remainder of their families and effects.

Governor Blake, deeply sensible of the public distress, tried every means of alleviating the misery of the people, and encouraging them to perseverance; but the members of assembly who survived, became so negligent about public affairs, that he found himself under a necessity of dissolving the house, and calling another, hoping that they might be more zealous and active in concerting measures for the public relief. Of this new assembly Nicholas Trott, whose talents had raised him above the level of his fellow-representatives, was made speaker, and who warmly espoused the cause of the people, in opposition to the interest of the proprietors. The governor and council claimed the privilege of nominating public officers, particularly a receiver-general, until the pleasure of the proprietors was known. The assembly, on the other hand, insisted that it belonged to them. This occasioned several messages between the two houses, and much altercation. However, the upper house appointed their officer. The lower house resolved, that the person appointed by them was no public receiver, and that whoever should presume to pay money to him as such, should be deemed an infringer of the privileges of assembly, and an enemy to the country. Trott flatly denied they could be called an upper house, though they thus styled themselves, as they differed in the most essential circumstances from the house of lords in England; and this led the assembly to call them the proprietors' deputies, and to treat them with indignity and contempt, by limiting them to a day to pass their bills, and to an hour to answer their messages. At this time Trott was eager in the pursuit of popularity, and by his uncommon abilities and address succeeded in a wonderful manner. Never had any man, in so short a time, so thoroughly engrossed the public favour and esteem, or carried matters with so high a hand, in opposition to the proprietary counsellors.

About the close of the year 1700, Governor Blake died, and a dispute arose in the upper house about the succession to the government. Joseph Morton, as eldest landgrave, claimed the preference, until the pleasure of the palatine was known. But James Moore, a needy, forward, and ambitious man, stood forth in competition, and, by activity and art, gained a number over in support of his pretensions. He objected to Landgrave Morton, because he had accepted a commission from King William, to be judge of the court of vice-admiralty, while, at the same time, he held one of the proprietors to the same office: this Moore and his friends declared to be a breach of the trust reposed in him, and that he might with equal propriety have accepted of a commission from King William to be governor, while he held that office of the proprietors. Landgrave Morton replied, that there was a necessity for holding a commission from the king to be judge of the court of vice-admiralty, because it did not appear from the charter that the proprietors could empower their judge to try persons for acts committed without the bounds of their colony, and that with such jurisdiction the judge of the admiralty ought for many reasons always to be vested. However, the upper house

deemed the objection of force sufficient to set Morton aside, and James Moore was chosen successor to Governor Blake. From which period the colony may date the beginning of further jealousies and troubles, which continued for several years, and obstructed its progress in improvement. Various intrigues crept into the seat of government, and several encroachments were made on the liberties and privileges of the people, both civil and religious.

King William, though he maintained the power of the established church, yet often discovered a secret attachment to Presbyterians, and on all occasions treated them with lenity and moderation. Hence many of the more zealous friends to the church of England, alarmed at the prospects of its dangerous situation, became eagerly bent, not only in support of its constitution, but even of its minutest forms, usages, and vestments. Lord Granville, among the rest, after he was called up to the house of peers, had there distinguished himself as an inflexible bigot for the high church, having been early taught to entertain the most supercilious contempt for dissenters of all denominations. Being now also palatine of Carolina, he soon discovered that the establishment of episcopacy, and the suppression of all other modes of religious worship in that country, was the chief object of his zeal and attention. James Moore being considered as a man more fit than Landgrave Morton for assisting him in the accomplishment of his favourite design, the more easily obtained a confirmation of his election to the government.

Here it may not be improper to observe, that several eminent men had appeared in England, who, pitying the miserable state of the western world with respect to religion, had proposed some public-spirited design for the propagation of the Gospel among the heathens on that vast continent. Robert Boyle, no less distinguished for his eminent piety than universal learning, had been appointed by Charles II. governor of a corporation established for the propagation of the Christian religion among Indians, the natives of New England and parts adjacent, in America. Queen Mary afterwards discovered a great desire for enlarging their plan, and for this purpose gave a bounty of 200*l.* sterling, annually, to support missionaries in that quarter. Dr. Compton, bishop of London, was at pains to procure an account of the state of religion among the English colonies, from a persuasion of the necessity of beginning this charitable work among them; and Dr. Thomas Bray, his commissary in Maryland, furnished him with one suited to excite sympathy and compassion in every pious and generous breast. At length Dr. Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury, undertook the laudable design, applied to the crown, and obtained a charter, incorporating a society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. The nation in general entered into the design with their usual ardour for all benevolent institutions. From different parts large benefactions were received by this society, and it was soon enabled to support a number of missionaries in the plantations. Religious books were purchased, and sent out to different provinces, and Carolina among the rest received a number of them. A law passed for instituting a public library in the province, to remain under the care and custody of the episcopal minister of Charlestown. Edward Marston at this time took the charge of it, and was disposed to contribute every thing in his power towards rendering it generally useful. But the dissenters, from the choice of the books, most of which



were wrote by episcopal divines, and in defence of the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church of England, soon perceived the intention of the society, and a library framed on such a narrow foundation was treated with neglect, and proved utterly ineffectual for promoting the desired end.

About this time the number of inhabitants in the colony amounted to between 5000 and 6000, besides Indians and negroes. In Charlestown they had one minister of the church of England, and another of the church of Scotland; but in the country there was no such thing as public worship, nor schools for the education of children; and people living thus scattered through a forest, were likely in time to sink by degrees into the same state of ignorance and barbarism with the natural inhabitants of the wilderness. To supply these destitute colonists with proper means of instruction, called for the first attention of the society; for as Indians and negroes would naturally take their first religious impressions from their neighbours, to begin at this place was like paving the way for extending wider the benefits of instruction.

To prepare the province for the charitable assistance of this society, it was judged necessary to have the church of England established in it by a provincial law, and the country divided into different parishes. The palatine imagined that these internal troubles and differences, by which the colony had hitherto been agitated, and the government rendered feeble and fluctuating, were occasioned by the clashing sentiments of the people with respect to religion. To remedy this evil, he perceived that some bond of union was necessary, to carry on public measures with ease and success; and religion had been deemed the firmest cement of every state. He knew that the episcopal form of church government was more favourable to monarchy and the civil constitution than the Presbyterian, as in it a chain of dependence subsists, from the highest to the lowest in the church. While therefore he instructed Governor Moore to study all possible means of persuading the assembly to acquiesce in that form contained in the fundamental constitutions, he was equally zealous for an established church, that the wheels of their government might be no more clogged by religious dissensions.

But as a great majority of the colonists were dissenters, who had fled from England, on account of rigorous acts of uniformity, their minds were ill disposed to admit of any establishment. Their former prejudices they had not yet thrown aside; their hardships in England they had not yet forgot. Their private opinions respecting religion were various as their different complexions, and unlimited toleration was granted to all by the charter. They could hear of no proposals about an established church, and the palatine, at such an unseasonable time, showed more zeal than prudence or good policy in attempting to introduce it among them. The governor found them inflexible and obstinate in opposing such a measure; and the people even began to repent of having passed a law for fixing a salary for ever on the rector of the episcopal church, and considered it as a step to further encroachments.

The great object with Governor Moore was to improve his time, not knowing how long his precarious power might last, for bettering his indigent circumstances. It appeared to him, that the traffic in Indians was the shortest way to riches. He therefore granted commissions to several persons, to assault and capture as many Indians as they could, and re-

solved to turn the profits of such trade to his own private emolument. Not contented with this base and cruel method of acquiring wealth, he formed a design for engrossing the whole advantages arising to the colony from their commerce with Indian nations. For this purpose a bill was brought into the assembly for regulating the Indian trade, and drawn up in such a manner as would cause all the profits of it to centre in his hands. But Nicholas Trott, Robert Stephen, and others, proved to the assembly the pernicious tendency of such a bill, and therefore it was thrown out. At which Governor Moore being highly offended, dissolved the house, in hopes of procuring another more favourable to his private views and interests.

At the election of the next assembly the governor and his friends exerted all their power and influence to bring in men of their own. Nicholas Trott, who had hitherto appeared in the opposition, being now appointed attorney-general, threw all his influence and weight into the scale of government, turned his back on his former friends, and strongly supported that tottering fabric which he had formerly endeavoured to pull down. Charlestown, where all freeholders met to give their suffrages, at the time of this election was a scene of riot, intemperance, and confusion. The sheriff, having instructions so to do, admitted every person to vote; the members of Colleton county say, even common sailors, servants, foreigners, and mulattoes. Such freeholders as stood forth in opposition to the governor's party, were abused and insulted. At length, when the poll was closed, one half of the persons elected were found to be men of neither sense nor credit; but being the chosen creatures of the governor, it was his business to prevent all inquiry into the conduct of the sheriff, and the qualifications of such members.

At this time Carteret county was inhabited only by Indians; but in Colleton county there were no less than 200 freeholders, who had a right to vote for delegates to assembly. The principal plantations in it were those of the late Sir John Yeamans, Landgraves Morton, Ballenger, and Axtell, and those of Blake, Boone, Gibbes, Schinking, and others. The people of this county being highly offended at the manner of election, particularly the arts and intrigues practised, and the riot and intemperance permitted at it, drew up a representation of the whole transaction, and transmitted it to the proprietors in England: but the palatine was too deeply concerned in promoting those measures of which they complained, to grant them any favourable answer. In Berkley county the principal settlements were those of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Governor Moore, Landgraves West, Smith, Bayley, and Daniel; together with those belonging to Godfrey, Mathews, Izard, Colleton, Grimbail, &c.; several of whom were also dissatisfied with the public proceedings. But Craven county being composed of French refugees, these having little knowledge of the English language, were easily managed; and many indeed supported the governor purely out of affection to the proprietors. In short, the house consisted of 30 members, one half of whom were elected from the dregs of the people, utter strangers to public affairs, and in every respect unqualified for sitting as provincial legislators.

In the mean time, a rupture took place in Europe between England and Spain, which turned the attention of the colony to a different object, and afforded Governor Moore an opportunity of exercising his military talents, and a new prospect of enriching himself by Spanish plunder or Indian captives. Ac-

cordingly, instead of private disputes among themselves, he proposed to the assembly an expedition against the Spanish settlement at Augustine. Many of the people, from mercenary motives, applauded the proposal; however, men of cool reflection, having yet had no intelligence of the declaration of war, were averse from rushing into any hazardous enterprise, until they had certain advice of it from England. As the expedition was projected, contrary to the opinion and inclination of many Carolineans, without any recent provocation from the Spanish garrison; it is probable that the governor engaged in it chiefly from views of private emolument. Florida, he assured the people, would be an easy conquest; and treasures of gold and silver were held out to them as the rewards of valour. In vain did some members of the assembly oppose it, by representing the province as weak, and ill provided for warlike enterprises, and by hinting at the many hazards and difficulties always attending them; in vain did they urge the strength of the Spanish fort, and the expenses incurred by a fruitless and perhaps bloody expedition: such men were called enemies to their country, and represented as pusillanimous wretches, who were utter strangers to great and glorious undertakings. Accordingly, a great majority of the assembly declared for the expedition, and a sum of 2000*l.* sterling was voted for the service of the war. Six hundred Indians were engaged, who, being fond of warlike exploits, gladly accepted of arms and ammunition offered them for their aid and assistance. Six hundred provincial militia were raised, and schooners and merchant-ships were impressed, for transports to carry the forces. Port Royal was fixed upon as the place of general rendezvous, and there, in September 1702, the governor, at the head of his troops, embarked in an expedition equally rash and fool-hardy on one side, as it was well known and unprovoked on the other.

While these preparations were going on in Carolina, the Spaniards, apprised of the governor's design, were making ready for their defence. In the plan of operations it had been agreed, that Colonel Daniel, who was an officer of spirit, should go by the inland passage with a party of militia and Indians, and make a descent on the town from the land, while the governor with the main body should proceed by sea, and block up the harbour. Colonel Daniel lost no time, but advanced against the town, entered and plundered it before the governor got forward to his assistance. But the Spaniards having laid up provisions for four months in the castle, on his approach retired to it, with all their money and most valuable effects. Upon the arrival of Governor Moore, the place was invested with a force against which the Spaniards could not appear, and therefore kept themselves shut up in their strong hold. The governor finding it impossible to dislodge them without such artillery as are necessary to a siege, dispatched a loop to Jamaica, on purpose to bring cannon, bombs, and mortars, for attacking the castle; and Colonel Daniel embarked and sailed with the greatest expedition to bring them. During his absence two Spanish ships, the one of 22 guns and the other of sixteen, appearing off the mouth of the harbour, struck such a panic into the governor, that he instantly raised the siege, abandoned his ships, and made a precipitate retreat to Carolina by land. In consequence of which the Spaniards in the garrison were not only relieved, but the ships, provisions, and ammunition, belonging to the Carolineans, fell also into their hands. Colonel Daniel, on his return, stand-

ing in for the harbour of Augustine, found to his surprise the siege raised, and made a narrow escape from the enemy.

Military expeditions rashly undertaken, conducted by a headstrong and inexperienced officer, and executed by raw and ill-disciplined troops, very rarely succeed. We are not able to account for the governor's conduct in raising this siege, after he had been a month in possession of the town, unless he was in immediate want of provisions or ammunition, or his men, having little confidence in his abilities, threatened to desert him: for if the Spanish ships drew more than ten feet water, which it is probable they must have done, they could not come over the bar to injure him: if they landed their men, yet still his force was superior to that of the enemy, and he might at least have risked a battle on such grounds, before he made an inglorious retreat. The Indians were averse from leaving the field, without scalps, plunder, or glory. It is true, the Spanish ships of war might have prevented Colonel Daniel from getting into the harbour with the supply of military stores, yet the coast was large, and afforded many more places for landing them. The governor had Indians to hunt for provisions for his men, and it was by no means impossible to have starved the garrison and compelled them to surrender. What then can be thought of a commander, who, on the first appearance of a little danger, abandoned his station, however advantageous, and tamely yielded up, not only the town, but also his own ships and provisions to the enemy.

Upon his return to Carolina many severe reflections were thrown out against him, as might naturally have been expected; but especially by that party who opposed the enterprise. It is true, it proved not a bloody expedition, the governor having lost no more than two men in it; yet it entailed a debt of 6000*l.* sterling on a poor colony, which, at that period, was a grievous burthen. The provincial assembly, who during the absence of the governor, had been under prorogation, now met, to concert ways and means for discharging this public debt. Great dissensions and confusion prevailed among them; but the governor, having a number of men under arms to whom the country stood indebted, despised all opposition, and silenced the malcontents by threats and compulsion. A bill was brought into the assembly for stamping bills of credit, to answer the public expence, which were to be sunk in three years by a duty laid upon liquors, skins, and furs. In this measure all parties acquiesced, as it fell easy on private persons, at the same time that it satisfied the public creditors. This was the first paper money issued in Carolina, and, for five or six years after the emission, it passed in the country at the same value and rate with the sterling money of England. How, in process of time, it increased in quantity and sunk in value; how it was deemed useful by debtors and prejudicial by creditors, we shall afterwards have occasion more particularly to demonstrate. At present it may suffice to observe, that it was absolutely necessary to support the public credit, and the most practicable method the colony had of defraying the expenses incurred by the unsuccessful expedition.

Notwithstanding his past misfortunes, Governor Moore, fond of warlike exploits, had still in view the striking some blow that might distinguish his administration. The Appalachian Indians, by their connexion with the Spaniards, had become insolent and troublesome. Mr. Moore determined to chastise them, and for this purpose marched at the head

of a body of white men and Indian allies, into the heart of their settlements. Wherever he went he carried fire and sword along with him, and struck a terror into his enemies. The towns of the unhappy tribes who lived between the rivers Alatomaha and Savanna he laid in ashes, captured many savages, and obliged others to submit to the English government. The governor received the thanks of the proprietors for his courage, who acknowledged that the success of his arms had gained their province a reputation; but, what was of greater consequence to him, he wiped off the ignominy of the Augustine expedition, and procured a number of Indian slaves, whom he employed to cultivate his fields, or sold for his own profit and advantage.

About this time Sir Nathaniel Johnson introduced the raising of silk into the country, which is an article of commerce exceedingly profitable, and, by proper encouragement, might have been made very beneficial both to the colony and the mother country. Mulberry-trees grew spontaneously in the woods, and thrived as well as other natural productions. The great demand for silk in Britain made it an object of the highest consequence; and an article so profitable, and so easily raised, ought to have engaged the attention of the proprietors.

To the culture of cotton the climate and soil were equally favourable. It might have been planted on lands newly cleared, or on light and sandy grounds, such as the maritime parts of Carolina, which are by no means unsuitable to the production. The seeds are commonly sown about two feet and a half asunder, and grow up like other plants. Indeed the fields require to be kept clean, and the fresh earth carefully thrown around the plant, to defend it against the winds; but this is no difficult task, and might be performed by hands incapable of more severe labour. When the pods burst, cotton is gathered, and separated from the seeds; which is the most tedious and troublesome part of the business requisite. This article also, though not of importance enough to have engrossed the whole attention of the colonists, might nevertheless, in conjunction with other staples, have been rendered profitable and useful.

Instead of these and several other articles, to which the views of the planters in the weaker and earlier state of the colony ought to have been turned in some degree, we find from this period the culture of rice engrossing their whole strength and attention. This commodity being an article of provision, was indeed likely always to find a good market; yet it was scarcely possible to have fixed on a staple which required more severe labour during the whole process of its preparation. The warm climate and low lands were doubtless well adapted to the nature of the grain, after experience had taught the husbandman to clear and cultivate the swampy grounds for that purpose: yet it is certain that the planters long went on with this article, and exhausted their strength in raising it on higher lands, which poorly rewarded them for their toil. After clearing the lands they commonly plant it in furrows made with a hoe, about eighteen inches asunder. When the seed is sown, the fields must be carefully kept clear of noxious weeds, which retard its growth, and the earth must also be laid up to the root of the rice, to facilitate its progress. No work can be imagined more pernicious to health, than for men to stand in water mid-leg high, and often above it, planting and weeding rice; while the scorching heat of the sun renders the air they breathe ten or twenty degrees hotter than the human blood, and the putrid and

unwholesome effluvia from an oozy bottom and stagnated water poison the atmosphere. They sow it in April, or early in May, and reap in the latter end of August, or in the month of September. After which it is dried and carried to the barn-yard, and built in stacks, in like manner as the corn in Europe. After this it is threshed, winnowed, and ground in mills made of wood, to free the rice from the husk. Then it is winnowed again, and put into a wooden mortar, and beat with large wooden pestles, which labour is so oppressive and hard, that the firmest nerves and most vigorous constitutions sink under it. To free it from the dust and flour occasioned by pounding, it is sifted first through one sieve, and then, to separate the small and broken rice from the large, through another. Last of all, it is put into large barrels of enormous weight, and carried to the market. During the whole tedious process of its preparation, much care and great strength are requisite, and many thousands of lives from Africa have been sacrificed, in order to furnish the world with this commodity.

*Sir Nathaniel Johnson appointed governor—The church of England established by law—The inhabitants remonstrate against it—Lay commissioners appointed—The acts ratified by the proprietors—The petition of dissenters to the house of lords—Resolutions of the house of lords—Their address to the queen—The queen's answer—A project formed for invading Carolina—A Spanish and French invasion repulsed—Missionaries sent out by the society in England—Lord Craven, palatine—Edward Tynte, governor—The revenues of the colony—The invasion of Canada—A French colony planted in Louisiana—A colony of palatines settled—Robert Gibbes, governor—Charles Craven, governor—An Indian war in North Carolina—The Tuscarora Indians conquered—Bank-bills established—Trade infested by pirates—Several English statutes adopted.*

On the accession of Anne to the English throne, Sir Nathaniel Johnson received a commission from John, Lord Granville, investing him with the government of Carolina, to which office a salary of 200*l.* was annexed, to be paid annually by the receiver-general of the colony. This gentleman had not only been bred a soldier from his youth, but had been also a member of the house of commons, and was well qualified for the trust. But it being suspected that he was no friend to the revolution, the proprietors could not obtain her majesty's approbation of him; but on his undertaking to qualify himself for the office in such a manner as the laws of England required, to give security for his observing the laws of trade and navigation, and obey such instructions as should be sent out from time to time by her majesty, he was ultimately accepted; and the lords commissioners of trade and plantations were ordered to take care that good and sufficient security be given by him.

With respect to his own conduct in the government of the colony, he had instructions from the proprietors to follow such rules as had been given to former governors, in the fundamental constitutions and temporary laws entered upon record, and to be guided by the same as far as in his judgment he might think expedient. He was required, with the advice and assistance of his council, carefully to review the constitutions, and such of them as he should think necessary to the better establishment of government, and calculated for the good of the people, he was ordered to lay before the assembly for their concurrence and assent. He was to use his endea-

vours to dispose of their lands; but to take nothing less than 20*l.* for 1000 acres; and, in all future grants, to make them escheat to the proprietors, unless a settlement was made on them within the space of four years. He was to take special care that the Indians be not abused or insulted, and to study the most proper methods of civilizing them, and creating a firm friendship with them, in order to protect the colony against the Spaniards in the neighbourhood. He was to transmit to England exact copies of all laws passed, accounts of the lands sold, &c.

It has already been observed, that the colony was in a wretched state with respect to religion. The first emigrants from England, retained indeed for a little time some sense of it, and showed some respect for the ordinances of the Gospel: but their children, born in a wilderness, where there was not so much as even the semblance of public worship, were likely to grow up in ignorance, and to live entirely void of all sense of religion. The proprietors were either unable to furnish them with the proper means of instruction, or they were unwilling to bear the expense of it, having as yet received little recompense for the past charges of the settlement. Not only the emigrants from England, but also those from France and Holland, were much divided in their private opinions with respect to modes of religious worship; and for this reason all governors, excepting the last, had prudently deferred interfering in a matter which would occasion uneasiness and confusion among the settlers. Still, however, the establishment of the church of England in Carolina was the chief object in view with the proprietors. The palatine was a bigoted zealot for this mode of ecclesiastical worship and government: the governor was strongly attached to it. James Moore, who was made receiver-general, and Nicholas Trott, the attorney-general, were also men of the same complexion. These men, assisted by a majority of the council, now began to concert measures with art and skill, and to pursue them with firmness and resolution, for accomplishing this end, and gratifying the earnest desire of the palatine.

It was not, however, without some difficulty, and considerable struggles, that the keen opposition raised by dissenters, who now plainly perceived their design, and who had an irreconcilable aversion from episcopacy, could be overcome. This the governor and his party foresaw, and therefore it became necessary first to exert themselves to secure a majority in the assembly in favour of the measure they had in view. Hitherto the riotous proceedings at the former election had been overlooked, and the rioters, by the countenance and protection of the preceding governor, had escaped prosecution. The grand jury represented this neglect as a grievance to the court; but the judge told them, "That was a matter which lay before the governor and council, his superiors." When the complaint was made to the governor in council, he replied, "That these irregularities happened before his appointment to the government, but that he would take care to prevent them for the time to come." Notwithstanding this declaration, if we may believe the dissenters, at the following election still greater irregularities prevailed. By the same undue influence and violence the governor and his adherents gained their point, and secured a majority in the house; so that a species of corruption had now infected the great fountain of liberty, the election of representatives.

It would appear that some of the colonists at this period had distinguished themselves by loose prin-

ciples and licentious language, and had treated some of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion with the ridicule and contempt of professed infidelity. To bring an odium upon this class of dissenters, and to discourage such licentious practices, a bill was brought into the new assembly for the suppression of blasphemy and profaneness; by which bill, whoever should be convicted of having spoken or written any thing against the Trinity, or the divine authority of the Old or New Testament, by the oath of two or more credible witnesses, were to be made incapable, and disabled in law to all intents and purposes, of being members of assembly, or of holding any office of profit, civil or military, within the province: and whoever should be convicted of such crimes the second time, were also to be disabled from suing or bringing any action of information in any court of law or equity, from being guardian to any child, executor or administrator to any person; and without bail suffer imprisonment for three years. Which law, notwithstanding its pretended motive, savoured not a little of an inquisition, and introduced a species of persecution ill calculated to answer the end for which it was intended. To punish men guilty of blasphemy and profaneness in this way, instead of bringing their crimes into public disrepute and abhorrence, served rather to render their persons objects of compassion, and induce men to pity them on account of their sufferings.

However, had Sir Nathaniel Johnson stooped here, many reasons might have been urged in his vindication; but he had other measures in view, much more unpopular and oppressive. He looked upon dissenters of every denomination as enemies to the constitutions of both church and state, and therefore, to subvert their power and influence, or compel them to uniformity of sentiment, another bill was brought into the assembly, framed in such a manner as to exclude them entirely from the house of representatives. This bill required every man who should hereafter be chosen a member of assembly, to take the oaths and subscribe the declaration appointed by it, to conform to the religion and worship of the church of England, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rights and usage of that church; a qualification which dissenters considered as having a manifest tendency to rob them of all their civil rights or religious liberties. To carry this bill through the house, all the art and influence of the governor and his party were requisite. In the lower house it passed by a majority of one vote, and in the upper house Landgrave Joseph Morton was refused liberty to enter his protest against it. At this juncture no bill could have been framed more inconsistent with the rights and privileges of the freemen, and more pernicious to the interest and prosperity of the country. The dissenters, who were a numerous and powerful body of the people, were highly offended, and raised a great outcry against it. Seeing themselves reduced to the necessity of receiving laws from men whose principles of civil and ecclesiastical government they abhorred, and subjected to greater hardships than they suffered in England, many had formed resolutions of abandoning the colony. Loud clamours were not only heard without doors, but jealousies and discontent filled the hearts of many within them, not of dissenters only, but also of those who adhered to the church.

In this distracted state of the colony, the inhabitants of Colleton county, composed chiefly of dissenters, met and drew up a state of their grievous circumstances, which they resolved to transmit to

the proprietors, praying their lordships to repeal this oppressive act. John Ash, one of the most zealous men in the opposition, agreed to embark for England as agent for the aggrieved party, computed to be at least two-thirds of the whole inhabitants of the colony. The governor and his friends, apprized of this design, used all possible means to prevent him from obtaining a passage in any ship belonging to Carolina. Upon which Ash went to Virginia, to which province his instructions were conveyed to him, and from thence he set sail for England.

After his arrival he waited on Lord Granville, the palatine, acquainting him with the design of his message; but met with a very cold reception. That nobleman was too deeply concerned in bringing about that establishment against which Ash came to complain, favourably to listen to his representations. Accordingly, after staying some time in London, and giving the proprietors all the information in his power relating to public affairs, the only satisfaction he could obtain from the palatine was, that he should cause his secretary to write to the governor an account of the grievances and hardships of which Mr. Ash complained, and require an answer from him with respect to them. Mr. Ash, observing how the palatine stood affected, and despairing of success, immediately began to draw up a representation of their case, which he intended for the press: but before he had finished it he was taken sick, and died; and his papers fell into his enemies' hands. He was a man of a warm and passionate temper, and possessed of all those violent sentiments which ill usage, disappointment, and oppression, naturally kindle in the human breast. His representation, intended as an appeal to the nation in general, for the sufferings of the people under the tyrannical proprietary government, was full of heavy charges against the governor and his party in Carolina, and bitter reflections on their conduct, which he considered as in the highest degree injurious to the colony.

Without doubt the lords proprietors planned this establishment with a view to the peaceful influence it would have upon the civil government of the country, as the preamble to the act expressly indicates. Their feeble and fluctuating state required the assistance and authority of an established church, and the sanction of religion, to give it more weight and influence with the people. How far the measures adopted served to promote the desired end, and were consistent with prudence and good policy, will afterwards more clearly appear.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson having advanced so far, was determined to proceed in spite of every obstacle thrown in his way. He instituted what the inhabitants of Carolina took to be a high-commission court, like that of King James II. It was enacted, that twenty lay-persons be constituted a corporation for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with full power to deprive ministers of their livings at pleasure, not for immorality only, but also for imprudence, or on account of unreasonable prejudices taken against them. In vain did many persons complain of this institution, as tearing the ecclesiastical jurisdiction out of the hands of the bishop of London, in whose diocese the whole British colonies in America were included. The governor, bent on carrying into execution the favourite plan of the palatine, paid little regard to the uneasy apprehensions of the people. According to the act for erecting churches, the colony was divided into ten parishes; seven in Berkley, two in Colleton, and one in Craven counties. Money was provided for building churches; lands were

granted for glebes and churchyards; and salaries for the different rectors were fixed and appointed, payable from the provincial treasury. When these bills were transmitted to England, to be ratified and confirmed by the proprietors, John Archdale opposed them, and insisted, that the dissenters of Carolina had not yet forgot the hardships they suffered in England from acts of uniformity; that the right of private judgment in religious matters was the birthright of every man; that undisturbed liberty of conscience was allowed to every inhabitant of Carolina by the charter; that acts of conformity, with penalties annexed to them, have in general proved destructive to the cause they were intended to promote, and were utterly inconsistent with Protestant principles; and therefore that these bills, so unpopular and oppressive in Carolina, ought to be repealed, as contrary to sound policy and religious freedom. The majority of the proprietors, however, did not view them in this light, and the debate ran high between them. At length the palatine, equally tyrannical as bigoted, put an end to the dispute, by telling Mr. Archdale: "Sir, you are of one opinion, I am of another; our lives may not be long enough to end the controversy. I am for the bills, and this is the party that I will head and support." In consequence of which the acts were ratified by four proprietors, and the following letter was sent to Sir Nathaniel Johnson: "Sir, the great and pious work which you have gone through with such unwearied and steady zeal, for the honour and worship of Almighty God, we have also finally perfected on our part; and our ratification of that act for erecting churches, &c., together with duplicates of all other dispatches, we have forwarded to you by Captain Flavel."

The episcopal party having now got their favourite form of divine worship established by law in Carolina, began to erect churches in such situations as were most central and convenient for the settlers; and to supply them with clergymen, application was made to the society in England for the propagation of the Gospel. The dissenters, despairing of all hopes of redress from the proprietors, became greatly discouraged, and could not brook the thoughts of being again subjected to the same miseries which had compelled them to leave their native country. Some were for transporting their families and effects immediately to Pennsylvania, in order to sit down under Penn's free and indulgent government; others proposed an application to the house of lords in England, praying them to intercede with her majesty for their relief. For this purpose a petition was drawn up, and carried over by Joseph Boone to England. Several merchants in London, after Boone's arrival, being convinced of the illegal means by which those grievous acts were brought to pass, and of their pernicious consequence to trade, joined the petitioners. Accordingly, about the beginning of the year 1706, the following petition was presented to the house of lords: setting forth, "That when the province of Carolina was granted to the proprietors, for the better peopling of it, express provision was made in the charter for a toleration and indulgence of all Christians in the free exercise of their religion; that, in the fundamental constitutions, agreed to be the form of government by the proprietors, there was also express provision made, that no person should be disturbed for any speculative opinion in religion, and that no person should, on account of religion, be excluded from being a member of the general assembly, or from any other office in the civil administration. That the said charter, being given soon

after the happy restoration of King Charles II., and re-establishment of the church of England by the act of uniformity, many of the subjects of the kingdom who were so unhappy as to have some scruples about conforming to the rites of the said church, did transplant themselves and families into Carolina; by means whereof the greatest part of the inhabitants there were Protestant dissenters from the church of England, and through the equality and freedom of the said fundamental constitutions, all the inhabitants of the colony lived in peace, and even the ministers of the church of England had support from Protestant dissenters, and the number of inhabitants and the trade of the colony daily increased, to the great improvement of her majesty's customs, and the manifest advantage of the merchants and manufactures of the kingdom.

"But that, in the year 1703, when a new assembly was to be chosen, which, by the constitution, is chosen once in two years, the election was managed with very great partiality and injustice, and all sorts of people, even aliens, Jews, servants, common sailors and negroes were admitted to vote at elections: that, in the said assembly, an act was passed to incapacitate every person from being a member of any general assembly that should be chosen for the time to come, unless he had taken the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the church of England; whereby all Protestant dissenters are made incapable of being in the said assembly; and yet, by the same act, all persons who shall take an oath that they have not received the sacrament in any dissenting congregation for one year past, though they have not received it in the church of England, are made capable of sitting in the said assembly: that this act was passed in an illegal manner, by the governor calling the assembly to meet the 26th of April, when it then stood prorogued to the 10th of May following: that it hath been ratified by the lords proprietors in England, who refused to hear what could be offered against it, and contrary to the petition of 170 of the chief inhabitants of the colony, and of several eminent merchants trading hither, though the commons of the same assembly quickly after passed another bill to repeal it, which the upper house rejected, and the governor dissolved the house.

"That the ecclesiastical government of the colony is under the bishop of London; but the governor and his adherents have at last done what the latter often threatened to do, totally abolished it: for the same assembly have passed an act, whereby twenty lay-persons, therein named, are made a corporation for the exercise of several exorbitant powers, to the great injury and oppression of the people in general, and for the exercise of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with absolute power to deprive any minister of the church of England of his benefice, not only for immorality, but even for imprudence, or incurable prejudices between such minister and his parish; and the only minister of the church established in the colony, Mr. Edward Marston, hath already been cited before their board, which the inhabitants of the province take to be a high ecclesiastical commission-court, destructive to the very being and essence of the church of England, and to be held in the utmost detestation and abhorrence by every man that is not an enemy to our constitution in church and state.

"That the said grievances daily increasing, your petitioner Joseph Boone is now sent by many principal inhabitants and traders of the colony, to re-

present the languishing and dangerous situation of it to the lords proprietors; but his application to them has hitherto had no effect: that the ruin of the colony would be to the great disadvantage of the trade of this kingdom, to the apparent prejudice of her majesty's customs, and the great benefit of the French, who watch all opportunities to improve their own settlements in those parts of America."

After reading this petition in the house of lords, the palatine desired to be heard by his council, which was granted, and the further consideration of the matter was postponed for one week. Then having heard what Lord Granville had to offer in his behalf, the lords agreed to address her majesty in favour of the distressed petitioners of Carolina. They declared that, after having fully and maturely weighed the nature of the two acts passed in Carolina, they found themselves obliged in duty to her majesty, and in justice to her subjects, (who, by the express words of the charter, were declared to be the liege people of the crown of England, and to have a right to all the liberties, franchises, and privileges of Englishmen), to come to the following resolutions: "First, That it is the opinion of this house, that the act of assembly in Carolina, lately passed there, signed and sealed by John, Lord Granville, for himself, Lord Carteret, and Lord Craven, and by Sir John Colleton, four of the proprietors of that province, in order to the ratifying of it, entitled, An act for the establishment of religious worship in the province, according to the church of England, &c. so far forth as the same relates to the establishing a commission for the displacing of rectors and ministers of the churches there, is not warranted by the charter granted to the proprietors, as being not consonant to reason, repugnant to the laws of the realm, and destructive to the constitution of the church of England. Secondly, That it is the opinion of this house, that the act of assembly in Carolina, entitled, An act for the more effectual preservation of the government of the province, by requiring all persons that shall hereafter be chosen members of the commons house of assembly, and sit in the same, to take the oaths and subscribe the declaration appointed by this act, and to conform to the religious worship in this province, according to the church of England, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites and usage of the said church, &c. is founded on falsity in matter of fact, is repugnant to the laws of England, contrary to the charter of the proprietors, is an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade, and tends to the depopulation and ruin of the province."

After which resolutions the house addressed her majesty in the following words: "We, your majesty's dutiful subjects, having thus humbly presented our opinion of these acts, we beseech your majesty to use the most effectual methods to deliver the said province from the arbitrary oppressions under which it now lies, and to order the authors thereof to be prosecuted according to law; at the same time we represent to your majesty, how much the powers given by the crown have been abused by some of your subjects, justice requires us to acquaint your majesty, that some of the proprietors absolutely refused to join in the ratification of these acts. We humbly beg permission to inform your majesty, that other great injustices and oppressions are complained of in the petition; but the nature of the fact requiring a long examination, it was not possible for the house to find time for, so near the conclusion of the session; and therefore we presume,



with all duty, to lay the petition itself before your majesty, at the same time we present our address. We cannot doubt but your majesty, who from the beginning of your reign has shown so great a concern and tenderness for all your subjects, will extend your compassion for those distressed people, who have the misfortune to be at so great a distance from your royal person, and not so immediately under your gentle administration. Your majesty is fully sensible of what great consequence the plantations are to the crown of England, and to the trade of your subjects, and therefore we rest assured, that as your majesty will have them all under your royal care, so, in particular, you will be graciously pleased to find out and prosecute the most effectual means for the relief of the province of Carolina."

To which address the queen returned the following answer: "I thank the house for laying these matters so plainly before me: I am sensible of what great consequence the plantations are to England, and will do all in my power to relieve my subjects in Carolina, and protect them in their just rights." But as it likewise appeared that some of the proprietors themselves had refused to approve of the acts, the matter was further referred to the lords of trade and plantations; who, after examination, found that all the charges brought against the provincial government and the proprietors were well grounded; and represented further to her majesty, that the making of such laws was an abuse of the powers granted to the proprietors by the charter, and will be a forfeiture of it, and humbly begged that she would be pleased to give directions for re-assuming the same into her majesty's hands, by a *scire facias* in the court of queen's bench. The queen approved of their representation, and after declaring the laws null and void, for the effectual proceeding against the charter by way of *quo warranto*, ordered her attorney and solicitor-general to inform themselves fully concerning what may be most effectual for accomplishing the same, that she might take the government of the colony, so much abused by others, into her own hands, for the better protection of her distressed subjects. Here, however, the matter was dropt for the present, and no further steps were taken against the charter of the proprietors, or for the relief of the people.

In the mean time the distant colonists, though they had heard nothing of what had passed in England relating to those grievous acts, became daily more sensible of their oppressive nature and pernicious consequence. Several settlers had left the country on account of them, and moved to Pennsylvania. Archibald Stobo, a Presbyterian minister in Charlestown, who had warmly opposed this establishment from the beginning, had also convinced many who remained of the severities and hardships the dissenters in England had suffered from the rigors of the episcopal government. Several circumstances proved favourable to Stobo's opposition; he possessed those talents which render a minister conspicuous and respected, and the people that party-zeal which becomes violent from persecution. To his treasures of knowledge and excellent capacity for instruction, he added uncommon activity and diligence in the discharge of the various duties of his sacred function. He had a natural aversion to the episcopal jurisdiction, and no minister of the colony had engrossed so universally the public favour and esteem. The governor and his adherents found it necessary to sow the seeds of division among his

followers, and, from maxims of policy, to magnify his failings, in order to ruin his great power and influence.

But the presbyterian party were not the only malcontents during these unwarrantable proceedings of the legislature. Many wise and religious men of all denominations condemned them, as grievous and impolitic, and opposed the acts of assembly. Even the society for propagating the Gospel in England disapproved of them, and resolved not to send any missionaries to Carolina, until the clause relating to lay-commissioners was annulled. So that all impartial men, in some measure, condemned the acts, and seemed to detest both the factious men who framed them, and the method by which they had been promoted in the province.

At length, from these domestic troubles the attention of the people was drawn off, and turned towards a more important object, their common defence against foreign enemies. The war between Great Britain and France and Spain still raged in Europe. The governor received advice of a project framed for invading Carolina, and had instructions to put the country in the best posture of defence. The Spaniards pretended a right to it on the foot of prior discovery, considering it as a part of Florida, and had now determined by force of arms to assert their right. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, as a military commander, was well qualified for his duty. No sooner had he received intelligence of the designs of his enemy, than he set all hands to work upon the fortifications, appointed a number of gunners to each bastion, and held frequent musters to train the men to the use of arms. A storehouse was prepared, and a quantity of ammunition laid up in it, to be ready on the first emergency. A small fort, called Fort Johnson, was erected on James's island, and several great guns mounted on it. Trenches were cast up on White Point, and other places where they were thought necessary. A guard was stationed on Sullivan's island, with orders to kindle a number of fires opposite to the town, equal to the number of ships they might spy on the coast. And every prudent regulation was made to prevent a surprise.

Carolina, was at this juncture the southern frontier of the British empire in America; but the colony, although it had acquired some degree of strength, was yet in a feeble state to resist an enemy of force and enterprise. From its situation there was reason to apprehend that the French and Spaniards would attack it, as it would fall an easier conquest than the more populous northern settlements; and before this time a plan had been concerted at the Havanna for invading it. Mons. le Feboure, captain of a French frigate, together with four more armed sloops, encouraged and assisted by the Spanish governor of that island, had already set sail for Charlestown. To facilitate the conquest of the province, he had directions to touch at Augustine, and carry from thence such a force as he judged adequate to the enterprise. Upon his arrival at Augustine, he had intelligence of an epidemical distemper which raged at Charlestown, and had swept off a vast number of inhabitants. This animated him to proceed with greater expedition. Imagining the town to be in a weak and defenceless state, and that the militia in the country would be averse from coming nigh it, through fear of the fatal infection, he took on board a considerable number of forces at Augustine, and made all the sail he could for Carolina.

Before this time a Dutch privateer, formerly belonging to New York, by order of the governor of

Carolina, had been refitted at Charlestown for cruising on the coast. The command had been given to Captain Stool, who was sent out on purpose to intercept the supplies regularly sent to Augustine from the Havanna. After being out a few days he returned, and brought advice of having engaged a French sloop off the bar of Augustine; but upon seeing four more ships advancing, made all the sail he could for Charlestown, and thus narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. Scarcely had he delivered the news, when five separate smokes appeared on Sullivan's island, as a signal to the town that the same number of ships were observed on the coast.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson being at that time at his plantation, several miles from town, Lieutenant-Colonel William Rhett, commanding-officer of the militia, immediately ordered the drums to beat, and the whole inhabitants to be put under arms. A messenger was dispatched with the news to the governor, and letters to all the captains of the militia in the country, to fire their alarm-guns, raise their companies, and with all possible expedition march to the assistance of the town.

In the evening the enemy's fleet came the length of Charlestown bar; but as the passage was intricate and dangerous, they did not think it prudent to venture over it while the darkness of the night approached, and therefore hovered on the coast all night within sight of land. Early next morning the watchmen stationed on Sullivan's island observed them a little to the southward of the bar, manning their galleys and boats, as if they intended to land on James's island; but there having come to an anchor, they employed their boats all that day in sounding the south bar: which delay was of great service to the Carolinians, as it afforded time for the militia in the country to march to town.

The same day Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the governor, came to Charlestown, and found the inhabitants in great consternation; but he inspired them with fresh confidence and resolution. Martial law was proclaimed at the head of the militia; and the necessary orders were sent to the Indian tribes in alliance with the colony, which brought a number of them to his assistance. As a contagious distemper raged in Charlestown, the governor judged it imprudent to expose his men to the infection, and therefore held his head-quarters about half a mile distant from town. In the evening a troop of horse, commanded by Captain George Logan, and two companies of foot, under the command of Major George Broughton, reached the capital, and kept diligent watch during the night. The next morning a company from James's island, under the command of Captain Drake, another from Wando, under Captain Fenwick, and five more commanded by Captains Cantey, Lynch, Hearn, Longbois, and Seabrook, joined the militia of the town; so that the whole force of the province, with the governor at their head, was now collected together in one place.

The day following, the enemy's four ships and a galley came over the bar, with all their boats out for landing their men, and stood directly for the town, having the advantages of a fair wind and strong tide. When they had advanced so far up the river as to discover the fortifications, they cast anchor a little above Sullivan's island. The governor, observing the enemy approaching towards the town, marched his men into it to receive them; but finding they had stopt by the way, he had time to call a council of war, in which it was agreed to put some great guns on

board of such ships as were in the harbour, and employ the sailors in their own way, for the better defence of the town. William Rhett, a man possessed of considerable conduct and spirit, received a commission to be vice-admiral of this little fleet, and hoisted his flag on board of the Crown galley.

The enemy observing them employed in making all possible preparations for resistance, sent up a flag of truce to the governor, to summon him to surrender. George Evans, who commanded Granville bastion, received their messenger at his landing from the boat, and conducted him blindfolded into the fort, until the governor was in readiness to receive him. In the meantime the governor, having drawn up his men in such a manner as to make them appear to the greatest advantage, received the French officer at their head; and having first shown him one fort full of men, he then conducted him by a different route to another, giving the same men time to go by a shorter way, and be drawn up beforehand: and there, having given him a view of his strength, he demanded the purport of his message. The officer told him, that he was sent by Mons. le Feboure, admiral of the French fleet, to demand a surrender of the town and country, and their persons prisoners of war; and that his orders allowed him no more than one hour for an answer. Governor Johnson replied, that there was no occasion for one minute to answer that message: he told him, he held the town and country for the queen of England; that he could depend on his men, who would sooner die than surrender themselves prisoners of war; that he was resolved to defend the country to the last drop of his blood against the boldest invader, and he might go when he pleased, and acquaint Mons. le Feboure with his resolution.

The day following, a party of the enemy went ashore on James's island, and burnt the houses on a plantation by the river side. Another party, consisting of 160 men, landed on the opposite side of the river, and burnt two vessels in Dearsby's creek, and set fire to his storehouse. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, from such beginnings, perceiving that they were determined to carry fire and sword wherever they went, doubled his diligence for the defence of the town. He ordered Captain Drake and his company, with a small party of Indians, to James's island, to defend their properties on that side. Drake marched against them, but before he could bring up his men, the Indians, whom he could keep under no control, and who ran through the woods with their usual impetuosity, had driven the invaders to their boats. Then advice was brought to town, that the party who landed on Wando Neck had killed a number of hogs and cattle, and were feasting on the plunder. To prevent their further progress into the country, and give them a check if possible, Captain Cantey, with 100 chosen men was ordered to pass the river privately in the night and watch their motions. Before break of day the captain came up with them, and finding them in a state of security, with fires lighted around them, surrounded and surprised them with a sharp fire from every quarter; in consequence of which they were put in confusion and fled, and a considerable part being killed, wounded, and drowned, the remainder surrendered prisoners of war.

Having by this blow considerably weakened the force of the enemy, and being encouraged and animated by their success at land, the Carolinians determined also to try their fortune by sea. Accordingly William Rhett set sail with his fleet of six

small ships, and proceeded down the river to the place where the enemy rode at anchor; but the French perceiving this fleet standing towards them, in great haste weighed anchor, and sailed over the bar. For some days nothing more was heard of them; but, to make sure, the governor ordered Captain Watson, of the *Sea Flower*, out to sea, to examine whether or not the coast was clear. The captain returned without seeing the enemy, but observing some men on shore whom they had left behind, he took them on board and brought them to town. These men assured the governor that the French were gone. In consequence of which, orders were given for the martial law to cease, and the inhabitants began to rejoice at their happy deliverance.

However, before night, certain advice was brought that a ship of force was seen in Sewee bay, and that a number of armed men had landed from her at that place. Upon examination of the prisoners the governor found that the French expected a ship of war, with Mons. Arbuset their general, and about 200 men more to their assistance. The governor ordered Captain Fenwick to pass the river, and march against them by land; while Rhett, with the Dutch privateer and a Bermuda sloop armed, sailed round by sea, with orders to meet him at Sewee bay. Captain Fenwick came up with the enemy, and briskly charged them, who, though advantageously posted, after a few volleys gave way, and retreated to their ship; and soon after Rhett coming to his assistance, the French ship struck without firing a shot. Rhett, being obliged by contrary winds to remain all that day in Sewec bay, dispatched John Barnwell, a volunteer, to the governor, with an account of their success; and next morning, the wind changing, he returned to Charlestown with his prize, and about 90 prisoners.

Thus ended Mons. le Feboure's invasion of Carolina, little to his own honour as a commander, or to the credit and courage of his men. It is probable he expected to find the province in a defenceless situation, and that the governor would instantly surrender on his appearance before the town. But the governor was a man of approved courage and conduct; the militia acted with the spirit of men who had not only the honour of the province, but also their whole properties at stake, and amazing success crowned their endeavours. Out of 800 men who came against this little colony, near 300 were killed and taken prisoners; among the latter were Mons. Arbuset, their commander-in-chief by land, with several sea-officers, who together offered 10,000 pieces of eight for their ransom. On the other hand, the loss sustained by the provincial militia was incredibly small. The governor publicly thanked them for the unanimity and courage they had shown in repelling the invaders: and received from the proprietors soon after the following letter. "We heartily congratulate you on your great and happy success against the French and Spaniards; and for your eminent courage and conduct in the defence and preservation of our province, we return you our thanks, and assure you, that we shall always retain a just sense of your merit, and will take all opportunities to reward your signal services."

About this time the long-projected union between England and Scotland took place in Britain. Among the number of articles which composed this important and beneficial treaty, it was agreed, "That all the subjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain should from, and after this union, have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation to and from

any port or place in the said united kingdom, and the dominions and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there should be a communication of all rights, privileges, and advantages which do or may belong to the subjects of either kingdom, except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in these articles." Unfortunately, however, two modes of religious worship were established in the nation, which served to perpetuate differences among the more still, and rigid partisans of both the episcopalian and presbyterian churches. In respect to the essential principles and doctrines of religion, they are the same in both churches, and the difference between them lies in the modes of worship and government, in usages, vestments, forms, and ceremonies, matters of little consequence. As the greatest part of the emigrants to America carried along with them prejudices against the established modes, and discovered a tendency towards a republican form of church government, they in process of time acquired so much strength, that the various colonial governments, when engaged in support of the established church, were often weakened by it, and rendered unable to answer the ends of their appointment.

About this time the society incorporated by King William, having received large benefactions for the purpose of propagating the Gospel, began to exert themselves for sending over, and maintaining missionaries in the plantations. As some colonies were totally destitute of the means of instruction, and others ill provided with ministers, and unable to support them, the society considered the British subjects as the primary objects of their charity. To prevent the influence of Roman-catholic missionaries among the heathens was a secondary end in view with this charitable corporation, who were also to improve every favourable opportunity for the instruction and conversion of negroes and Indians. While a number of missionaries were ordained for the northern colonies, Samuel Thomas was sent out to Carolina for the instruction of the Yamacsee Indians; and to supply the different parishes, several more missionaries were on the passage to the province. The society had written to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, expressing their zeal for the interest of religion, and earnest desire for spreading the knowledge of the Gospel among the inhabitants of the British colonies, and their hopes of his concurrence towards the accomplishment of their excellent design. Upon the receipt of which the governor summoned a meeting of his council, and sent an answer to the corporation in the following words: "We could not omit this opportunity of testifying the grateful sense we have of your most noble Christian charity to our poor infant church in this province, expressed by the generous encouragement you have been pleased to give to those who are coming as missionaries, the account of which we have just now received by our worthy friend and minister Mr. Thomas, who, to our great satisfaction, is now arrived. The extraordinary hurry we are in, occasioned by the late invasion attempted by the French and Spaniards, from whom God hath miraculously delivered us, hath prevented our receiving a particular account from Mr. Thomas of your bounty, and also hath not given us leisure to view your missionaries' instructions, either in regard to what relates to them or to ourselves; but we shall take speedy care to give them all due encouragement, and the venerable society the utmost satisfaction. There is nothing so dear to us as our holy religion, and the interest of the established church, in which we have been

happily educated; we therefore devoutly adore God's providence in bringing, and heartily thank your society in encouraging, so many missionaries to come among us. We promise your honourable society it shall be our daily study to encourage their pious labours, to protect their persons, to revere their authority, to improve by their ministerial instructions, and, as soon as possible, to enlarge their annual salaries. When we have placed your missionaries in their several parishes according to your directions, and received from them an account of your noble benefaction of books for each parish, we shall then write more particular and full. In the mean time, we beg your honourable society to accept of our hearty gratitude, and be assured of our sincere endeavour to concur with you in the noble design of propagating Christ's holy religion."

Soon after the missionaries arrived, and were settled in their respective parishes, Edward Marston, minister at Charlestown, died, and Mr. Thomas, whom the governor intended for his successor, did not long survive him: in consequence of whose death, the governor and council applied by letters to the society, requesting further supplies, particularly a learned and prudent man, to take the charge of the capital. The archbishop of Dublin recommended Gideon Johnston to them as a person for whose diligence and ability he dared to be answerable, and doubted not but he would execute the duty required in such a manner as to merit the approbation of every one with whom he should be concerned. Accordingly, Mr. Johnston being made commissary to the bishop of London for the province of Carolina, and having fifty pounds a-year settled on him from the society, embarked for Charlestown. On his arrival he had almost lost his life in going ashore: the ship in which he sailed being obliged to come to an anchor off the bar to wait the return of the tide, and Mr. Johnston, with several more passengers, being impatient to get to land, went on board of the small boat to go up to the town; but a sudden gust of wind arising, drove the boat upon a sand-bank, where they lay two days, almost perishing with hunger and thirst, when some persons accidentally discovered and relieved them.

Mr. Johnston was not the only person that shared of the charitable fund; for five more ministers were settled in the country, to each of whom an allowance of 50*l.* a-year, besides their provincial salary, was given by this incorporated society. Two thousand volumes of books were also sent to be distributed among the people by these missionaries, for their private use and instruction. As the church of England, however, continued to be considered as the established religion of the province; and as all the ministers sent out by this society were of that persuasion, the dissenters concluded that the society intended more the propagation of episcopacy than of Christianity.

About the close of the year 1707, Lord Granville, the palatine, died, and was succeeded in that high dignity by William, Lord Craven. The death of that nobleman, by whose instruction and encouragement the several violent steps for the establishment and support of the church of England in Carolina had been taken, was now likely to produce some change in the future state of public affairs. Though the governor and his friends still maintained a majority in the house of assembly, yet, from the number and temper of the dissenters, they were not without some suspicions of seeing the fabric, which they had with such uncommon industry been erect-

ing, totally overturned. While many episcopalians in England were terrified with the prospects of danger to their church, the Carolinians took the alarm, and passed an act for its security in that province. The preamble of which was to the following effect: "Whereas the church of England has of late been so happily established among us, fearing that by the succession of a new governor this church may be either undermined or wholly subverted, to prevent which calamity falling upon us, be it enacted, That this present assembly shall continue to sit two years, and for the time and term of eighteen months, after the change of government, whether by the death of the present governor, or the succession of another in his time."

About the end of the year 1708, Colonel Edward Tynte received a commission from Lord Craven, investing him with the government of the colony. About the same time Charles Craven, brother to the palatine, was made secretary to the province. During the time Sir Nathaniel Johnson had governed the country, it had not only been threatened with a formidable invasion, but also torn to pieces with factions and divisions, which had much retarded its progress and improvement. Great confusion among the people had been occasioned by the violent stretch of power in favour of an ecclesiastical establishment. The new palatine, sensible of those things, instructed Governor Tynte to adopt such healing measures as would be most conducive to the welfare of the settlement. Soon after his arrival he received a letter from the proprietors to the following effect: "We hope by this time you have entered upon your government of our province of Carolina, and therefore we earnestly require your endeavours to reconcile the minds of the inhabitants to each other, that the name of parties, if any yet remains among them, may be utterly extinguished: for we can by no means doubt, but their unanimous concurrence with our endeavours for their prosperity, will most effectually render Carolina as flourishing a colony as any in America." The late palatine, from a mixture of spiritual and political pride, despised all dissenters, as the enemies of both the hierarchy and monarchy, and believed the state could only be secure, while the civil authority was lodged in the hands of high-church men. Lord Craven possessed not the same intolerant spirit, and thought those Carolinians, who maintained liberty of conscience, merited greater indulgences from them; and, though a friend to the church of England, he always was doubtful whether the minds of the people were ripe for the introduction of that establishment; and he therefore urged lenity and toleration.

The expenses incurred by the French invasion, though it terminated much to the honour of the Carolinians, fell heavy on the colony, still in a poor and languishing condition. No taxes as yet had been laid on real or personal estates: the revenues of the colony were all raised by duties laid on spirituous liquors, sugar, molasses, and a few other articles imported; and on deer-skins and furs exported. The amount of these several duties was applied towards defraying the charges of government, such as raising and repairing fortifications, paying the governor's salary, maintaining garrisons, providing military stores, and salaries to ten ministers of the church of England, and sinking bills of credit stamped for answering the extraordinary expenses of the province. Eight thousand pounds had been issued for defraying the public expenses occasioned by the French invasion; and the act laying an im-

position on furs, skins, and liquors, was continued, for the purpose of cancelling these bills of credit. From this time forward there was a gradual rise in exchange and produce, owing, as many thought, to the emission and establishment of paper currency in the province. Before this period, French and Spanish gold and silver, brought into the country by pirates, privateers, and the over-balance of trade with the West Indies, answered all the purposes of internal commerce, and very little English coin was circulating in the country. However, soon after this emission, 50 per cent. advance was given by the merchants for what English money there was; that is to say, for 100*l*. English coin, they gave 150*l*. paper currency of Carolina.

A fierce war still continued between England and France in Europe, and the success which had attended an expedition against Acadia, had encouraged the British administration to enter on bolder undertakings in America. The French in Canada were numerous and strong; and Lord Godolphin, convinced of the necessity of maintaining a superiority over them, formed the design of attacking Quebec, of which a sufficient account has already been given.

In the year following the French planted a colony at the mouth of the great river Mississippi. Louis XIV. thought proper to grant a territory of vast extent in that quarter to Secretary Crozat, by which he evidently encroached on lands belonging to the proprietors of South Carolina. Though the Carolinians had not a little to fear from a settlement in such a situation, yet Crozat was allowed to take peaceable possession, without any complaints from the proprietors, or opposition from the British government. From this period a new competitor for the affection and interest of Indian nations arose, more active and enterprising than the Spaniards, whose motions the Carolinians had good reason to watch with a jealous and vigilant eye.

About the same time application was made to the proprietors for lands in Carolina, by a number of Palatines harassed in Germany by the calamities of a tedious war, and reduced to circumstances of great indigence and misery. The proprietors wisely judging, that by such acquisitions the value of their lands would increase, and the strength of their settlement would be promoted, determined to give every possible encouragement to such emigrants. Ships were provided for their transportation. Instructions were sent to Governor Tynte to allow 100 acres of land for every man, woman, and child, free of quit-rents for the first ten years; but, at the expiration of that term, to pay one penny per acre annual rent for ever, according to the usages and customs of the province. Upon their arrival Governor Tynte granted them lands in North Carolina, where they settled, and flattered themselves with having found in the dreary wilderness a happy retreat from the storms and desolations of war raging in Europe.

However, like many others, Governor Tynte had scarcely time to learn the real state of the country, in order to establish proper regulations in it, before he died. After his death, a competition arose in the council about the succession. One party declared for Robert Gibbes, and another for Thomas Broughton. Gibbes, however, carried his election, and for a little while stood at the head of the colony. During his time, we know nothing remarkable that happened. An act of assembly passed for appointing commissioners, empowering them to take sub-

scriptions and collect public contributions for building a church at Charlestown. Water passages were carried southward to Port-royal, for the ease and convenience of passengers by sea, and money was provided for building public bridges, and establishing ferries, for the accommodation of travellers by land.

But as it appeared to the proprietors, that bribery and corruption had been used by Robert Gibbes to gain his election to the government, he was not permitted to continue long in that office; they forbade their receiver-general to pay him any salary, and ordered the money due to be transmitted to Richard Shelton their secretary in England. A commission was sent out to Charles Craven, a man of great knowledge, courage, and integrity, by his brother, investing him with the government of the colony. His council was composed of Thomas Broughton, Ralph Izard, Charles Hart, Samuel Eveleigh, Arthur Middleton, &c.; all men of considerable property and experience in provincial affairs. The assembly in his time was not elected, as formerly, in a riotous and tumultuary manner, but with the utmost quietness and regularity, and proceeded to their deliberations with great temper and mutual friendship. The governor had instructions to defend the province against the French and Spaniards, and for that purpose to form and cultivate the firmest friendship and alliance with the Indians; to promote fisheries and manufactures, which was certainly an absurd and ridiculous instruction; for while they had so much land, agriculture was evidently more profitable and beneficial to both the possessors and proprietors of the province. He was required to overlook the courts, and take special care that justice be equitably administered, and that no interruptions or delays attend the execution of the laws: he was ordered to employ eight men to sound Port-royal river for the benefit of navigation, and to fix on the most convenient spot for building a town, with a harbour nigh it; and to transmit all acts of assembly made from time to time to England, for the proprietors' approbation or disapprobation, and such other public matters as appeared to him of general concern and utility, he was required carefully to study and promote.

In the year 1712, after Governor Craven had assumed the management of the colony, a dangerous conspiracy was formed by the Indians of North Carolina against the poor settlers in that quarter. The cause of the quarrel we have not been able clearly to find out; probably they were offended at the encroachments made on their hunting lands. The powerful tribes of Indians called Corees, Tuscororas, and several more, united, and determined to murder or expel the European invaders. As usual, they carried on their bloody design with amazing cunning and profound secrecy. Their chief town they had, in the first place, surrounded with a wooden breast-work, for the security of their own families. Here the different tribes met together to the number of 1,200 bowmen, and formed their horrid plot. From this place of rendezvous they sent out small parties, who entered the settlements, under the mask of friendship, by different roads. At the change of the full moon all of them had agreed to begin their murderous operations, on the same night. When that night came, they entered the planters' houses, demanded provisions, and murdered men, women, and children, without mercy or distinction. To prevent the alarm spreading through the settlement, they ran from house to house, spread-

ing slaughter among the scattered families wherever they went. None of the colonists, during the fatal night, knew what had befallen their neighbours, until the barbarians had reached their own doors. About Roanock 137 settlers fell a sacrifice to their savage fury the first night; among whom were a Swiss baron, and almost all the poor Palatines who had lately come into the country. Some, however, who had hid themselves in the woods, having escaped, next morning gave the alarm to their neighbours, and prevented the total destruction of that colony. Every family had orders speedily to assemble at one place, and the militia, under arms, kept watch day and night around them, until the news of the sad disaster reached the province of South Carolina.

Happy was it for the distressed North Carolinians that Governor Craven lost no time in collecting and dispatching a force to their assistance and relief. The assembly voted 4000*l.* for the service of the war. A body of militia, consisting of 600 men, under the command of Colonel Barwell, marched against the savages. Two hundred and eighteen Cherokees, under the command of Captains Harford and Turstons; 79 Creeks, under Captain Hastings; 41 Catabaws, under Captain Cantey; and 28 Yamassees, under Captain Pierce, being furnished with arms, joined the Carolinians in this expedition. The way was dreadful, at this time, in the wilderness through which Colonel Barwell had to march. It was not possible for his men to carry a sufficient quantity of provisions, together with arms and ammunition, along with them, or to have these things provided at different stages by the way. There was no road through the woods upon which either horses or carriages could conveniently pass; and his little army had every kind of hardship and danger to encounter. In spite of every difficulty, Barwell, however, advanced against them, employing his Indian allies to hunt for provisions to his men by the way. At length, having come up with the savages, he attacked them, and being much better supplied with arms and ammunition than his enemy, he did great execution among them. In the first battle he killed 300 Indians, and took about 100 prisoners. After which the Tuscororas retreated to their town, within a wooden breast-work; there Barwell surrounded them, and having killed a considerable number, forced the remainder to sue for peace: some of his men being wounded, and others having suffered much by constant watching, and much hunger and fatigue, the savages the more easily obtained their request. In this expedition it was computed that Barwell killed, wounded, and captured near 1000 Tuscororas. The remainder, who escaped, soon after this heavy chastisement, abandoned their country, and joined a northern tribe of Indians on the Ohio river. Of Barwell's party five Carolinians were killed, and several wounded: of his Indians, 36 were killed, and between 60 and 70 wounded. In justice to this officer it must be owned, never had any expedition against the savages in Carolina been attended with such hazards and difficulties, nor had the conquest of any tribe of them ever been more general and complete.

Although the expedition to North Carolina was well conducted, and proved as successful as the most sanguine could have expected, yet the expense the public had incurred by it fell heavy on the province, the revenues of which were inconsiderable, and not at all adapted for such important and extensive enterprises. But as great good feeling at this time subsisted between the governor and assembly,

they were well disposed to concur with him in every measure for the public safety and relief. The stamping of bills of credit had been used as the easiest method of defraying these expenses incurred for the public defence: however, at this time, the legislature thought proper to establish a public bank, and issued 48,000*l.* in bills of credit, called bank-bills, for answering the exigencies of government, and for the convenience of domestic commerce. This money was to be lent out at interest, on landed or personal security; and, according to the tenour of the act for issuing the same, it was to be sunk gradually, by 4000*l.* a year; which sum was ordered to be paid annually by the borrowers, into the hands of commissioners appointed for that purpose. After the emission of these bank-bills, the rate of exchange and the price of produce quickly rose, and in the first year advanced to 150, in the second to 200 per cent.

With respect to the utility of this paper money, the planters and merchants, according to their different views and interests, were divided in opinion. The former, who, for the most part, stood indebted to the latter, found that this provincial currency was not only necessary to answer the exigencies of government, but also very useful and convenient in the payment of private debts. This money being local, in proportion as it increased in quantity, it raised the nominal price of provincial commodities: and became of course prejudicial to creditors, in proportion as it was profitable to debtors; for though it depreciated 50 per cent. in a year, during which time the planters stood indebted to the merchants, the next year such creditors were obliged to take it in payment, or produce, which had advanced in price, according to the quantity of money in circulation. By the acts of assembly which established these bills of credit, the currency was secured, and made a tender in law in all payments; so that if the creditor refused this money before witnesses offered to him, the debt was discharged from the minute of his refusal. Besides, the planters knew, that in a trading country gold and silver, by various channels, would make their way out of it, when they answer the purposes of remittance better than produce: paper-money served to remedy this inconvenience, and to keep up the price of provincial commodities, as it could not leave the colony, and answered the purpose for paying private debts as well, or rather better, than gold and silver. As the trade of the country increased, no doubt a certain quantity of money was necessary to carry it on with ease and freedom; but when paper bills are permitted to increase beyond what are necessary for commercial ease and utility, they sink in value; and in such a case creditors lose in proportion to their depreciation.

In Carolina, as well as in the other British colonies in America, the greatest part of the gold and silver current was foreign coin, and the different assemblies settled their value from time to time, by laws peculiar to each province. To remedy the inconveniences arising from the different rates at which the same species of foreign coin passed in the several colonies and plantations, Queen Anne, in the sixth year of her reign, had thought fit, by her royal proclamation, to settle and ascertain the current rate of foreign coin in all her colonies. The standard at which currency was fixed by this proclamation, was at 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent.; but this regulation, however convenient and advantageous to trade, was afterwards little regarded in these provinces, and the confusion of current money continued and prevailed.

After the emission of this great quantity of bank-



bills in Carolina, and speedy rise of the price of produce in consequence of it, the merchants of London, to whom the colony stood indebted, judging it prejudicial to trade, complained of it to the proprietors. They perceived that the trade of the country, by this means, would be carried on entirely without silver or gold; and although their factors in Carolina might raise the price of British commodities and manufactures, equal to the advanced price of the produce, yet it might be for their interest sometimes to take gold and silver rather than produce in return for their British goods. They considered the issuing of such bank-notes as a violation of the laws of England, and prevailed on the proprietors to write Governor Craven a letter to the following effect: "We have heard complaints from several hands of an act you have passed, called the Bank Act. We do recommend to you to consider of some expedient for preventing the mischievous consequences of that act, lest, upon further complaints, we be forced to repeal it. The act is exclaimed against by our London merchants as injurious to trade, as an infringement and violation of the laws of Great Britain, and made almost in opposition to the act of the sixth of Queen Anne. Therefore we expect, for preventing such complaints for the future, that you will endeavour, as much as in you lies, to reduce that paper credit, pretended to be established in your bank act, and that you will strictly put in execution the aforesaid act of Queen Anne."

As the trade of the colony had of late years considerably increased, and was almost entirely carried on in British ships, its protection was an object which demanded the attention either of the proprietors or the British administration. The war in Europe had engrossed the care of the latter, and the former were either unable or unwilling to bear the expense of its protection. They had leased their property in the Bahama islands to a company of merchants, which, turning out to little account, the Island of Providence became a receptacle for vagabonds and villains of all nations. From this place of rendezvous a crew of desperate pirates had been accustomed to push out to sea, and, in defiance of the laws of nations, to obstruct navigation. The trade of Carolina and that of the West Indies suffered greatly from their depredations. For five years after this period those lawless robbers reigned as the masters of the Gulf of Florida, plundering and taking ships of every nation. North Carolina, by the conquest of its maritime tribes of Indians, had also become a refuge for those rogues, who carried their prizes into Cape Fear river, or Providence, as best suited their convenience or interest. Their success induced bold and rapacious spirits to join them, and in time they became so formidable, that no inconsiderable force was requisite to suppress them.

After a long and expensive war, a treaty of peace and commerce was concluded between Britain, France and Spain in Europe; and orders were sent to all the colonies to desist from acts of hostility. Governor Craven, deeply interested in the prosperity of Carolina, now turned his attention to improve the blessings of peace, and to diffuse a spirit of industry and agriculture throughout the settlement. The lands in Granville county were found upon trial rich and fertile, and the planters were encouraged to improve them. Accordingly a number of plantations were settled in the neighbourhood of Indian nations, with whom the Governor studied to cultivate a friendly correspondence. For the purposes of trade some men

took up their residence in their towns, and furnished them with clothes, arms, and ammunition, in exchange for their furs and deer-skins. An agent was appointed to superintend the affairs of Indian tribes, and to conciliate by all possible means their friendship and esteem. Several interior regulations, conducive to the peace and prosperity of the colony, were also established. The colonists, as an eminent writer has observed, in general carry with them so much of the English law as is applicable to their local circumstances and situation; such as, the general rules of inheritance, and of protection from personal injuries. What may be proper to be admitted, and what are necessary to be rejected, is judged and determined, in the first instance, by the provincial judicature, then subject to the approbation or disapprobation of the proprietors; and so far of the British parliament, that nothing may be attempted by them derogatory to the sovereignty and supreme jurisdiction of the mother country. At this time Governor Craven obtained the assent of the general assembly, to make several English statutes of the same force in Carolina as if they had been enacted in it. The people regarded him as a wise and indulgent parent, and wished to copy the spirit of their laws from the English original, although they received their obligation and authoritative force from their being the laws of the colony.

About this time Nicholas Trott, the chief justice of the colony, returned from England, where he had been for some time engaged in the settlement of private affairs. During his stay in Britain he had engrossed the favour of the proprietors, who finding him to be a man of great abilities, professed a high respect for him, and afterwards desired his assistance and advice in every case respecting the future management of their colony. They advanced his salary to 100*l.* a year, and he agreed to carry on a regular correspondence with their secretary, and to give them the best intelligence with respect to their provincial affairs. Trott having thus secured the confidence of the proprietors in England, soon after he came to Carolina, began to plume himself on his advantageous circumstances, and to treat his former friends in the colony with great arrogance. On the other hand, they watched his conduct with an envious and malignant eye, and seemed to desire nothing more than to humble his pride and destroy his influence. To this fatal difference may be ascribed several future jealousies and disturbances with which the colonists were harassed, and which terminated in the total subversion of the proprietary government.

*Intention of government towards the colonies—Indian war—Application to the crown for relief—Harsh conduct of the proprietors—Robert Daniel, deputy-governor—Lord Carteret, Palatine—Disaffection towards the proprietors—Robert Johnson, governor—The depredations of the pirates—Their extirpation—Difficulties arising from a paper currency—Indians inimical—Complaints against Chief Justice Trott—The consequences of it—Invasion by the Spaniards—An association formed against the proprietors.*

During the reign of Anne, the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, from the contentions that prevailed in some of the colonies, had taken occasion to look more narrowly than formerly into the state of proprietary governments in America, in order to form a plan for purchasing and uniting them more closely to the crown. They easily per-

ceived the advantage of beginning this negotiation as soon as possible, for the sooner the purchase was made, the easier it would be obtained. Accordingly, they wrote to the proprietors of each colony, acquainting them, it was her majesty's pleasure and command, that all governors of her foreign plantations do transmit to them frequent and full information of the state of their respective colonies, as well in respect to the administration of government and justice, as to their progress in trade and improvements. The queen, though no friend to non-conformists, had also afforded relief to the distressed dissenters of Carolina, and publicly disapproved of some oppressive acts to which they had been subjected. This served to encourage a spirit of discontent among the Carolinians at the proprietary government, and induced them to turn to the crown at every future period, when they thought themselves aggrieved.

During the same year in which Britain was occupied by a civil contest, the colony of Carolina was visited with a terrible Indian war, which threatened its total extirpation. The numerous and powerful tribe of Indians called Yamassees, probably at the instigation of the Spaniards at Augustine, were the most active in promoting this conspiracy against the settlement, though every tribe around was more or less concerned in it. The Yamassees possessed a large territory lying backward from Port-royal island, on the north-east side of Savanna river, which is called Indian Land. By the Carolinians this tribe had long been esteemed as friends and allies, who had admitted a number of traders into their towns, and several times assisted the settlers in their warlike enterprises. Of all other Indians they were believed to harbour in their minds the most irreconcilable enmity to Spaniards. For many years they had been accustomed to make incursions into the Spanish territories, and to wage war with the Indians within their bounds. In their return from these southern expeditions, it had been a common practice with them to lurk in the woods round Augustine, until they surprised some Spanish prisoners, on whom they exercised the most wanton barbarities; sometimes cutting them to pieces slowly, joint by joint, with knives and tomahawks; at other times burying them up to the neck under ground, then standing at a distance, and marking at their heads with their pointed arrows; and, at other times, binding them to a tree, and piercing the tenderest parts of their bodies with sharp-pointed sticks of burning wood, which last, because the most painful and excruciating method of torture, was the most common among them.

To prevent such barbarities, the legislature of Carolina passed a law, offering a reward of 5*l.* for every Spanish prisoner these Indians should bring alive to Charlestown; which law, though it evidently proceeded from motives of humanity, yet, in the event, it proved very inconsistent with good policy: for, in consequence of this act, the Yamassees brought several Spaniards, at different times, to Charlestown, where they claimed the reward for their prisoners, and delivered them up to the governor. Charles Craven, who was no less distinguished for humanity than valour, used to send back such prisoners to Augustine, charging the Spanish government with the expenses of their passage, and the reward to the Yamassees.

For twelve months before the war broke out, the traders among the Yamassees observed that their chief warriors went frequently to Augustine, and re-

turned loaded with presents; but were not apprehensive of any ill consequence from such generosity. John Fraser, an honest Scotch Highlander, who lived among the Yamassees, and traded with them, had often heard these warriors tell with what kindness they had been treated at Augustine. One had received a hat, another a jacket, and a third a coat, all trimmed with silver lace. Some got hatchets, others great knives, and almost all of them guns and ammunition, to prepare them for striking some great and important blow. These warriors told Fraser, that they had dined with the governor at Augustine, and washed his face, (a ceremony used by Indians as a token of friendship), and that now the Spanish governor was their king, and not the governor of Carolina. Still, however, the Carolinians remained secure, and, having such confidence in the Indians, dreaded no ill consequences from this new intercourse. They knew the antipathy of the Yamassees to the Spaniards, and their fondness for presents, but suspected no plot against the settlement by their allies.

It was a common thing for the traders who resided among these savages to single out a warrior of authority, and to court his favour with trifling presents. Among the Yamassees one named Sanute was Fraser's friend, who, with his fellow-warriors, had also been at Florida, and shared the Spaniards insidious liberality. During his absence Mr. Fraser had married a fine woman; and Sanute, who had a great regard for him, after his return home came to his house, and brought along with him some sweet herbs, to show the lady a mark of respect, agreeably to an Indian custom. So soon as he entered the habitation of his friend, he called for a basin of water, in which he bruised the herbs, and first washed Mrs. Fraser's face and hands, and then putting his own hands upon his breast, told her, that, for the future, he would communicate to her all he knew in his heart. She, in return, thanked him, and made him some present. Accordingly, about nine days before hostilities commenced, Sanute came to Mrs. Fraser's house, and told her, that the English were all wicked heretics, and would go to hell, and that the Yamassees would also follow them, if they suffered them to live in their country; that now the governor of Augustine was their king; that there would be a terrible war with the English, and they only waited for the bloody stick to be returned from the Creeks before they began it. He told them that the Yamassees, the Creeks, the Cherokees, and many other nations, together with the Spaniards, were all to engage in it; and advised them to fly to Charlestown with all they had, and if their own boat was not large enough to carry them, he would lend them his canoe. He added, that the Spanish governor told him that there would soon be a war again with the English, and that while they attacked the Carolinians by land, he would send to Spain for a fleet of ships to block up the harbour, so that not a man or woman of them should escape. He also stated that, if they were determined to stay, and run all hazards, he, to prevent torture, would claim the privilege of performing the last friendly office to them, which was to kill them with his own hands. Fraser still entertained some doubts, but his wife being terrified, he resolved at all events to get out of the way, and accordingly, without delay, put his wife, his child, and most valuable effects, into his boat, and made his escape to Charlestown.

While the time drew nigh in which this plot was to be put in execution, Captain Nairn, agent for

Indian affairs, and many traders, resided at Pocotaligo, the largest town belonging to the Yamassees. Fraser, probably either discrediting what he had heard, or from the hurry and confusion which the alarm occasioned, unfortunately had not taken time to communicate the intelligence he had received to his friends, who remained in a state of false security in the midst of their enemies. The case of the scattered settlers on the frontiers was equally lamentable, who were living under no suspicions of danger. However, on the day before the Yamassees began their bloody operations, Captain Nairn and some of the traders observing an unusual gloom on their savage countenances, and apparently great agitations of spirit, which to them prognosticated approaching mischief, went to their chief men, begging to know the cause of their uneasiness, and promising, if any injury had been done them, to give them satisfaction. The chiefs replied, they had no complaints to make against any one, but intended to go hunting, early the next morning. Captain Nairn accordingly went to sleep, and the traders retired to their huts, and passed the night in seeming friendship and tranquillity. But next morning, about the break of day, being the 15th day of April, 1715, all were alarmed with the cries of war. The leaders were all out under arms, calling upon their followers, and proclaiming aloud designs of vengeance. The young men flew to their arms, and, in a few hours, massacred above 90 persons in Pocotaligo town and the neighbouring plantations; and many more must have fallen a sacrifice on Port-royal Island, had they not been warned of their danger. Mr. Burrows, a captain of the militia, after receiving two wounds, by swimming one mile and running ten, escaped to Port-royal and alarmed the town. A vessel happening fortunately to be in the harbour, the inhabitants in great hurry repaired on board, and sailed for Charlestown; only a few families of planters on that island, not having timely notice, fell into their hands, some of whom they murdered, and others they made prisoners of war.

While the Yamassees, with whom the Creeks and Apalachians had joined, were advancing against the southern frontiers, and spreading desolation and slaughter through the province; the Indians on the northern borders also came down among the settlements in formidable parties. The Carolinians had foolishly entertained hopes of the friendship of the Congarees, the Catawbas and Cherokees; but they soon found that they had also joined in the conspiracy, and declared for war. It was computed that the southern division of the enemy consisted of above 6000 bowmen, and the northern of between 600 and 1000. Indeed every Indian tribe, from Florida to Cape Fear river, had joined in this confederacy for the destruction of the settlement. The planters scattered here and there had no time to gather together in a body, sufficiently strong to withstand such numbers; but each consulting his safety, in great hurry and consternation fled to the capital. Every one who came in brought the governor different accounts of the number and strength of the savages, insomuch that even the inhabitants of Charlestown were doubtful of their safety, and entertained the most discouraging apprehensions of their inability to repel a force so great and formidable. In the muster-roll there were no more than 1200 men fit to bear arms, but as the town had several forts into which the inhabitants might retreat, the governor, with this small force, resolved to march into the woods against the enemy. He

proclaimed martial law, and laid an embargo on all ships, to prevent either men or provisions from leaving the country. He obtained an act of assembly, empowering him to impress men, and seize arms, ammunition, and stores, wherever they were to be found, to arm such trusty negroes as might be serviceable at a juncture so critical, and to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Agents were sent to Virginia and England, to solicit assistance; bills were stamped for the payment of the army, and other necessary expenses; Robert Daniel was appointed deputy-governor in town, and Charles Craven, at the head of the militia, marched to the country against the largest body of savages.

In the mean time, the Indians on the northern quarter had made an inroad as far as a plantation belonging to John Hearn, about 50 miles from town, and entered his house in a seemingly peaceable and friendly manner; but afterwards pretending to be displeased with the provisions given them, murdered him and every person in it. Thomas Barker, a captain of militia, having intelligence of the approach of these Indians, collected a party, consisting of 90 horsemen, and advanced against them: but by the treachery of an Indian, whom he unluckily trusted, he was led into a dangerous ambuscade in a thicket, where a large party of Indians lay concealed on the ground. Barker having advanced into the middle of them before he was aware of his danger, the Indians sprung from their concealments, and fired upon his men on every side. The captain and several more fell at the first onset, and the remainder in confusion were obliged to retreat. After this advantage, a party of 400 Indians came down as far as Goose Creek. Every family there had fled to town, except in one place, where 70 white men and 40 negroes had surrounded themselves with a breast-work, and resolved to remain and defend themselves in the best manner they could. When the Indians attacked them they were discouraged, and rashly agreed to terms of peace; and, having admitted the enemy within their works, this poor garrison were barbarously butchered: after which the Indians advanced still higher to town; but at length meeting with Captain Chicken and the whole Goose Creek militia, they were repulsed, and obliged to retreat into the wilderness.

By this time the Yamassees, with their confederates, had spread destruction through the parish of St. Bartholomew, and advancing downwards as far as Stono, they burned the church at that place, together with every house on the plantations by the way. John Cochran, his wife, and four children; Mr. Bray, his wife, and two children; and six more men and women, having found some friends among them, were spared for some days; but, while attempting to make their escape from them, they were retaken and put to death. Such as had no friends among them were tortured in the most shocking manner, the Indians seeming to neglect their progress towards conquest on purpose to assist in tormenting their enemies. We forbear to mention the various tortures inflicted on such as fell into their merciless fangs: none can be pleased with the relation of such horrid cruelties, but the man who, with a smile of satisfaction, can be the spectator of a Spanish *auto de fe*, or such savage hearts as are steeled against every emotion of humanity and compassion.

By this time Governor Craven, being no stranger to the ferocious temper of his enemies, and their horrid cruelty to prisoners, was advancing against

them by slow and cautious steps, always keeping the strictest guard round his army. He knew well under what advantages they fought among their native thickets, and the various wiles and stratagems they made use of in conducting their wars; and therefore was watchful above all things against sudden surprises, which might throw his followers into disorder, and defeat the end of his enterprise. The fate of the whole province depended on the success of his arms, and his men had no other alternative left but to conquer or die a painful death. As he advanced the straggling parties fled before him, until he reached Saltcatchers, where they had pitched their great camp. Here a sharp and bloody battle ensued from behind trees and bushes, the Indians hooping, hallooing, and giving way one while, and then again and again returning with double fury to the charge. But the governor, notwithstanding their superior number, drove them before him like a flock of wolves. He expelled them from their settlement at Indian-land, pursued them over Savanna river, and rid the province entirely of this formidable tribe of savages. What number of his army he lost, or of the enemy he killed, we have not been able particularly to learn; but in this Indian war near 400 innocent inhabitants of Carolina were murdered by these wild barbarians.

The Yamassee, after their defeat and expulsion, went directly to the Spanish territories in Florida, where they were received with bells ringing and guns firing, as if they had come victoriously from the field; from which circumstance, together with the encouragement afterwards given them to settle in Florida, there is too good reason to believe, that this horrid massacre was contrived by Spaniards, and carried on by their encouragement and assistance. Two prisoners, whom they had saved and carried to Augustine along with them, Mrs. Sisson and Mrs. Macartey, afterwards reported to the Carolinians the news of this kind reception the Indians met with from the Spaniards. On the other hand, though the province of Carolina suffered much at this time, yet the governor had the good fortune to prevent its total destruction. From the lowest state of despondency, Charlestown, on the governor's return to it, was raised to the highest pitch of joy. He entered it with some degree of triumph, receiving from all such applauses as his wise conduct and unexpected success justly merited. Indeed his prosperous expedition had not only disconcerted the most formidable conspiracy ever formed against the colony, but also placed the inhabitants in general, however much exposed individuals might be to small scalping parties, in a state of greater security and tranquillity than they had hitherto enjoyed.

However, from that period in which the Yamassee Indians were compelled to take up their residence in Florida, they harboured in their breasts the most inveterate ill-will and rancour to all Carolinians, and watched every opportunity of pouring their vengeance on them. Being furnished with arms and ammunition from the Spaniards, they often broke out on small scalping parties, and infested the frontiers of the British settlement. A party of them caught one William Hooper, and killed him by torture, by cutting off one joint of his body after another, until he expired; and another party surprised Henry Quinton, Thomas Simmons, and Thomas Parmenter, and also tortured them to death. Dr. Rose afterwards fell also into their hands, whom they cut across his nose with their

tomahawk, and having scalped him left him on the spot for dead; but he happily recovered of his wounds. In short, the emissaries of St. Augustine, disappointed in their sanguinary design of suddenly destroying the settlers in Carolina, had now no other resource left but to employ the vindictive spirit of the Yamassee against the defenceless frontiers of the province. In these excursions, it must be confessed, they were too successful, for many poor settlers at different times fell a sacrifice to their insatiable revenge.

During the time of this hard struggle with Indians, the legislature of Carolina had made application to the proprietors, representing to them the weak state of the province, the deplorable dangers which hung over it, and begging their paternal help and protection; but being doubtful whether the proprietors would be inclined to involve their English estates in debt for supporting their property in Carolina, in so precarious a situation, they instructed their agent, in case he failed of success from them, to apply to the king for relief. The merchants entered cordially into the measure for making application to the crown, and considered it as the most effectual expedient for retrieving their credit in England, lost by the dangers which threatened the country, and the pirates that infested the coast. They perceived at once the many advantages which would accrue to them from being taken under the immediate care and protection of the crown. Ships of war would soon clear the coast of sea-robbers, and give free scope to trade and navigation. Forces by land would overawe the warlike Indians, prevent such dreadful attempts for the future, and they would reap the happy fruits of public peace and security. The inhabitants in general were much dissatisfied with living under a government unable to protect them, and what rendered their case still more lamentable, prevented the interposition of the crown for their defence, and therefore were very unanimous in the proposed application to the crown.

About the middle of the year 1715 the agent for Carolina waited on the proprietors, with a representation of the heavy calamities under which their colony laboured from the ravages of barbarous enemies, and the depredations of lawless pirates. He acquainted them, that the Yamassee, by the influence of Spanish emissaries, had claimed the whole lands of the country as their ancient possessions, and conspired with many other tribes to assert their right by force of arms, and therefore urged the necessity of sending immediate relief to the colony. But not being satisfied with the answer he received, he petitioned the house of commons in behalf of the distressed Carolinians. The commons addressed the king, praying for his kind interposition and immediate assistance to the colony. The king referred the matter to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations. The lords of trade made an objection, that the province of Carolina was one of the proprietary governments, and were of opinion, that, if the nation should be at the expense of its protection, the government ought to be vested in the crown. Upon which Lord Carteret wrote them a letter to the following effect: "We the proprietors of Carolina having met on this melancholy occasion, to our great grief find, that we are utterly unable of ourselves to afford our colony suitable assistance in this conjuncture, and unless his majesty will graciously please to interpose, we can foresee nothing but the utter destruction of his majesty's faithful subjects in those parts." The lords of trade asked Lord Carteret

what sum might be necessary for that service, and whether the government of the colony should not devolve on the crown, if Great Britain should agree to bear the expense of its defence. To which Lord Carteret replied, "The proprietors humbly submitted to his majesty's great wisdom, what sum of money he should be pleased to grant for their assistance; and in case the money advanced for this purpose should not be in a reasonable time repaid, they humbly conceived that then his majesty would have an equitable right to take the government under his immediate care and protection."

The same year a bill was brought into the house of commons in England, for the better regulation of the charter and proprietary governments in America, and of his majesty's plantations there; the chief design of which was, to reduce all charter and proprietary governments into regal ones. Men of observation had long foreseen the rapid increase of American colonies, and wisely judged, that it would be for the interest of the kingdom to purchase them for the crown as soon as possible. At different times the government, in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, held treaties with the proprietors for this purpose: but some obstacles always came in the way, or some accidents occurred, which prevented a final agreement, and at this time the other colonies being at variance as to the same proposal, the design was for the present abandoned.

It is remarkable, that the proprietors of Carolina, at the time they obtained their charter, as is expressly mentioned in it, were excited to form that settlement by their zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith among the Indians of America: yet, to their shame it must be confessed, that they never used any endeavours for this laudable purpose, or they had been utterly fruitless and ineffectual. At this time, indeed, the society incorporated for propagating the Gospel maintained several missionaries in Carolina, as well as in the northern provinces. The parishes of St. Helen's, St. Paul's, Christchurch, St. Andrew's, St. James's, and St. John's, were all supplied with ministers from this charitable corporation, who were instructed to use their best endeavours for spreading the Gospel among the heathens in their neighbourhood, and received an annual allowance from the society for that purpose; yet we have not been able to learn that these heathens ever reaped the smallest advantage from them. The Spaniards, though they have often made use of the more severe and rough means of conversion, and erected the standard of the cross in a field of blood, yet they have also been exceedingly diligent and assiduous in teaching heathens the principles of the Catholic religion. In point of policy, this zeal was more praise-worthy than English negligence: for such barbarians would certainly have been much easier tamed and civilized by mild instruction than by force of arms. The Tumican and Apalachian Indians, before Governor Moore's inroads among them, had made some advances towards civilization, and paid, by means of instruction from Roman Catholic missionaries, strict obedience to the Spanish government at Augustine. Had the proprietors of Carolina erected schools, for the instruction of young Indians in the language, manners and religion of the English nation, such an institution might have been attended with the most beneficial effects. For while the children of such savages were living among the colonists, they would have been like so many hostages to secure the good-will and peaceable behaviour of their parents; and when they returned

to the nation to which they belonged, their knowledge of the English language and customs would, for the future, have rendered all commercial treaties and transactions between them easy and practicable. Besides, they would have had all the prejudices of education in favour of the English manners and government, which would have helped both to fortify them against the fatal influence of Spanish rivals, and to render them more firm and steady to the British interest.

Although the Yamasee war had terminated much to the honour of the Carolinians, yet the fatal effects of it were long and heavily felt by the colony. Many of the planters had no negroes to assist them in raising provisions for their families, and those persons who had negroes, could not be spared to overlook them, so that the plantations were left uncultivated, and the produce of the year was very inconsiderable. The men being more solicitous about the safety of their families than the increase of their fortunes, purchased bills of exchange at any price, to send with them to the northern provinces, in order to procure for them there the necessaries of life. The provincial merchants being much indebted to those in London, the latter were alarmed at the dangers which hung over the colony, and pressed them much for remittances. The Indians, who stood indebted to the merchants of Carolina for 10,000*l.*, instead of paying their debts, had cancelled them, by murdering the traders, and abandoning the province. No remittances could be made, but in such commodities as the country produced, and all hands being engaged in war, rendered them very scarce, and consequently extremely dear. To answer the public exigencies of the province, large emissions of paper currency were also requisite. Hence the rate of exchange arose to an extravagant height. The province was indebted no less than 80,000*l.*, and at the same time obliged to maintain garrisons on the frontiers for the public defence, which served to increase the debt. While struggling amidst these hardships, the merchants of London complained to the proprietors of the increase of paper money, as injurious to trade; in consequence of which they strictly ordered their governor to reduce it. All which served to aggravate the distress of the poor colonists, and caused them to murmur against their landlords for want of compassion, and to become not a little disaffected to their government.

The next step taken by the legislature of Carolina, served to widen the difference. The Yamasees being expelled from Indian land, the assembly passed two acts to appropriate those lands gained by conquest for the use and encouragement of such of his majesty's subjects as should come over and settle upon them. Extracts of these acts being sent to England and Ireland, and published among the people, 500 men from Ireland transported themselves to Carolina, to take the benefit of them; which influx was a great acquisition at this juncture, and served to strengthen these frontiers against future incursions from barbarians. But the beneficial consequences of these acts were all frustrated by the proprietors, who repealed them, claiming such lands as their property, and insisting on the right of disposing of them as they thought fit. Not long afterwards, to the utter ruin of the Irish emigrants, and in breach of the provincial faith to them, the proprietors ordered the Indian lands to be surveyed for their own use, and run out in large baronies; by which harsh usage the old settlers, having lost the protection of the new comers, deserted their planta-

tions, and again left the frontiers open to the enemy; as for the unfortunate Irish emigrants, having spent the little money they had, many of them reduced to misery, perished, and the remainder moved to the northern colonies.

About this time Governor Craven, having received advice from England of Sir Antony Craven's death, intimated to the proprietors, that the affairs of his family required his presence, and obtained their leave to return to Britain. No governor had ever gained more general and deserved regard from the Carolinians, nor had any man ever left the province whose departure was more universally regretted. Having appointed Robert Daniel deputy-governor, he embarked for England about the end of April, 1716. While the man-of-war rode at anchor near the bar, Mr. Gideon Johnston, with about 30 more gentlemen, went into a sloop to take leave of their much-esteemed governor, and sailed with him over the bar. On their return a storm arose, the sloop was overset, and Mr. Johnston, being lame of the gout and in the hold, was drowned. The other gentlemen, who were upon deck, saved themselves by swimming to the land.

Before Governor Craven arrived in England, John, Lord Carteret, had succeeded to the dignity of Palatine. Nicholas Trott, who was chief justice of Carolina, received a warrant from this nobleman, empowering him to sit also as judge of the provincial court of vice-admiralty. William Rhett, who was Trott's brother-in-law, and receiver-general, was likewise made comptroller of his majesty's customs in Carolina and Bahama Islands. The many offices of trust and emolument which these two men held, together with their natural abilities, gave them great weight and influence in the province, especially at the election of members to serve in assembly. When the provincial assembly met, a bill was brought into the house for the better regulation of the Indian trade, nominating commissioners, and empowering them to apply the profits arising from it to the public benefit and defence, and passed with little opposition. As the colonists had been accustomed to choose all their members of assembly at Charlestown, at which election great riots and tumults had often happened; to remedy this disorder, another bill was brought into assembly for regulating elections; in which, among other things, it was enacted, "That every parish should send a certain number of representatives, in all not exceeding 36; that they should be balloted for at the different parish churches, or some other convenient place, on a day to be mentioned in the writs, which were to be directed to the church-wardens, who were required to make returns of the members elected." This was a popular act, as the inhabitants found it not only allowed them greater freedom, but was more conformable to the practice in England, and more convenient for the settlers than their former custom of electing all members in town.

By this time the struggle between the proprietors and possessors of the soil, which had long subsisted, and in which the officers intrusted with supporting their lordships' power and prerogative always found themselves deeply interested, was become more serious. Those popular acts, but particularly the latter, gave great offence to some members of the council, who plainly perceived its tendency to ruin their influence at elections, and of course the power of the proprietors. Among others, Trott and Rhett strenuously opposed the bills. Though they were not able to prevent their passing in Carolina, yet

they took care to send to England such representations of them as could not fail to render them the objects of the proprietors' disapprobation. Indeed the act respecting elections had broke in upon a former law, which had been ratified in England, and never repealed by the same authority. The consequence was, both those bills in a little time were sent back repealed, by an instrument under the proprietors' hands and seals. The colonists, far from being pleased with the former conduct of their landlords, now became outrageous, and spoke boldly of their tyranny, bad policy, and want of compassion for distressed freemen. Being still exposed to incursions from the sanguinary and vindictive Yamassees, furnished with arms and ammunition from the Spaniards, they were obliged to maintain a company of rangers, to protect the frontiers against them. Three small forts were erected at Congarees, Savanna, and Apalachicola, for the public defence, and money was required for the payment of garrisons. Presents of considerable value were also necessary, to preserve the friendship of other Indian tribes. These public expenses eat up all the fruits of the poor planter's industry. The law appropriating the profits of the Indian trade for the public protection had been repealed; the public credit was at so low an ebb, that no man would trust his money in the provincial treasury. None would risk their lives in defence of the colony without pay, and the province, oppressed with a load of debt, was utterly unable to furnish the necessary supplies. The people complained of the insufficiency of that government which could not protect them, and at the same time prevented the interposition of the crown for this purpose. Governor Daniel himself joined them in their complaints, and every one seemed ardently to wish for those advantages which other colonies enjoyed, under the immediate care and protection of a powerful sovereign.

In this discontented and unhappy state Robert Johnson found the Carolinians, when he arrived with a commission from Lord Carteret, bearing date April 30, 1717, investing him with the government of the province: to which office a salary of 400*l.* sterling was now annexed. He was son to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who formerly held the same office, and who had left him an estate in Carolina. This new governor was a man of sense and integrity; but came out with such instructions as were ill adapted to the circumstances and situation of the colony. Soon after his arrival he perceived the disaffection of the people to the proprietary government, and the many difficulties with which he should have to struggle in the faithful discharge of his duty. His council consisted of Thomas Broughton, Alexander Skene, Nicholas Trott, Charles Hart, James Kinloch, Francis Yonge, &c., some of whom were highly dissatisfied with the harsh treatment of the proprietors. After calling an assembly, the governor, as usual, signified to them his esteem for the people, his love to the province, and his resolutions of pursuing such measures as might be judged most conducive to its peace and prosperity. The assembly, in answer, expressed great satisfaction with appointing a man of so good a character to that high office; but, at the same time, were not insensible of the oppression of their landlords, nor of the many hardships they had to expect under their weak and contemptible government.

About this time some merchants and masters of ships, trading to America and the West Indies, having suffered much from the depredations of pi-



rates, complained to the king in council of the heavy losses the trade of the nation had sustained from them. In consequence of which the king issued a proclamation, promising a pardon to all pirates who should surrender themselves in the space of twelve months, and at the same time ordered to sea a force for suppressing them. As they had made the island of Providence their common place of residence, Captain Woodes Rogers sailed against this island, with a few ships of war, and took possession of it for the crown. Except one Vane, who, with about 90 more, made their escape in a sloop, all the pirates took the benefit of the king's proclamation, and surrendered. Captain Rogers having made himself master of the island, formed a council in it, and appointed officers, civil and military, for the better government of its inhabitants. He built some forts for its security and defence, and so ordered matters, that, for the future, the trade of the West Indies was well protected against this lawless crew.

Though the pirates on the island of Providence were crushed, those of North Carolina still remained, and were equally insolent and troublesome. Vane, who escaped from Captain Rogers, had taken two ships bound from Charlestown to London. A pirate sloop of ten guns, commanded by Steed Bonnet, and another commanded by Richard Worley, had taken possession of the mouth of Cape Fear river, which place was now the principal refuge left for these robbers. Their station there was so convenient for blocking up the harbour of Charlestown, that the trade of the colony was greatly obstructed by them. No sooner had one crew left the coast than another appeared, so that scarcely one ship coming in or going out escaped them. Governor Johnson resolving to check their insolence, fitted out a ship of force, gave the command of it to William Rhett, and sent him out to sea for the protection of trade. Rhett had scarcely got over the bar, when Steed Bonnet perceived him, but finding he was more than match for him, made all the sail he could for his refuge in Cape Fear river. Thither Rhett followed him, took the sloop, and brought the commander, and about 30 men with him, to Charlestown. Soon after this Governor Johnson himself embarked, and sailed in pursuit of the other sloop of six guns, commanded by Richard Worley, which, after a desperate engagement off the bar of Charlestown, was also taken. The pirates fought ferociously, until they were all killed or wounded, excepting Worley and another man, who were likewise dangerously wounded. These two men, together with their sloop, the governor brought into Charlestown, where they were instantly tried, condemned, and executed, to prevent their dying of their wounds. Steed Bonnet and his crew were also tried, and all, except one man, hanged, and buried on White Point, below high-water mark.

Governor Johnson, formerly a popular man, was now become much more so, by his courage, and the success attending his expedition against the pirates. This check, together with that they received among the islands, served to extirpate these buccaniers, who had declared war against all mankind; and had reduced themselves to a savage state of society. But these two expeditions from Carolina, though crowned with success, cost the province upwards of 10,000*l.*, an additional burden which, at this juncture, it was ill qualified to support.

At the same time, Governor Johnson had instructions to reduce the paper currency circulating in the province, of which the mercantile interest loudly

complained, as injurious to trade. He recommended to the assembly to consider of means for sinking it, and told them they were bound in honour and justice to make it good. The Indian war had occasioned a scarcity of provisions; by the large emissions of paper-money it sunk in value, and the price of produce arose to an exorbitant height. As the value of every commodity is what it will bring at market, so the value of paper-money is according to the quantity of commodities it will purchase. Both rice and naval stores, however high, by doubling the quantity of paper-money, though the commodities remained the same as formerly, became still much higher. The merchants and money-lenders were losers by those large emissions; and the planters indebted to them, on the other hand, were gainers by them. Hence great debates arose in the assembly about paper-money, between the planting and mercantile interests. At this time the governor, however, had so much influence as to prevail with the assembly to pass a law for sinking and paying off their paper-credit in three years, by a tax on lands and negroes. This act, on its arrival in England, gave great satisfaction both to the proprietors and people concerned in trade, and the governor received their thanks for his attention to the commercial interests of the country.

This compliance of the assembly with the governor's instructions from England, and the good humour in which they at present appeared to be, gave him some faint hopes of reconciling them by degrees to the supreme jurisdiction of the proprietors. But their good temper was of short duration, and the next advices from England destroyed all his hopes of future agreement. The planters finding that the tax-act fell heavy on them, began to complain of its injustice, and to contrive means for eluding it, by stamping more bills of credit. The proprietors having information of this, and also of a design formed by the assembly to set a price on country commodities, and make them at such a price a good tender in law for the payment of all debts, they strictly enjoined their governor not to give his assent to any bill framed by the assembly, nor to render it of any force in the colony, before a copy of the same should be laid before them. About the same time the king, by his order in council, signified to the proprietors, that they should repeal an act passed in Carolina, of pernicious consequence to the trade of the mother country, by which a duty of ten per cent. was laid on all goods of British manufacture imported into that province. Accordingly this act, together with that for regulating elections, and another for declaring the right of assembly for the time being to nominate a public receiver, were all repealed, and sent to Governor Johnson in a letter, which enjoined him instantly to dissolve the present assembly and call another, to be chosen in Charlestown, according to the ancient usage and customs of the province. The proprietors considered themselves as the head of the legislative body, who had not only power to put a negative on all laws made in the colony of which they disapproved, but also to repeal such as they deemed of pernicious consequence.

Governor Johnson, sensible of the discontent which prevailed among the people at the proprietary government, and the ill consequences that would attend the immediate execution of his orders, summoned his council, to whom he communicated his orders and instructions from England. They were most of them much surprised at them, but Trott

probably knew from what they derived their origin, and to whose influence the repeal of those laws ought to be ascribed. But as the assembly were at that time deliberating about the means of paying the provincial debt contracted by the expedition against the pirates, and other contingent charges of government, it was agreed to postpone the dissolution of the house until the business then before them should be finished. However, the repeal of the duty-law being occasioned by an order from the king in council, they resolved to acquaint the assembly immediately with the royal displeasure at that clause of the law laying a duty on all goods manufactured in Great Britain, and recommended it to them to make a new act, leaving out that clause which had given offence. Meanwhile, though great pains were taken to conceal the governor's instructions from the people, yet by some means they were divulged, and kindled violent flames among them. The assembly entered into a warm debate about the proprietors' right of repealing laws passed with the assent of their deputies. Many alleged, that the deputation given to them was like a power of attorney sent to persons at a distance, authorizing them to act in their stead; and insisted, that, according to the charter, they were bound by their assent to acts, as much as if the proprietors themselves had been present, and ratified and confirmed them.

While the colony was thus harassed by rigorous landlords, to enhance their misery, their savage neighbours were again making incursions into their settlements. At this time a scalping party penetrated as far as the Euhah lands, where having surprised John Levit and two of his neighbours, they knocked out their brains with their tomahawks. They then seized Mrs. Borrows and one of her children, and carried them off with them. The child, by the way, finding himself in barbarous hands, began to cry, upon which they put him to death. The distressed mother, being unable to refrain from tears while her child was murdered before her eyes, was given to understand, that she must not weep, if she desired not to share the same fate. Upon her arrival at Augustine she would have been immediately sent to prison, but one of the Yamassee kings declared he knew her from her infancy to be a good woman, interceded for her liberty, and begged she might be sent home to her husband. This favour, however, the Spanish governor refused to grant, and the garrison seemed to triumph with the Indians in the number of their scalps. When Mr. Borrows went to Augustine to procure the release of his wife, he also was imprisoned along with her, where he soon after died: but she survived all these hardships to give a relation of her barbarous treatment. After her return to Carolina, she reported to Governor Johnson, that the Hupah king, who had taken her prisoner and carried her off, informed her, he had orders from the Spanish governor to spare no white man, but to bring every negro alive to Augustine; and that rewards were given to Indians for their prisoners, to encourage them to engage in such rapacious and murderous enterprises.

The Chief Justice Trott being suspected of holding a private correspondence with the proprietors, to the prejudice of the Carolinians, had incurred their dislike. Richard Allein, Whitaker, and other practitioners of the law, charged him with many iniquitous practices. No less than 31 articles of complaint against him were presented to the assembly, setting forth, among other things, "That he had been guilty of many partial judgments; that he had

contrived many ways to multiply and increase his fees, to the great grievance of the subject, and contrary to acts of assembly; that he had contrived a fee for continuing causes from one term to another, and put off the hearing of them for years; that he took upon him to give advice in causes depending in his courts, and did not only act as counsellor in that particular, but also had drawn deeds between party and party, some of which had been contested before him as chief-justice, and in determining of which he had shewn great partialities; with many more particulars; and, lastly, complaining, that the whole judicial power of the province was lodged in his hands alone, of which it was evident he had made a very ill use, he being at the same time sole judge of the courts of Common Pleas, King's Bench, and Vice-Admiralty; so that no prohibition could be lodged against the proceedings of the court, he being obliged, in such a case, to grant a prohibition against himself; he was also, at the same time, a member of the council, and of consequence a judge of the court of Chancery."

These articles of complaint, though they took their rise from the bar, were well grounded, and were supported by strong evidence before the assembly. But as the judge held his commission from the proprietors, he denied that he was accountable to the assembly for any part of his conduct in his judicial capacity; and declared that he would be answerable no where but in England. The assembly, however, sensible that he held his commission only during good behaviour, sent a message to the governor and council, requesting they would join them in representing his partial and unjust conduct in his office to the proprietors, praying them either to remove him from his seat in the courts of justice, or at least to grant him only one jurisdiction, and the people liberty of appeal from his judgments. The governor and major part of the council, convinced of the mal-administration of the judge, agreed to join the commons in their representation. But being sensible of the great interest the chief-justice had with their lordships, they judged it most prudent to send one of their counsellors to England with their memorial, that it might find greater credit and weight, and the more certainly procure redress; and Francis Yonge, a man of considerable abilities, who had been present at all their debates, was selected, who set sail for England, and arrived in London early in the year 1719.

Soon after his arrival, he waited on Lord Carteret, the Palatine; but as his lordship was preparing to set out on an embassy to the court of Sweden, he referred him to the other proprietors for an answer to his representations. When the proprietors met, Yonge presented to them a memorial, setting forth, "That he had been appointed by the governor and council of South Carolina, to lay before them, not only several acts of assembly passed there during their last sessions for their approbation, but also to inform them of the reasons that induced the governor and council to defer the dissolution of the assembly, in consequence of their lordships' commands; that he was instructed to shew their lordships the arguments between the upper and lower houses of assembly, touching their lordships' right of repealing laws ratified and confirmed by their deputies; and presented to them a speech made by Chief-Justice Trott at a general conference of both houses, together with the answer of the commons to it, and the several messages that passed between them, which he hoped would shew their lordships,

that no arguments or endeavours were wanting on their part to assert the right the proprietors had of repealing laws not ratified by them.

"At the same time, he was desired to request their lordships to augment their secretary's salary, to allow the members of the council so much money for the time and expense of attending the council on their service; to establish custom-house officers at Beaufort; to grant 6000 acres of land to the three garrisons at Congarees, Savanna Town, and Apalachicola; and liberty of appealing from erroneous judgments in law, which at that time the people had not, the whole judicial power in all the provincial courts being lodged in the hands of one man." He then delivered to them a letter from Governor Johnson, the articles of complaint against Chief Justice Trott, and the joint address of the governor, council, and assembly, praying to have him removed entirely from the bench, or confined to a single jurisdiction.

This memorial, however, was far from satisfying the proprietors, some of whom inferred from it, that the people were solicitous to search for causes of dissatisfaction, with a view to shake off the proprietary authority. Their letters from Trott served to confirm the truth, which intimated that Yonge, though an officer of the proprietors, by chicanery had assisted the people in forming plausible pretences for that purpose. For three months Yonge attended the Palatine's court, to give the board all possible information about the state of affairs in their colony, and to accomplish the ends of his appointment; but, after all, he was given to understand, that the business on which he was sent was extremely disagreeable to them; that the trouble he had taken, and the office he had accepted as agent for the people, were inconsistent with his duty as one of their deputies. They declared their displeasure with the members of the council who had joined the lower house in their complaints against Trott, and removed them from the board, appointing others in their place, and increasing the number of members; and told Yonge, that he also would have been deprived of his seat but for the high respect they had for Lord Carteret, the absent Palatine, whose deputy he was. With respect to Chief Justice Trott, they had too much confidence in his fidelity and capacity to remove him from his office. On the contrary, they sent him a letter, thanking him for his excellent speech in defence of their right of repealing all laws made in the colony; together with a copy of the articles of complaint brought against him, on purpose to give him an opportunity of vindicating himself; at the same time acquainting him, that it was their opinion and order, that he should withdraw from the council-board whenever appeals from his judgments in the inferior courts shall be brought before the governor and council as a court of chancery.

How far Governor Johnson, in their opinion, had deviated from his duty, in joining the other branches of the legislature in their representation, may be learned from the following letter from the proprietors, brought over to him by Yonge: "Sir, we have received and perused your letters and all your papers, delivered us by your agent Mr. Yonge; and though we are favourably inclined in all our thoughts relating to our governor, yet we must tell you, we think you have not obeyed the orders and directions given you to dissolve that assembly, and call another forthwith, according to the ancient usage and custom of the province, and to publish our repeals of the acts of assembly immediately upon the receipt of

our orders aforesaid; but we shall say no more of that subject now, not doubting but our governor will pay more punctual obedience to our orders for the future.

"The lords proprietors' right of confirming and repealing laws was so particular a privilege granted them by the charter, that we can never recede from it; and we do assure you we are not a little surprised that you have suffered that prerogative of ours to be disputed.

"We have sent you herewith an instruction under our hands and seals, nominating such persons as we think fit to be of the council with you, six of whom and yourself, and no less number, to be a quorum. Upon your receipt of this we hereby require you to summon the said council, that they may qualify themselves according to law, and immediately sit upon the despatch of business. We also send you the repeal of the acts of assembly, which we order you to publish immediately upon the receipt of this. We do assure Mr. Johnson, that we will stand by him in all things that relate to the just execution of his office, and we are confident that he will perform his duty to us, and support our power and prerogative to the best of his abilities. If the assembly chosen according to your pretended late act is not dissolved, as we formerly ordered, and a new assembly elected, pursuant to the act formerly confirmed by the proprietors, you are forthwith commanded to dissolve that assembly, and to call another, according to the above-mentioned act; and so we bid you heartily farewell."

Such was the result of Yonge's negotiation in England. Governor Johnson, who was well acquainted with the prevailing temper and discontented spirit of the people, plainly perceived, upon receiving these new orders and instructions, what difficulties would attend the execution of them. The flame was already kindled, and nothing could be imagined more likely to add fuel to it than such rigour and oppression. The governor indeed had received instructions, but had not sufficient power to enforce them. Determined, however, to comply with their commands, he summoned his council of twelve men whom the proprietors had nominated, who were William Bull, Ralph Izard, Nicholas Trott, Charles Hart, Samuel Wragg, Benjamin de la Consilière, Peter St. Julien, William Gibbons, Hugh Butler, Francis Yonge, Jacob Satur, and Jonathan Skrine, some of whom refused, and others qualified themselves to serve. Alexander Skene, Thomas Broughton, and James Kinloch, members of the former council, being now left out of the new appointment, were disgusted, and joined the people. The present assembly was dissolved, and writs were issued for electing another in Charlestown. The duty-act, from which the clergy were paid, the garrisons maintained, and the public debts in general were defrayed, was repealed; as was the law respecting the freedom of election, by which the colonists were obliged to have recourse to the old, inconvenient, and tumultuous manner of elections in Charlestown; and also the act declaring the right of the commons to nominate a public receiver, was declared to be contrary to the usage and custom of Great Britain. All laws respecting the trade and shipping of Great Britain, which any future assembly might pass, the governor had instructions to refuse his assent to, till approved by the proprietors. The provincial debts incurred by the Indian war, and the expedition against pirates, not only remained unpaid, but no more bills of credit were allowed to be

stamped. This council of twelve, instead of seven men, which was appointed, the colonists considered as an innovation in the proprietary government exceeding the power granted their lordships by their charter, and therefore subjecting them to a jurisdiction foreign to the constitution of the province. The complaints of the whole legislature against Chief Justice Trott were not only disregarded, but that man, whom they considered as an enemy to the country, was privately caressed and publicly applauded. All these things the colonists considered as aggravated grievances, and what rendered them the more intolerable was the circumstance of being deprived of all hopes of redress.

It may be thought somewhat unaccountable and astonishing, that the proprietors should have persisted in measures so disagreeable and oppressive of themselves, and so manifestly subversive of their authority and power. Many were the hardships from the climate, and the danger from savages, with which the poor colonists had to struggle; yet their landlords, instead of rendering their circumstances as easy and comfortable as possible, seemed rather bent, on crossing their humours and doubling their distress. The people could now no longer regard them as concerned for the welfare of their colony, but as tyrannical legislators. But, perhaps the miseries the colonists suffered ought to be ascribed to their lordships' shameful inattention to provincial affairs, rather than to their tyrannical disposition. Lord Carteret, the Palatine, held high offices of trust under the crown, which occupied his chief study and attention. Some of the proprietors were minors, others possessed estates in England, the improvement of which engrossed their whole care and delight. Having reaped little or nothing from their American possessions, and finding them every year becoming more troublesome and expensive, it is probable they trusted the affairs of their colony to subordinates who were no ways interested in their prosperity and success. With these Chief Justice Trott had established a correspondence, of whose wisdom and abilities the proprietors entertained the highest opinion, and in whose integrity and fidelity they placed unlimited confidence. He held of them many offices of trust and emolument, which, together with his haughty and overbearing conduct, rendered him the object of popular envy and clamour. The colonists needed indulgence from their circumstances and situation; Trott, being totally dependent on the proprietors, for the tenure of his office and the payment of his salary, strongly supported their power and prerogative; and hence arose those struggles between the proprietors and people, which were daily growing more serious and violent.

About this time a rupture having taken place between the courts of Great Britain and Spain, a project for attacking South Carolina and the island of Providence was formed at the Havanna, and preparations were making there for the expedition. Governor Johnson, having received advice from England of this design, resolved immediately to put the province in a posture of defence. For this purpose he summoned a meeting of council, and proposed a voluntary subscription, beginning with a generous offer himself, as an example to others. He declared that one day's delay might prove fatal to the province; and recommended unanimity and dispatch. The assembly replied, that a subscription was needless, as the income of the duties would be sufficient to answer the purpose intended. The Governor objected, that the duty-law had been repealed,

and none other yet framed in its place. To which the assembly answered, they had resolved to pay no regard to those repeals, and that the public receiver had orders from them to sue every man that should refuse to pay as that law directed. Chief Justice Trott told them, if any action or suit should be brought into his courts on that law, he would give judgment for the defendant. In short, the contest between the two houses at this meeting was so warm, that the conference broke up before any thing was concluded with regard to the public safety. The assembly were obstinate, and seemed determined to hazard the loss of the province to the Spaniards, rather than yield to the council, and acknowledge the proprietors' right of repealing their laws.

Governor Johnson, however, at such a juncture judging it prudent to be always in the best posture of defence, for uniting the strength of the province called a meeting of the field-officers of the militia, ordered them to review their regiments, and fixed a place of general rendezvous. Indeed such was the uneasy and distracted state of the colony, that the Spaniards could scarcely have attacked it at a time more seasonable for obtaining an easy conquest. At this meeting the field-officers of the militia received their orders with their usual submission, and called together the different regiments, on pretence of training the men to expert use of arms. But before this time the members chosen to serve in assembly, though they had not met in their usual and regular way at Charlestown, had nevertheless held several private meetings in the country, to concert measures for revolting from their allegiance. They had drawn up a form of an association for uniting the whole province in opposition to the proprietary government, which was proposed to the people at this public meeting of the militia, as an opportunity the most favourable for procuring a general subscription. The people, oppressed and discontented, with eagerness embraced the proposal, and, almost to a man, subscribed the association, promising to stand by each other in defence of their rights and privileges, against the tyranny of the proprietors and their officers. This confederacy was formed with such secrecy and dispatch, that before it reached the governor's ears, almost the whole inhabitants were concerned in it. The assembly, after having thus brought the people in general to back them, had then nothing to do but to proceed, in taking such bold and vigorous steps as seemed best calculated for accomplishing their end.

*The people's encouragement to revolt—Proceedings of the convention—The assembly dissolved—Proceedings of the people—James Moore, governor—The declaration of the convention—The invasion from Spain defeated—Francis Nicolson, governor—George I. recognised as sovereign—The regulation of Indian affairs—The trial of the family of Du-tartre—Progress of the colony—Arthur Middleton, president—A dispute concerning the boundaries—Reprisals on the Spaniards—Encroachment of the French in Louisiana—The province purchased for the crown.*

At the election of assembly in Charlestown, Trott and Rhett, who formerly had such influence, were now become so obnoxious that they could not bring one man into the house. Alexander Skene, formerly excluded from the council, was elected a member of this new assembly, which was chosen on purpose to oppose the civil officers, considering him-

self as ill-used by the proprietors, became zealous against the government. This man, together with several other members of assembly, held frequent meetings, to consider their grievances, and flattered themselves with the hopes, that the king would take the colony under his care as soon as they renounced allegiance to the proprietors. And as the time drew near in which they expected an attack from a powerful nation, they concluded that the province needed assistance of the crown at the present, more than at any former time. They had convinced the people of the many advantages of the British constitution, and the great happiness of those colonies which were under the immediate care and protection of the crown, insomuch that they now eagerly desired to enjoy the same privileges.

To these secret meetings Governor Johnson, who lived at his plantation several miles from Charlestown, was an entire stranger, until he received the following letter, bearing date November 28, 1719, and signed by Alexander Skene, George Logan, and William Blakeway. "Sir, we doubt not but you have heard of the whole province entering into an association to stand by their rights and privileges, and to get rid of the oppression and arbitrary dealings of the lords proprietors. As we always bore you the greatest deference and respect imaginable, we take this opportunity to let you know, that the committee of the people's representatives were last night appointed to wait on you this morning, to acquaint you, that they have come to a resolution to have no regard to the proprietors' officers, nor their administration: and withal to beg, that your honour will hold the reins of government for the king, till his majesty's pleasure be known. The great value the whole country express for your honour's person, makes them desirous to have nobody but yourself to govern them; and as you must be convinced, that no persons can be more passionately fond of your government than ourselves, we hope you will not take amiss any advice given by faithful and affectionate friends; and therefore we take the liberty to tell you freely, we are of opinion that your honour may take the government upon you, upon the offer of the people, for the king, and represent to the proprietors, that rather than the whole country should be in confusion, and want a governing power, you held it for their lordships, though you were obliged to comply with the colonists, who were unanimously of opinion they would have no proprietors' government. We could wish for a longer and better opportunity to explain this matter to you; but it is impossible, for the gentlemen will be with you in two hours at farthest. We heartily wish your honour the utmost success, let it go which way it will; but beg leave to observe, that your compliance will not only be the greatest satisfaction to the province in general, but also to your humble servants."

This letter, though fraught with the highest professions of respect to the governor, he nevertheless considered as an insult; but especially the advice, which he deemed both highly derogatory to his integrity as a man, and his fidelity as a governor. The letter, however, served to give him notice of the association, and the resolution of the people, which it was his duty by all means possible to defeat. For this purpose he hastened to town, and summoned his council, to take their advice in a case so unexpected and alarming. Meeting accidentally with Alexander Skene, he informed him that the committee who were appointed to wait on him had changed their minds, and were gone to their respec-

tive places of abode. The Governor, nevertheless, informed his council of the association, and required their advice and assistance about the most effectual methods of breaking it up, and supporting the proprietary government. He perceived that, although he was called governor, yet Trutt ruled the province, and therefore resolved to do nothing without his advice, that he might be equally responsible with the rest for the ill consequences which he was apprehensive would attend their future proceedings. The council were not a little perplexed what step to take; but as the committee had altered their intention of waiting on the governor, they were of opinion that no notice should be taken of their proceedings, until the assembly should meet in a legal manner, and bring it regularly before them; hoping that the people might drop their dangerous resolution.

In the mean time the members of assembly were using their utmost diligence among the people of the province to keep them firm to their purpose, having got almost every person, except the officers of the proprietors and a few of their friends, to sign the association. All agreed to support whatever their representatives should do for disengaging the colony from the yoke of the proprietors, and putting it under the government of the king. Having thus fortified themselves by the union of the inhabitants, the assembly met on purpose to take more decisive steps; and being apprehensive that the governor would dissolve them, so soon as their proceedings reached his ears, they instantly came to the following resolutions: "First, That the several laws pretended to be repealed are still in force within the province, and could not be repealed and made void and null but by the general assembly of this province, and that all public officers and others do pay due regard to the same accordingly. Secondly, That the writs, whereby the representatives here met were elected, are illegal, because they are signed by such a council as we conceive the proprietors have not a power to appoint; for that this council does consist of a greater number of members than that of the proprietors themselves, which we believe is contrary to the design and original intent of their charter, and approaching too near the method taken by his majesty and his predecessors in his plantations, whom they ought not to pretend to imitate or follow, his majesty not being confined to any number of counsellors, but as he thinks fit; but the proprietors as subjects, we believe, are bound by their charter. Thirdly, That we the representatives cannot act as an assembly, but as a convention delegated by the people, to prevent the utter ruin of this government, if not the loss of the province, till his majesty's pleasure be known; and, lastly, That the lords proprietors have by such proceedings unhinged the frame of their government, and forfeited their right to the same; and that an address be prepared, to desire the honourable Robert Johnson, our present governor, to take the government upon him in the king's name, and to continue the administration thereof until his majesty's pleasure be known."

Agreeably to the last resolution, an address was drawn up, signed by Arthur Middleton as president, and 22 members of the convention. The governor having sent them a message, acquainting them that he was ready with his council to receive and order them to choose a speaker, they came to the upper house in a body, and Arthur Middleton addressed the governor in the following manner: "I am ordered by the representatives of the people here present to tell you, that, according to your honour's

order, we are come to wait on you: I am further ordered to acquaint you, that we own your honour as our governor, you being approved by the king; and as there was once in this province a legal council, representing the proprietors as their deputies, which being now altered, we do not look on the gentlemen present to be a legal council; so I am ordered to tell you, that the representatives of the people do disown them as such, and will not act with them on any account."

The governor and council, struck with astonishment at the boldness of the convention, and suspecting that they were supported by the voice of the people, were greatly puzzled what measures they should take to recall them to the obedience of legal authority. Some were for violent measures; but others were of opinion, that the defection was too general to admit of such a remedy, and that gentle expostulations would have more effect. But, the only fund for repairing the fortifications being lost by the repeal of the general duty-law, money must be provided for the public protection. If the governor dissolved the house, how could the province be put in a posture of defence against a Spanish invasion, with which it was threatened. If he should suffer them to sit while they had resolved that the proprietors had forfeited their right to the government, and refused on any account to act with his council, he might be chargeable with a breach of his trust. The result of their deliberations was, a message from the governor and council, desiring a conference with the house of assembly. To which they returned for answer, that they would not receive any message or paper from the governor in conjunction with these gentlemen he was pleased to call his council. Finding them thus inflexible and resolute, the governor was obliged to give way to the current, and therefore, in two days afterwards, sent for them in his own name, and spoke to them to the following effect:—

"When I sent for you the other day, I intended to have desired you to have chosen your speaker, to be presented to me as usual, and then I proposed to have spoke to you in the following manner:—

"Your being met together at a time when there was never more occasion for a ready dispatch of public business, and a good harmony betwixt the upper and lower house, I must recommend that to you; and nothing will be wanting on my part to promote a good understanding betwixt the lords proprietors and the people, at present (to my great affliction) I fear too much interrupted: I must, therefore, in the first place, recommend to you, that you will, without delay, or other matter intervening, fall upon proper methods for raising money for finishing the repairs of the fortifications, and providing stores of war, which are much wanted. The intelligence which I have of the designs of our enemies, which makes this work so necessary, shall be laid before you.

"I am sorry the lords proprietors have been induced (by a necessity, to defend and support their just prerogatives) at this juncture to disannul some of your laws; if they had not thought the letting those acts subsist might have rendered their right of repeal precarious, they would have suffered them still to continue. I hope from you, therefore, a respectful behaviour towards them, that we may not feel any more their displeasure in so sensible a manner, as the loss (in this time of need) of our duty-law, and which has also occasioned an injunction to me and the council, from acting with an assembly

who shall dispute their lordships' undoubted right of repealing laws, and appointing officers civil and military.

"I find some are jealous and uneasy on account of rumours spread, that you design to alter the tax-act, for sinking your paper currency. Public credit ought to be sacred, and it is a standing maxim, That no state can subsist longer than their credit is maintained: I hope therefore you have no such intentions, which would put me under a necessity of doing what I have never yet done; I mean, disagreeing with you. I expect therefore you will make good what the public is answerable for, and proceed to such farther methods for paying our debts, as shall be both honourable and proper, and best adapted to our circumstances.

"The alarm from the southward, about five months since, obliged me to be in a posture of defence, and occasioned some charges, the accounts of which shall be laid before you; and I desire you will provide for the discharge of them: I think also the militia-acts want some amendments, and that you should contrive to keep a good watch in Charlestown.

"This is what I intended to have recommended to you: but Mr. Middleton's telling me, in the name of the rest, that you would not act with, and your surprising message since, that you will not receive anything from me, in conjunction with my council, has made it necessary for me to take this occasion of talking with that plainness and freedom so extraordinary a proceeding of yours requires. And, first, I must take notice of your message, wherein you say, you own me as governor, because I am approved of by the king; but that you disown the council to be a legal one, nor will act with them on any account whatsoever; and this is subscribed by all your members: but, upon examining, I find it to be pretty dark and evasive, and seems as if you would avoid expressing in plain terms, what I have too much cause to fear is your design, I mean, to renounce all obedience to the lords proprietors: and this I cannot but think you propose from all your words and actions. You say, you acknowledge me, because I am approved of by the king; but you take no notice of my commission from the proprietors, which is what makes me governor. The confirmation of the king only signifies his majesty's approbation of the person the lords proprietors have constituted; but it is my commission and instruction from them, that not only grants, but limits my power, and contains the rules by which I must act, and are to warrant and vouch my actions; therefore, to avoid declaring in express terms your renouncing the lords' power, and at the same time doing it in effect, is to create perpetual doubts and disputes, and is not acting with that sincerity and plainness which ought to be used in all public debates, and especially in matters of so great concern as this is, and upon which so great consequences depend.

"I do require and demand of you, therefore, and expect you will answer me in plain and positive terms, whether you own the authority of the lords proprietors as lords of this province, and having authority to administer or authorise others to administer the government thereof; saving the allegiance of them and the people to his most sacred majesty King George? Or, whether you absolutely renounce all obedience to them, and those commissioned and authorised by them? Or, whether you admit their general power, and only dispute that particular branch of their authority, in constituting



a council after the manner they have now done? If you deny their general power and authority in this province, and say, that their lordships have forfeited their charter, as Mr. Berrisford asserted, and you all acquiesced in; then I demand of you, that you signify wherein the lords have forfeited their charter, and what particular branch thereof they have broken: and I demand of you, that supposing (not granting) they have made a forfeiture of their charter, by what power do you presume to renounce their authority, and to model a government out of your own heads, before such time as that, by a court having lawful jurisdiction of the same, it shall be adjudged that the lords have made a forfeiture of their charter, and that the powers granted them are null and void? If the king is of opinion, that any corporation or society have made a forfeiture of the rights and powers granted by their charter, although his majesty may have the advice of his attorney and solicitor-general, and his judges and council learned in the law, that such a forfeiture has been made (and this he may more reasonably depend on than any advice or assurance you can have); yet, notwithstanding this, and his supreme authority as king, he never dispossessed the persons of the powers granted them, before a *quo warranto* or some other process had been brought, and judgment obtained against the same. And if the king doth not assume such a power, by what authority do you assume it?

"I desire you farther to consider the consequence that attends that assertion, Of the charter being forfeited, before judgment is given upon the same. For if it be so, then the forfeiture must be from the time that the fact was committed that caused the forfeiture; and then you must remember, that, by the charter, the lords have granted to them, not only the power of ordering the government, but also the lands are granted to them by the said charter; so that if there is a forfeiture of the rights and prerogatives of the government, there is also a forfeiture of their rights to the lands; and so all grants made by their authority of any lands, since the fact committed that caused the forfeiture, according to your own doctrine and assertion, must be null and void; and therefore, how many persons' titles to their lands will become void, I leave you to consider. And though, it may be, you will assign some new late fact, that you say will cause such a forfeiture, by which you may think to avoid the ill consequence that attends the titles to the lands; yet know, that the facts that you assign may not be the only ones that may be thought to have made the forfeiture of their charter. And if your present assertion is true, that they may be dispossessed before a judgment; it may be, other persons may assign other causes of the forfeiture, besides those which you assign, which may have been committed many years ago: for you cannot but know there have been persons in the province, that, for several years past, have publicly asserted, that the lords have done facts, for which their charter was become forfeited. Which if so, I leave you to consider what a gate you will leave open to call in question, nay, utterly destroy, several hundreds of people's titles to their lands. And though you have most unjustly and untruly suggested to the people, to create a prejudice in them to the lords proprietors, that their lordships designed to dispute their titles to their lands; yet, by this assertion and practice, you are the persons that will not only call in question, but effectually destroy their titles.

"And if you persist in disowning the council as now authorised, then I desire you further to consider, in what capacity I can act with you, and to what purpose you pretend to sit and transact the public business of the province. You know very well I am not able to join with you in passing any law without the consent of my council; and surely you cannot pretend to pass laws without me: and what an absolute occasion there is now to pass some laws, that the province may be put in a posture of defence, and the contingent charges thereof defrayed, I leave you seriously to consider, and hope you will not lose the whole province to the enemy, for your own humours.

"But I am further to tell you, that, in case you continue to deny the authority of the council, you cannot properly style yourselves the representatives of the people; for you know very well you were chosen members of assembly, pursuant to, and by virtue of, the writs signed by myself and council; for it is not the people's voting for you that makes you become their representatives; the liege people of this, or any other province, have no power to convene and chuse their representatives, without being authorised so to do by some writ or order coming from authority lawfully impowered. And if you pretend that the writs signed by me, as governor, were sufficient: to that I answer, that I do not pretend to any such authority, but jointly, and with the consent of my council, it being the express words of my commission; nor did I sign the writs in any other capacity than in conjunction with my council, who also signed the same. But if my signing the writs were sufficient authority for the people to chuse you, then you must allow, that as the power lies solely in me to call you, it lies also solely in me to dissolve you; and therefore, if by your actions you will force me to make use of that power, I do hereby publicly protest and declare, you only must be answerable for the ill consequences that may attend such a dissolution, and for the loss of the lives and estates of the king's subjects in this province by any attack that may be made upon them by our public enemies, the Spaniards, or from the Indians, by reason of the province's not being put into such a posture of defence as it ought, and would, if you proceeded to transact the public business under a lawful authority: and this I would have you seriously to consider of.

"Notwithstanding stories that have been industriously spread to prepossess the people, that you are the only persons who stand up for their rights and privileges; by which, it may be, you have so far engaged them in your favour, that you may have their assistance to enable you to commit any act of force or violence upon the government, and the authority of the lords proprietors; yet know, and be assured, that the matters in dispute are of that consequence, that they must and will be decided by an authority in England, having lawful jurisdiction of the same; and that there it must be law and right that must justify your claims, and not the consent and approbation of the people of Carolina, who will have no weight there, but the right and merit of the cause.

"I must farther mention to you, that it is notoriously known, you have promoted two forms of associations, and have persuaded the people to sign them. How far you can be justified at home, behoves you to consider: but as I am satisfied no matter of such public concern ought to be carried on without my knowledge, so I do hereby require and demand of you, an attested copy of both associa-

tions; and though it may not concern me to have the names of every individual person that has signed them, yet I do insist upon it, that you do acquaint me which of your own members have signed both, or either of them, as also the names of such persons who have commissions, or hold any places civil or military under their lordships, or of such persons who practise the law in their lordships' courts, and have signed them.

"To what is here demanded of you I do require your plain and positive answer in express terms, and that you do in writing give me the same in a body, and under your hands."

This long and elaborate speech, which was also given them in writing, they were not long in considering, but returned with the following message: "We have already acquainted you, that we would not receive any message or paper from your honour, in conjunction with the gentlemen you are pleased to call your council; therefore we must now again repeat the same, and beg leave to tell you, that the paper your honour read and delivered to us, we take no notice of, nor shall we give any farther answer to it but in Great Britain."

Immediately after this they came with the following address to the governor, publicly avowing their resolution to cast off all obedience to the proprietary government, and urging and entreating him to comply with their desire, and take upon him the government of the province in the name of the king. "It is with no small concern that we find ourselves obliged to address your honour, in a matter which nothing but the absolute necessity of self-preservation could at this juncture have prevailed on us to do. The reasons are already by us made known to your honour and the world, therefore we forbear to rehearse them; but proceed to take leave to assure you, that it is the greatest satisfaction imaginable to us, to find throughout the whole country that universal affection, deference, and respect, the inhabitants bear to your honour's person, and with what passionate desire they wish for a continuance of your gentle and good administration; and since we, who are intrusted with, and are the assertors of their rights and liberties, are unanimously of opinion, that no person is fitter to govern so loyal and obedient a people to his sacred majesty King George, so we most earnestly desire and intreat your honour, to take upon you the government of this province, in his majesty's name, till his pleasure shall be known; by which means we are convinced, that this (at present) unfortunate colony may flourish, as well as those who feel the happy influence of his majesty's immediate care.

"As the well-being and preservation of this province depends greatly on your honour's complying with our requests, so we flatter ourselves, that you, who have expressed so tender a regard for it on all occasions, and particularly in hazarding your own person in an expedition against the pirates, for its defence, an example seldom found in governors; so we hope, Sir, that you will exert yourself at this juncture for its support; and we promise your honour, on our parts, the most faithful assistance of persons duly sensible of your honour's great goodness, and big with the hopes and expectation of his majesty's countenance and protection. And we farther beg leave to assure your honour that we will, in the most dutiful manner, address his most sacred majesty King George, for the continuance of your government over us, under whom we doubt not to be a happy people."

To this flattering address the governor returned the following answer: "I am obliged to you for your good opinion of me: but I hold my commission from the true and absolute lords and proprietors of this province, who recommended me to his majesty, and I have his approbation; it is by that commission and power I act, and I know of no power or authority can dispossess me of the same, but those only who gave me those authorities. In subordination to them I shall always act, and to my utmost maintain their lordships' just power and prerogatives, without encroaching on the people's rights and privileges. I do not expect or desire any favour from you, only that of seriously taking into your consideration the approaching danger of a foreign enemy, and the steps you are taking to involve yourselves and this province in anarchy and confusion."

The representatives having now fully declared their intentions, and finding it impossible by all their address to win over the governor to a compliance with their measures, began to treat him with neglect. He, on the other hand, perceiving that neither harsh nor gentle means could recall them to their allegiance to the proprietors, issued a proclamation for dissolving the house, and retired to the country. The representatives ordered his proclamation to be torn from the marshal's hands, and proceeded next to avowed usurpation. They met upon their own authority, and in direct opposition to that of the proprietors, and chose Colonel James Moore their governor; who was a man of a bold and turbulent disposition, and excellently qualified for being a popular leader. To Governor Johnson he was no friend, having been by him removed from his command of the militia, for espousing the cause of the people: to the proprietors he was an inveterate enemy. In every new enterprise he had been a volunteer, and in whatever he engaged he continued to his purpose steady and inflexible. A day was fixed by the convention for proclaiming him, in name of the king, governor of the province, and orders were issued for directing all officers, civil and military, to continue in their different places and employments, till they should hear further from them.

Governor Johnson, some time before this, had appointed a day for a general review of the provincial militia; and the convention, that they might have the opportunity of the people being under arms, and ready to forward their scheme, fixed on the same day for publicly proclaiming Moore. The governor, however, having intelligence of their design, sent orders to Colonel Parris, the commander of the militia, to postpone the review to a future day. Parris, though a zealous friend to the revolution, assured him his orders should be obeyed. Notwithstanding this assurance, on the day fixed, when Governor Johnson came to town, he found to his surprise the militia drawn up in the market-square, the colours flying at the forts, and on board all the ships in the harbour, and great preparations making for the proclamation. Exasperated at the insults offered to his person and authority, he could scarcely command his temper. Some he threatened to chastise for flying in the face of government, to which they had sworn allegiance and fidelity; with others he reasoned, and endeavoured to recall them by representing the fatal consequences that would certainly attend such rash proceedings. But advancing to Parris, who had betrayed him, he asked him how he durst appear in arms contrary to his orders? and commanded him, in the king's name, instantly to disperse his men. Colonel Parris replied, he was

obeying the orders of the convention; and the governor, in great rage, walked up towards him; upon which Parris immediately commanded his men to present, and bid him at the peril of life advance no nearer. The governor expected, during this struggle, that some friends would have adhered to him, especially such as held offices of profit and trust under the proprietors, or that the militia would have laid down their arms at his command: but he was disappointed; for all either stood silent, or kept firm to the standard of the convention. However, to amuse him, and prevent his taking any rash step in the heat of passion, John Lloyd, one of their party, was sent, out of pretence of friendship, to walk and converse with the governor. Vain indeed were the efforts of a single arm, in so general a defection. Even Trott and Rhett, in this extremity, forsook him, and kept at a distance the silent and inactive spectators of their masters' ruined authority.

After this the members of convention attended, and, escorted by the militia, publicly marched to the fort, and there declared James Moore governor of the province, in the name of the king, which was followed by the loudest acclamations of the populace. Upon their return, they next proceeded to the election of twelve counsellors, of whom Sir Hovenden Walker was made president; so that they had now a governor, council and convention of their own election. In consequence of which the delegates met, and published their declaration to the following effect: "Whereas the proprietors of this province have of late assumed to themselves an arbitrary and illegal power, of repealing such laws as the general assembly of this settlement have thought fit to make for the preservation and defence thereof, and acted in many other things contrary to the laws of England, and the charter to them and us, freemen, granted; whereby we are deprived of those measures we had taken for the defence of the settlement, being the south-west frontier of his majesty's territories in America, and thereby left naked to the attacks of our inveterate enemies and next-door neighbours the Spaniards, from whom, through the Divine Providence, we have had a miraculous deliverance, and daily expect to be invaded by them, according to the repeated advices we have from time to time received from several places: and whereas, pursuant to the instructions and authorities to us given, and trust in us reposed by the inhabitants of this settlement, and in execution of the resolutions by us made, we did in due form apply ourselves in a whole body, by an address, to the honourable Robert Johnson, appointed governor of this province by the lords proprietors, and desired him, in name of the inhabitants of this province, to take upon him the government of the same, and in behalf of his majesty the king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, until his majesty's pleasure had been known, which the said governor refusing to do, exclusive of the pretended power of the lords proprietors over the settlement, has put us under the necessity of applying to some other person, to take upon him, as governor, the administration of all the affairs civil and military within the settlement, in the name and for the service of his most sacred majesty, as well as making treaties, alliances and leagues with any nation of Indians, until his majesty's pleasure herein be further known: and whereas James Moore, a person well affected to his present majesty, and also zealous for the interest of the settlement, now in a sinking condition, has been prevailed with, pursuant to such our application, to take upon him, in the king's

name, and for the king's service and safety of the settlement, the above-mentioned charge and trust: we therefore, whose names are hereunto subscribed, the representatives and delegates of his majesty's liege people and free-born subjects of the said settlement, now met in convention at Charlestown, in their names, and in behalf of his sacred majesty George, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, in consideration of his former and many great services, having great confidence in his firm loyalty to our most gracious King George, as well as in his conduct, courage, and other great abilities; do hereby declare the said James Moore, his majesty's governor of this settlement, invested with all the powers and authorities belonging and appertaining to any of his majesty's governors in America, till his majesty's pleasure herein shall be further known. And we do hereby for ourselves, in the name and on the behalf of the inhabitants of the said settlement, as their representatives and delegates, promise and oblige ourselves most solemnly to obey, maintain, assist and support the said James Moore, in the administration of all affairs civil and military within this settlement, as well as in the execution of all his functions aforesaid, as governor for his sacred majesty King George. And further, we do expect and command, that all officers, both civil and military within the settlement, do pay him all duty and obedience as his majesty's governor, as they shall answer to the contrary at their utmost peril. Given under our hand, at the convention, this 21st day of December, 1719."

Governor Johnson, after this public and solemn declaration, perceiving his power totally overthrown, and the current too violent and strong for him to withstand, had little hopes of recalling them to the obedience of proprietary authority. Still, however, he flattered himself, that they would not long remain in a state of union among themselves. The first unpopular step of their governor might create disturbance and disaffection; the first difference among the leading men might divide them into parties: he determined to wait for such occurrences, and to improve them towards recovering his power and command. In the mean time he called together the civil officers of the proprietors, and ordered them to secure the public records, and shut up all offices against the revolvers and their adherents.

That the proprietors in England might have notice of what had happened through a proper channel, Governor Johnson drew up a state of the whole proceedings, and transmitted it them. To the same purpose he wrote to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, who were no friends to the proprietary governments in America, and waited for such a favourable season as now offered in Carolina to purchase every one of them for the crown.

In the mean time the members of the popular legislature were proceeding with all diligence in regulating the public affairs. The representatives of the people took a dislike to the name of a convention, as different from that of the other regal governments in America, and therefore voted themselves an assembly, and assumed the power of appointing all public officers. In place of Nicholas Trott, they made Richard Allein chief justice. Another person was appointed provincial secretary, in the room of Charles Hart. But William Rhett and Francis Yonge, by being obsequious to the revolvers, secured to themselves the same offices they held from the proprietors. Colonel Barnwell was chosen agent for the province, and embarked for England, with in-

structions and orders to apply only to the king, to lay a state of their public proceedings before him, praying him to take the province under his immediate care and protection. A new duty-law and others for raising money to defray the various expenses of government were passed. The fortifications at Charlestown they ordered to be immediately repaired, and William Rhett, whom every one esteemed a friend to the revolution, was nominated inspector-general of the repairs. To their new governor they voted 2500*l.*, and to their chief-justice 800*l.* current money, as yearly salaries. To their agent in England 1000*l.* sterling was transmitted; and to defray those and the other expenses of government, a law was passed for laying a tax on lands and negroes, to raise 30,000*l.* Carolina money, for the service of the current year. In short, this popular assembly imposed such burthens on their constituents, as under the proprietary government would have been deemed intolerable grievances.

In consequence of the tax-act, when they began to levy those heavy taxes, Governor Johnson and some of his party refused to pay, giving for reason, that the act was not made by lawful authority. On account of his particular circumstances, Mr. Johnson was exempted; but they resolved to compel every other person to submit to their jurisdiction, and yield implicit obedience to their laws. They forcibly seized the effects or negroes of such as refused, sold them at public auction, and applied the money for the payment of their taxes. Thus, in spite of all opposition, they established themselves in the full possession of government, both in their legislative and executive capacities.

Governor Johnson, though obliged to stand at a distance, carefully observed their progress, and was not a little mortified by their great success. He however still persisted in throwing every obstacle in their way: he wrote to William Rhett, who was not only the proprietors' receiver-general, but also comptroller of the customs, a letter; informing him, that, "as the people had found means to hinder all masters of ships from coming to him as the governor for clearances, and from clearing in the lawful secretary's offices, notwithstanding the laws of trade made such neglects the forfeiture of ship and cargo, and the naval officer, by his orders, did all he could to induce them to act according to law: and as he was sensible that the defection was so general, and his authority so depressed, that he had no power left to punish them for disobedience; he therefore could think of no other way to oblige them to their duty but by stopping their obtaining clearances from the custom-house officers, until they paid their duty to him as the lawful governor of the province. He therefore desired Mr. Rhett would consult his powers and instructions as surveyor and comptroller of the customs, and act in this affair as he should think agreeable to them, to the laws of trade, and to the service of his majesty, and of the lords proprietors." Indeed it must be acknowledged, had Rhett so far consulted the interest of the proprietors, as to have commanded the officers of the customs to do their duty, according to the governor's project, it would have given the revolvers no small trouble. They would have had the mortification to see the masters of ships disowning their authority, and going only to that office where they could obtain authentic and legal clearances; and the fees due to the governor and secretary would also have gone in their usual channel. But Rhett's enmity to the governor, and his prospects of profit from the prevailing party,

induced him to neglect the duties of his station. He had already joined, or at least seemed to join, the revolvers, being determined to retain at all events his places of profit and emolument. The countenance and encouragement he had given the people, they considered as a justification of their measures; and though they had passed a vote, that no person who held an office under the proprietors should be permitted to continue in it, yet, as they found Rhett so obsequious to their views, they thought proper to dispense with it for an acquisition of such importance. They not only allowed him to continue in his former offices, but also made him lieutenant-general of the militia, and overseer to the works in repairing the fortifications. So that, instead of giving assistance to Governor Johnson for supporting the interest and power of the proprietary government, he deserted him.

Rhett, nevertheless, to the astonishment of every one, still maintained his credit with the proprietors, and had the art to persuade them he had done all out of zeal for the service of his majesty, and for the good of the province. He wrote them two letters, giving them an account of all that had happened, and assuring them he had accepted of a commission from Mr. Moore, in order the more effectually to promote their interest, by giving him an opportunity of conversing freely with the people, and persuading them to return to their duty and allegiance. He represented the inflexibility of Governor Johnson as one source of the discontent and defection of the people, and utterly inconsistent with good policy. The proprietors believed him, and such was their confidence in his honour and fidelity, that they sent him the following letter expressing their approbation of his conduct: "We have received your letters, wherein you give us a melancholy account of the present confused government of our province, and of the great consternation of the inhabitants, from the dreadful apprehension they have of a foreign invasion. But since they have been so unfortunate as to bring themselves into so much confusion, we are not a little pleased that your zeal for the service of his majesty, and the safety of the province, has engaged you to take upon you the command of the forces; for as, by your command of the said forces, you formerly defended and saved the country from the insults of an invading enemy, so we doubt not but you will again use your utmost skill to free your same fellow-subjects from the imminent danger they at present labour under. And since you have taken upon you the same command, we earnestly entreat you, that, with the greatest application, you will continue your endeavours in that command for the safety and preservation of the province, until you shall hear farther from us: we wish you all imaginable success, and bid you heartily farewell."

In the mean time Governor Johnson received certain advice, that the Spaniards had sailed from the Havanna with a fleet of fourteen ships, and a force consisting of 1200 men, against South Carolina and Providence Island, and it was uncertain which of the two they would first attack. At this time of imminent danger the governor again attempted to recall the people to subjection and obedience, and sent the following letter to the convention:—"I flatter myself that the invasion which at present threatens the province, has awakened a thought in you of the necessity there is of the forces acting under lawful authority and commission. The inconveniences and confusion of not admitting it are so obvious, I need

net mention them. I have hitherto borne the indignities put upon me, and the loss I sustain by being out of my government, with as much temper as the nature of the thing will admit of, till such time as his majesty's pleasure shall be known. But to have another man to assume my authority when danger threatens the province, and action is expected, and to be deprived of the opportunity of serving the public in my station, as I am indispensably bound to do upon such occasions, I being answerable to the king for any neglect regarding the welfare of the province, is what I cannot patiently endure. I am willing with my council to consult and advise with you for the good and safety of the country in this time of imminent danger, as a convention of the people, as you first called yourselves; nor do I see, in this present juncture of affairs, any occasion for formality in our proceedings, or that I explain by whose authority I act in grants of commissions or other public orders. Mr. Moore's commission you have given him does not pretend to say that it is derived from the king. You have already confessed I am invested with some authority of which you approve, and that is enough. What I insist upon is, to be allowed to act as governor, because I have been approved of by the king. I do not apprehend there is any necessity of doing any thing at present but what relates to military affairs; and I do believe people will be better satisfied, more ready to advance necessities, to trust the public, and obey my commands, by virtue of the king's authority which I have, if left to their liberty, than the orders of any other person in the province; and in a short time we may expect his majesty's pleasure will be known. If my reasons have not the weight with you I expect they should, you ought at least to put it to the vote, that, if a majority should be against it, I may have that to justify myself to the king and the world, who ought to be satisfied that I have done all I can for serving the country, and discharging the duty of my station."

By this letter Governor Johnson thought to alarm and terrify the people, by representing the dangerous consequences of military operations under unlawful authority; but they remained firm to their purpose, and the convention, without taking any notice of it, continued to do business with Mr. Moore as they had begun. Sir Hovenden Walker, the president of their council, being disgusted at their proceedings, left them, and retired to his plantation; but they chose Richard Allein in his stead, and proceeded to concert measures for the public defence. They proclaimed martial law, and ordered all the inhabitants of the province to Charlestown for its defence. All the officers of the militia accepted their commissions from Mr. Moore, and engaged to stand by him against all foreign enemies. For two weeks the provincial militia were kept under arms at Charlestown every day, expecting the appearance of the Spanish fleet; which they were informed had sailed from the Havanna. Happily for them, to acquire possession of both sides of the gulf of Florida, and secure the navigation through this stream, the Spaniards had resolved first to attack Providence, and then to proceed against Carolina: but by the conduct and courage of Captain Rogers, at that time governor of the island, they met with a sharp repulse at Providence, and soon after they lost the greatest part of their fleet in a storm.

The Spanish expedition having thus proved abortive, the Flamborough man of war, commanded by Captain Hildesley, returned to her station at Charles-

town from Providence island. About the same time his majesty's ship *Phœnix*, commanded by Captain Pierce, arrived from a cruise. The commanders of these two men-of-war were caressed by both parties, but they publicly declared for Governor Johnson, as the magistrate invested with legal authority. Charles Hart, secretary of the province, by orders from the governor and council, had secreted and secured the public records, so that the revolvers could not obtain possession of them. The clergy refused to marry without a licence from Governor Johnson, as the only legal ordinary of the province. These inconveniences having begun to operate, rendered several of the people more cool in their affection for the popular government. At this juncture Governor Johnson, with the assistance of the captains and crews of the ships of war, made his last and boldest effort for subjecting the colonists to his authority. He brought up the ships of war in front of Charlestown, and threatened their capital with immediate destruction, if they any longer refused obedience to legal authority. But the people having both arms in their hands for defence, and forts in their possession to which they could retreat, bid defiance to his power, and showed him plainly that they were neither to be won by flattery, nor terrified by threats, to submit their necks any more to the proprietary yoke; and therefore, for the future, Governor Johnson dropt all thoughts of making any more attempts for that purpose.

Nicholas Trott now observing the frame of the proprietary government totally destroyed, and a rival judge planted in his room, resolved to return to England. But before he embarked he wrote to Governor Johnson, acquainting him with his resolution, and promising, if he would contribute towards defraying his expenses, he would give the proprietors such a favourable account of his conduct and services, as would ensure to him the continuance of his office. But the governor being no stranger to the character of the judge, and being convinced that both the revolt of the people, and subversion of government, were in a great measure to be ascribed to his pernicious policy and secret correspondence with his friend the secretary to the proprietors, disdainfully rejected his interest and friendship. To which disrespect for the judge, however, Mr. Johnson attributed many of the injurious suspicions the proprietors entertained of his honour and fidelity, and that shameful neglect with which he was afterwards treated by them. They had written him no answer to his letters respecting the violent steps the people had taken, or ever informed him whether his conduct during those popular commotions had met with their approbation or disapprobation. Some of them even alleged that he was privy to the designs of the malcontents; and gave them too much countenance and indulgence; but every principle of honour, duty, and interest forbade such a connivance, and the upright and respectable character he maintained rendered such suspicions unmerited. That he should join with a disaffected multitude in schemes of opposition, to divest himself of his government, was a thing scarcely to be supposed. That he should first connive at the subversion of the proprietary government, and afterwards refuse to govern them for the king, when solicited so to do by the representatives and whole body of the people was a thing very improbable. When he arrived in the province, he found the inhabitants discontented and unhappy, but little suspected they had any views of renouncing their allegiance to the proprie-

tors; and the various arts the people used to conceal from him their designs, were proofs they had every thing to fear, and nothing to hope for from their governor. The many attempts made to defeat their measures were also evidences of his fidelity to their lordships, and firmness in support of their government. He indeed differed with Trott and Rhett, the two favourites of the proprietors, and perhaps to this, among other causes, the neglect with which he was treated by their lordships may be ascribed. For as they discovered on all occasions such a partial regard to these men, and placed such unlimited confidence in them, the person who differed from them, however fair and unblemished his character, however firmly attached to their interest, was not likely, in such circumstances of difficulty, to escape all injurious suspicions.

In the mean time the agent for Carolina had procured a hearing from the lords of the regency and council in England, the king being at that time in Hanover; who gave it as their opinion, that the proprietors had forfeited their charter, and ordered the attorney-general to take out a *scire facias* against it. In consequence of which, in September 1720, they appointed General Francis Nicolson provisional governor of the province, with a commission from the king. Nicolson was a man possessed of honourable principles; and was generous, bold, and resolute. He had been governor of several different colonies, and it was thought his knowledge and experience in provincial affairs would render him well qualified for the important trust. He knew his duty as commander and chief, and was afraid of neither dangers nor difficulties in the execution of it; a warm friend to the king, and deeply concerned for the prosperity of his country.

About the beginning of the year 1721, Francis Nicolson arrived in Carolina, and having the sanction of the British government for his appointment, Mr. Johnson acquiesced in his authority, and made no more efforts in behalf of the lords proprietors. The people in general congratulated one another on the happy change, and received General Nicolson with the most uncommon and extravagant demonstrations of joy. The voice of murmur and discontent, together with the fears of danger and oppression, were now banished from the province. Happy under the royal care, they resolved to forget all former animosities, and divisions, and bury all past offences in eternal oblivion. From a confused and distracted state they now looked upon themselves as happily delivered, and anticipated in imagination all the blessings of freedom and security, followed by industry and plenty, approaching, and as it were ready to diffuse their happy influence over the country.

Soon after his arrival, Governor Nicolson issued writs for the election of a new assembly, who now entered with great temper and cheerfulness on the regulation of provincial affairs. They chose James Moore, their late popular governor, speaker of the house, of whom the governor declared his entire approbation. The first business they engaged in, was to make an act, declaring they recognised and acknowledged his sacred majesty King George, to be the rightful sovereign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and of all the dominions and provinces belonging to the empire, and in particular his undoubted right to the province of Carolina. All actions and suits at law commenced on account of the late administration of James Moore by particular persons, creating misunderstandings and animosi-

ties among the people, were declared void and null, till his majesty's pleasure touching such administration shall be known; but all judicial proceedings under the same administration were confirmed; which acts were at this time judged proper and necessary for establishing harmony and tranquillity among the inhabitants. The two parties formerly subsisting, the one composed of a few adherents to Governor Johnson, and the other of the followers of James Moore, Nicolson had the good fortune to unite, and, by the wisdom and equity of his administration, to render both equally happy and contented under the royal government and protection.

Before Governor Nicolson left England, a suspension of arms between Great Britain and Spain had been published, and, by the treaty of peace which afterwards took place, it was stipulated that all subjects and Indians living under their different jurisdictions should cease from acts of hostility. Orders were sent out to Don Antonio Navidez, governor of Florida, to forbear molesting the Carolinians; and the British governor had also instructions to cultivate the friendship and good-will of the Spanish subjects and Indians of Florida. In consequence of which, Governor Nicolson, who was no stranger to the manners of savages, resolved to apply himself with great zeal and spirit to the regulation of Indian affairs, and to enter into treaties of friendship and alliance with the different tribes around the settlement. As most of their troubles from Indians had been occasioned by Europeans taking possession of lands claimed by them, without their permission or consent; the first object that demanded his attention was to fix the limits and extent of their territories, and then to forbid encroachments on their hunting-grounds. With these views he sent a message to the Cherokees, (a powerful nation, computed at this time to consist of no less than 6000 bowmen,) acquainting them, that he had presents to make them, and would meet them at the borders of their territories, to hold a general congress with them, in order to treat of mutual friendship and commerce. They were rejoiced at the proposal, and immediately the chiefs of 37 different towns set out to meet him.

At this congress the governor having made them several presents, and smoked the pipe of peace with them, marked the boundaries of the lands between them and the English settlers. He regulated all weights and measures, that justice might be done them in the way of traffic. He appointed an agent to superintend their affairs, and, to unite them under a common head, proposed to nominate one warrior as commander and chief of the whole nation, before whom all complaints were to be laid, and who was to acquaint the governor with every injury done them. With the consent of all present a leader of the name of Wrosetasatow was declared chief warrior of the Cherokee nation, with full power to punish all guilty of depredations and murders, and to obtain satisfaction for every injury done to Indians from the British settlers. After which the Indians returned to their towns, highly pleased with their new ally. The governor then proceeded to conclude another treaty with the Creeks, who were also a numerous and formidable nation. He likewise appointed an agent to reside among them, whose business was to regulate Indian affairs in a friendly and equitable manner, and fixed on Savanna river as the boundary of their hunting-lands, beyond which no settlements were to extend.

Having now secured the province as well as pos-



rible against the external foes, Governor Nicolson turned his attention next to internal regulations, particularly to such as respected the religious instruction of the people. For though he was bred a soldier, and was profane and passionate himself, yet he was not insensible of the great advantage of religion to government and society. The number of inhabitants in each parish being considerably increased, it was found necessary to enlarge several churches for their accommodation. The inhabitants of St. Paul's parish, many of whom had their houses burnt, and who had otherwise suffered heavy losses in the Yamasee war, were obliged to apply to the public for assistance in this laudable design. The parish of St. George was separated from that of St. Andrews by an act of assembly, and a new church was built at a small village called Dorchester, by public allowance and private contributions. The inhabitants in and about Georgetown, who had long lived without the benefit of public worship, insomuch that the appearance of religion among them had almost entirely vanished, claimed particular attention. To erect a church in this quarter the governor proposed a private subscription, and set the example by largely contributing towards the public institution. He made application to the society in England for propagating the Gospel, and they supplied the province with clergymen, giving each of them a yearly allowance over and above the provincial salary. As no public schools had yet been instituted the governor urged also the necessity of such establishments. It was alleged, that the want of early instruction was one of the chief sources of impiety and immorality, and if they continued any longer to neglect the rising generation, they would soon have a race of white people in the country equally ignorant as the red Indians. Animated by the example, and assisted by the generosity of their governor, the colonists therefore earnestly engaged in providing seminaries for the religious education of youth. Besides general contributions, several particular legacies were also left for this purpose. Mr. Whitmarsh left 500*l.* to St. Paul's parish, for founding a free-school in it. Mr. Ludlam, the society's missionary at Goose-creek, bequeathed all his estate, which was computed to amount to 2000*l.* Carolina currency, for the same purpose. Richard Beresfords, by his will, bequeathed the annual profits of his estate to be paid to the vestry of St. Thomas parish in trust, until his son, then eight years of age, should arrive at the age of 21 years; directing them to apply one-third of the yearly profits of this estate for the support of one or more schoolmasters, who should teach reading, accounts, mathematics, and other liberal learning; and the other two-thirds for the support, maintenance, and education of the poor of that parish. The vestry accordingly received from this estate 6500*l.* Carolina money, for promoting those pious and charitable purposes. The society in England sent out teachers, money and books, and assisted greatly, by their zeal and bounty, towards the religious instruction of the people; and in Charlestown, and in several other parishes in the country, public schools were built and endowed.

We have now to relate an instance of the force of enthusiasm, which, like the Antinomian schism, and the belief in witchcraft, which disturbed Boston, a few years before, may be traced to the frenzy that the study of abstruse theological doctrines very often led the early dissenters into. We give it in the words of a cotemporary writer:—

“The family of Dutartres consisting of four sons and four daughters, were descendants of French refugees, who came into Carolina after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. They lived in Orange-quarter, and though in low circumstances always maintained an honest character, and were esteemed by their neighbours, persons of blameless and irreproachable lives. But at this time a strolling Moravian preacher happening to come to that quarter where they lived, insinuated himself into their family, and partly by conversation, and partly by the writings of Jacob Behmen, which he put into their hands, filled their heads with wild and fantastic ideas. Unhappily for the poor family those strange notions gained ground on them, insomuch that in one year they began to withdraw themselves from the ordinances of public worship, and all conversation with the world around them, and strongly to imagine they were the only family upon earth who had the knowledge of the true God, and whom he vouchsafed to instruct, either by the immediate impulses of his Spirit, or by signs and tokens from heaven. At length it came to open visions and revelations. God raised up a prophet among them, like unto Moses, to whom he taught them to hearken. This prophet was Peter Rombert, who had married the eldest daughter of the family when a widow. To this man the author and governor of the world deigned to reveal, in the plainest manner, that the wickedness of man was again so great in the world, that as in the days of Noah he was determined to destroy all men from off the face of it, except one family whom he would save for raising up a godly seed upon earth. This revelation Peter Rombert was sure of, and felt it as plain as the wind blowing on his body, and the rest of the family, with equal confidence and presumption, firmly believed it.

“A few days after this, God was pleased to reveal himself a second time to the prophet, saying, Put away the woman whom thou hast for thy wife, and when I have destroyed this wicked generation, I will raise up her first husband from the dead, and they shall be man and wife as before, and go thou and take to wife her youngest sister, who is a virgin, so shall the chosen family be restored entire, and the holy seed preserved pure and undefiled in it. At first the father, when he heard of this revelation, was staggered at so extraordinary a command from heaven; but the prophet assured him that God would give him a sign, which accordingly happened; upon which the old man took his youngest daughter by the hand, and gave her to the wise prophet immediately for his wife, who without further ceremony took the damsel to his bed. Thus for some time they continued in acts of incest and adultery, until that period which made the fatal discovery, and introduced the bloody scene of blind fanaticism and madness.

“Those deluded wretches were so far possessed with the false conceit of their own righteousness and holiness, and of the horrid wickedness of all others, that they refused obedience to the civil magistrate, and all laws and ordinances of men. Upon pretence that God commanded them to bear no arms, they not only refused to comply with the militia law, but also the law for repairing the high-ways. After long forbearance, Mr. Simmons, a worthy magistrate, and the officer of the militia in that quarter, found it necessary to issue his warrants for levying the penalty of the laws upon them. But by this time Judith Dutartre, the wife the prophet obtained by revelation, proving with child, another warrant was

issued for bringing her before the justice to be examined, and bound over to the general sessions, in consequence of a law of the province, framed for preventing bastardy. The constable having received his warrants, and being jealous of meeting with no good usage in the execution of his office, prevailed on two or three of his neighbours to go along with him. The family observing the constable coming, and being apprised of his errand, consulted their prophet, who soon told them that God commanded them to arm, and defend themselves against persecution, and their substance against the robberies of ungodly men; assuring them at the same time that no weapon formed against them should prosper. Accordingly they did so, and laying hold of their arms, fired on the constable and his followers, and drove them out of their plantation. Such behaviour was not to be tolerated, and therefore Captain Simmons gathered a party of militia, and went to protect the constable in the execution of his office. When the deluded family saw the justice and his party approaching, they shut themselves up in their house, and firing from it like furies, shot Captain Simmons dead on the spot, and wounded several of his party. The militia returned the fire, killed one woman within the house, and afterwards forcibly entering it, took the rest prisoners six in number, and brought them to Charlestown.

"At the court of general sessions, held in September 1724, three of them were brought to trial, found guilty and condemned. Alas! miserable creatures, what amazing infatuation possessed them! They pretended they had the Spirit of God leading them to all truth, they knew it and felt it: but this spirit, instead of influencing them to obedience, purity, and peace, commanded them to commit rebellion, incest, and murder. What is still more astonishing, the principal persons among them, I mean the prophet, the father of the family, and Michael Boneau, never were convinced of their delusion, but persisted in it until their last breath. During their trial they appeared altogether unconcerned and secure, affirming that God was on their side, and therefore they feared not what man could do unto them. They freely told the incestuous story in open court in all its circumstances and aggravations, with a good countenance, and very readily confessed the facts respecting their rebellion and murder, with which they stood charged, but pled their authority from God in vindication of themselves, and insisted they had done nothing in either case but by his express command.

"As it is commonly the duty of clergymen to visit persons under sentence of death, both to convince them of their error and danger, and prepare them for death by bring them to a penitent disposition; Alexander Garden, the episcopal minister of Charlestown, to whom we are indebted for this account, attended those condemned persons with great diligence and concern. What they had affirmed in the court of justice, they repeated and confessed to him in like manner in the prison. When he began to reason with them, and to explain the heinous nature of their crimes, they treated him with disdain. Their motto was, Answer him not a word; who is he that should presume to teach them, who had the Spirit of God speaking inwardly to their souls. In all they had done, they said they had obeyed the voice of God, and were now about to suffer martyrdom for his religion. But God had assured them, that he would either work a deliverance for them, or raise them up from the dead on the third day.

These things the three men continued confidently to believe, and notwithstanding all the means used to convince them of their mistake, persisted in the same belief until the moment they expired. At their execution they told the spectators with seeming triumph, they should soon see them again, for they were certain they should rise from the dead on the third day.

"With respect to the other three, the daughter Judith being with child, was not tried, and the two sons, David and John Dutartre, about eighteen and twenty years of age, having been also tried and condemned, continued sullen and reserved, in hopes of seeing those that were executed rise from the dead, but being disappointed, they became, or at least seemed to become, sensible of their error, and were both pardoned. Yet not long afterwards one of them relapsed into the same snare, and murdered an innocent person, without either provocation or previous quarrel, and for no other reason, as he confessed, but that God had commanded him so to do. Being a second time brought to trial, he was found guilty of murder, and condemned. Mr. Garden attended him again under the second sentence, and acknowledged, with great appearance of success. No man could appear more deeply sensible of his error and delusion, or could die a more sincere and hearty penitent on account of his horrid crimes. With great attention he listened to Mr. Garden, while he explained to him the terms of pardon and salvation proposed in the Gospel, and seemed to die in the humble hopes of mercy, through the all-sufficient merits of a Redeemer."

Thus ended this wretched scene of fanaticism, in which seven persons lost their lives: one being killed, two murdered, and four executed for the murders;—a signal and melancholy instance of the extravagance and madness to which an inflamed imagination will excite weak minds.

About this time the number of white inhabitants, including men, women, and children, was computed to amount to 14,000, an increase, in the space of 54 years after the arrival of the first colony, very inconsiderable, and occasioned, no doubt, both by the unhealthiness of the climate, and by the discouragements and difficulties which prevailed during the proprietary government. The province now furnished the inhabitants with provisions in abundance, and exported what it could spare to the West Indies. The white inhabitants lived frugally, as luxury had not yet crept in among them, and, except a little rum and sugar, tea and coffee, were contented with what their plantations afforded. Maize and Indian peas seemed congenial with the soil and climate: and as they had been cultivated by the savages for provision, they were found also to be excellent food for European labourers, and more wholesome and nourishing than rice. Maize does not thrive on a watery soil, but on dry and loose land. As the use of the plough could not be introduced until the lands were cleared of the roots of trees, to prepare a field for planting it required great labour. Ridges were commonly made with the hoe about five feet asunder, upon the top of which the seed was planted three inches deep. One gallon of maize will sow an acre, which, with skilful management on good lands, will yield in favourable seasons from 30 to 50 bushels. While it grows it requires to be frequently weeded, and the earth carefully thrown up about the root of the plant, to facilitate its progress. As it rises high, at the root of it the Indian peas are usually planted, which climb up its stalk like a vine, so that the

lands yield a double crop. From the stem of maize large blades spring, which the planters carefully gather, and which, when properly cured, the horses or cattle will prefer before the finest hay. These two articles, maize and Indian peas, together with the Spanish potatoes, were the chief subsistence of their unhappy slaves, consisting chiefly of negroes and a few Indians, and who, at this time, men, women, and children, amounted to between 16,000 and 20,000.

In the year 1724, 439 slaves, and also British goods and manufactures of different kinds, to the amount of between 50,000 and 60,000*l.* sterling, were imported into the province. In exchange for these slaves and commodities, 18,000 barrels of rice, and about 52,000 barrels of pitch, tar and turpentine, together with deer-skins, furs, and raw silk, were exported to England. This trade was carried on almost entirely in British ships, and employed a number of hands. The Carolinians also traded to the West Indies, and several small ships and sloops were employed in carrying provisions, lumber, staves and naval stores to these islands, which they bartered for sugar, rum, molasses, coffee, cotton, and Spanish gold and silver. To New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, they sent some rice, hides, deer-skins, tar and pitch, and had in exchange, flour, salt fish, fruit, beer, and cider.

All the gold and silver that came into the province from the West Indies was commonly sent into Britain, to answer the merchants' demands there; and bills of credit continued increasing and circulating, for the convenience of domestic commerce: 40,000*l.* were issued during Nicolson's government, over and above former emissions, by which increase the exchange with Britain, and the price of produce arose in one year from 500 to 600 per cent. This has never failed to be the consequence of issuing large quantities of paper-money in Carolina: for whenever this currency was permitted to increase beyond what was necessary for the purposes of commerce, it sunk in value, and proportionably increased the nominal price of provisions and labour; and of course should it by any accident be diminished, the price would again fall. Besides this, when the imports happened to exceed the exports, the great demand for bills of exchange raised the price of them, and helped to increase the depreciation of the current money of the province.

Among other traders, at this time Othneal Beale commanded a ship in the Carolina trade; and while sailing from Charlestown to London, not being provided with a Mediterranean pass, he was taken by an Algerine rover, who determined to carry him to Barbary, and for this purpose took the English sailors on board, and manned Captain Beale's ship with Algerines, giving them orders to follow him to the Mediterranean sea. Soon after, a storm arising in the night separated the two ships, and Captain Beale being the only person on board that understood navigation, resolved to avail himself of the advantage, and accordingly, instead of sailing for Africa, steered directly for England. Upon his arrival the Algerine sailors were surprised, but not at all displeased; they even confessed to their ambassador the kind usage they had received; upon which Captain Beale had all he lost returned by agreement, together with thanks for his humanity. This bold adventure likewise procured the captain the honour of an introduction to the king, who expressed a desire of seeing him, and ordered Lord Carteret, then secretary of state, to make him a handsome present

on the occasion. This memorable anecdote being published, served to mark him for a man of address and courage in Carolina, where he afterwards took up his residence, and in time arrived at the chief command of the militia, was made a member of his majesty's council, and died at the age of 85, a rare instance of longevity in that country.

In the year 1725, Governor Nicolson having obtained leave from the king, returned to Great Britain, and the government devolved on Arthur Middleton, president of the council; who though of a reserved and mercenary disposition, was a sensible man, and by no means ill qualified for governing the province. But having succeeded a man who liberally spent all his salary and perquisites of office in promoting the public good, he was neither so much distinguished nor respected among the colonists. Being possessed of a moderate fortune, his chief study was to improve it, and he seemed to aspire after the character of a rich man in private life, rather than that of a popular governor and generous benefactor. As he had taken an active part against the proprietary government, he was not insensible of the advantages now gained from the countenance given the colony by the crown, and was equally careful to promote loyalty to the king as the freedom and safety of his fellow-subjects.

At this time the boundaries between the provinces of Carolina and Florida were neither clearly marked nor well understood, as they had never been settled by any public agreement or treaty between England and Spain. To prevent negroes escaping to the Spanish territories, and overawe the Indians under the Spanish jurisdiction, the Carolinians had built a fort on the forks of the river Alatamaha, and supported a small garrison in it. This gave umbrage to the governor of Augustine, who complained of it to the court of Madrid, representing it as an encroachment on the dominions of Spain, and as an attempt to seduce the Indians from their allegiance to his Catholic majesty. The Spanish ambassador at London lodged the complaint before the court of Britain, and demanded that orders should be sent out to Carolina immediately to demolish it. To prevent any interruption of the good correspondence then subsisting between the two courts, it was agreed to send orders to both governors in America to meet in an amicable manner, and settle the respective boundaries between the British and Spanish dominions in that quarter. Accordingly soon after Don Francisco Menandez, and Don Joseph de Rabiero, came to Charlestown, to hold a conference with the president and council of Carolina about this matter. At their meeting, Mr. Middleton showed those deputies, that this fort was built within the bounds of the charter granted to the proprietors, and that the pretensions of Spain to such lands were groundless. At the same time he told them, that the fort on the river Alatamaha was erected for defending themselves and their property against the depredations of Indians living under the jurisdiction of Spain. Then he begged to know from them their reasons for protecting felons and debtors that fled from Carolina to them, and for encouraging negroes to leave their masters and take refuge at Augustine, while peace subsisted between the two crowns? The deputies replied, That the governor of Florida would deliver up all felons and debtors; but had express orders for twenty years past, to detain all slaves who should fly to Augustine for liberty and protection. Middleton declared he looked on such injurious orders as a breach of national honour and faith, espe-

cially as negroes were real property, as much as houses and lands, in Carolina; a speech which cannot but make one shudder. The deputies answered, That the design of the king of Spain was not to injure private men, having ordered compensation to be made to the masters of such slaves in money; but that his humanity and religion enjoined him to issue such orders for the sake of converting slaves to the Christian faith. The conference ended to the satisfaction of neither party, and matters remained as they were; but soon after, the English fort, built of wood, was burned to the ground, and the southern frontiers of Carolina were again left naked and defenceless.

As no final agreement, with respect to the limits of the two provinces had been concluded, the Indians in alliance with Spain continued to harass the British settlements: particularly the Yamassees, who penetrated into Carolina in scalping parties; killing all the white men, and carrying off every negro they could. Though the owners of slaves had been allowed from the Spanish government a compensation in money for their losses, yet few of them ever received it, and at last Colonel Palmer resolved to make reprisals on those plunderers, since no adequate recompense could otherwise be obtained. For this purpose he gathered together a party of militia and friendly Indians, consisting in all of about 300 men, and entered Florida, with a resolution of spreading desolation throughout the province. He carried his arms as far as the gates of Augustine, and compelled the inhabitants to take refuge in their castle. Scarce a house or hut in the colony escaped the flames. He destroyed their provisions in the fields, and drove off their cattle, hogs and horses. Some Indians he killed, and others he made prisoners. In short, he left the people of Florida little property, except what was protected by the guns of their fort, and by this expedition convinced the Spaniards of their weakness, and the bad policy of encouraging Indians to molest the subjects of Britain. But such a state of society is shocking to reflect on, and bespeaks either some great defect on the part of the early legislators, or great demoralization on that of the settlers.

By this time the Spaniards were not the only neighbours that annoyed the Carolinians. The French settled in Louisiana were also advancing nearer them, and using all their address for gaining an influence with these savage nations. They erected a strong hold, called Fort Alabama, high up on Mobile river, which was excellently situated for opening and carrying on a correspondence with the most powerful nations around the British settlement. The Carolinians had good reason to be on their guard against the influence of these insinuating and enterprising neighbours. The tribes of Upper Creeks, whose hunting-lands extended to their fort, were soon won over by promises and largesses to an alliance with them. The Cherokees indeed lived at a greater distance from them, and yet by means of Creeks and other emissaries, whom they sent among them, they endeavoured also to bring them over to their interest. The river Mississippi being navigable a great way from its mouth, opened a communication with the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and other nations residing near it. So that the French had many excellent opportunities of seducing Indians from their alliance with Britain. The president of Carolina employed Captain Tobias Fitch among the Creeks, and Colonel George Chicken among the Cherokees, to keep these tribes steady and firm to the British

interest. These agents, however, during the whole time Mr. Middleton presided over the colony, found no small difficulty in counteracting the influence of French policy, and preventing their union and alliance with these enemies. From this period the British and French settlers in America became competitors for power and influence over the Indian nations, the one or the other of whom were always exposed to danger and trouble from them, in proportion to the success of their rivals; and the Carolinians were further from peace and safety than ever. The French supplied these savages with tomahawks, muskets, and ammunition, by which means they laid aside the bow and arrow, and became more dangerous and formidable enemies than they had been in any former period.

During the summer of 1728, the weather in Carolina was observed to be uncommonly hot, by which the earth was parched, the pools of standing water dried up, and the cattle were reduced to great distress. After such a long and general drought the inhabitants having usually observed hurricanes and tornadoes to follow in autumn, began to expect one as that season of the year approached; and their fears were fulfilled by a dreadful tornado which occurred in the end of August, and occasioned an inundation, that over flowed the town and the lowlands, and did incredible damage to the fortifications, houses, wharfs, shipping, and corn-fields. The streets of Charlestown were covered with boats and boards, and the inhabitants were obliged to take refuge in the higher stores of their dwelling-houses. Twenty-three ships were driven ashore, most of which were either greatly damaged, or dashed to pieces; and the Fox and Garland men-of-war, stationed there for the protection of trade, were the only ships that rode out the storm. This hurricane, though it levelled many thousand trees in the maritime parts, yet so thick was the forest, that it was scarcely perceived 100 miles from the shore. But as such violent storms are probably occasioned by the rarefaction of the air, with excessive heat, they are seldom of long duration, for having restored the equipoise in the atmosphere, the wind commonly shifts, and the tempest ceases.

The same year an infectious and pestilential distemper, commonly called the Yellow Fever, broke out in Charlestown, and swept off multitudes of the inhabitants, both white and black. Although the town depended entirely on the country for fresh provisions, the planters would suffer no person to carry supplies to it, for fear of catching the infection, and bringing it to the country. The physicians knew not how to treat the then almost unknown disorder which was so suddenly caught, and proved so quickly fatal; and the calamity was so general, that few could grant assistance to their distressed neighbours. So many funerals happening every day, while so many lay sick, sufficient white persons for burying the dead were scarcely to be found; and though they were often interred on the same day they died, so quick was the putrefaction, so offensive and infectious were the corpses, that even the nearest relations seemed averse from the necessary duty.

But notwithstanding these calamities, one memorable event distinguished this year, which was attended with many beneficial consequences to the province. An act of parliament passed in Britain for establishing an agreement with seven of the proprietors for a surrender of their right and interest, not only in the government, but also in the soil and lands of the province, to the king. The

purchase was made for 17,500*l.* sterling, to be paid before the end of September 1729, free of all deductions; after which payment, the province was to be vested in the crown of Great Britain. At the same time seven-eighth parts of the arrears of quit-rents, due from the colonists to the proprietors, amounting to somewhat more than 9000*l.* sterling, were also purchased for the crown for 5000*l.*; so that seven-eighth parts of this vast territory cost no more than 22,500*l.* But in this act of parliament there was a clause, reserving to Lord John Carteret the remaining eighth share of the property and arrears of quit-rents, which continues legally vested in his representatives; but the whole of his share in the government he surrendered to the crown. The proprietors who sold their shares at this time, were Henry, duke of Beaufort, William, Lord Craven, James Bertie, Dodington Greville, Henry Bertie, Mary Danson, Elizabeth More, Sir John Colleton, John Cotton, and Joseph Blake, who before the surrender were possessed, either in their own right or in trust, of seven-eighth parts of the government and property of the province. This surrender was made to Edward Bertie, Samuel Horsey, Henry Smith, and Alexis Clayton, in trust for the crown; and in consequence of the powers granted to the king by this act of parliament, he claimed the prerogative of appointing governors to both South and North Carolina, and a council similar to the other regal governments in America.

*Sir Alexander Cumming treats with the Indians—Seven Cherokees taken to England—Robert Johnson, governor—James Oglethorpe settles a colony in Georgia—A colony of Switzers arrives in Carolina—Eleven townships marked out—A struggle about lands—State of the colony—The regulations of the trustees—Settlement of two colonies of Highlanders and Germans—Thomas Broughton, lieutenant-governor—Oglethorpe fortifies Georgia—The Chickasaws defeat the French—Religious state of the colony—The association of Presbyterians—Remarks on paper currency—Small progress of Georgia—Hardships of the first settlers—An Irish colony planted.*

From that period in which the right and title to the lands of Carolina were surrendered to the king, and he assumed the immediate care and government of the province, a new era commences in the annals of this country, which may be called the era of its security and happiness. The Carolineans, who had long laboured under innumerable hardships and troubles, from a weak proprietary establishment, at last obtained the great object of their desires, a royal government, the constitution of which depended on commissions issued by the crown to the governor, and the instructions which attended those commissions. The form of all provincial governments was borrowed from that of their mother country; and the government of Carolina now assumed a form like the other regal ones, and was composed of three branches: namely, a governor, a council, and an assembly. The crown having the appointment of the governor, delegated to him its constitutional powers, civil and military, the power of legislation as far as the king possesses it, and its judicial and executive powers, together with those of chancery and admiralty jurisdiction, and also those of supreme ordinary: all these powers, as they exist in the crown, were intrusted to the colonial governors, and were declared and defined by their commissions patent. The council, though differing in many respects from the house of peers, was intended to re-

present that house, and the members were appointed by the king during pleasure, for supporting the prerogatives of the crown in the province. The assembly consisted of the representatives of the people, and were elected by them as the house of commons in Great Britain, to be the guardians of their liberties and properties. Here also the constitution confided in the good behaviour of the representatives; for should they betray their trust, it gave the people more frequent opportunities than even in Britain, of choosing others in their stead. The governor convened, prorogued, and dissolved these assemblies, and had a negative on the bills of both houses. After bills had received his assent, they were sent to Great Britain for the royal approbation, which, when they received, they had the force of laws in the province. By the instructions which the governor received from time to time from England, his power was occasionally greatly circumscribed.

After the purchase of the province, the first object of the royal concern was, to establish the peace of the colony on the firmest foundation; and for this purpose treaties of alliance with the Indian nations were judged to be essentially necessary. Domestic security being first established, the colonists might then apply themselves to industry with vigour and success, and while they enriched themselves, they would at the same time enlarge the commerce and trade of the mother country. For this purpose Sir Alexander Cumming was appointed, and sent out to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Cherokees, at this time a formidable nation of savages. These Indians occupied the lands about the head of Savannah river, and backwards among the Apalachian mountains. The country they claimed as their hunting-grounds was of immense extent; and its boundaries had never been clearly ascertained. The inhabitants of their different towns were computed to amount to more than 20,000, 6000 of whom were warriors, fit on any emergency to take the field. An alliance with such a nation was an object of the highest consequence to Carolina, and likewise to the mother country, now engaged for its defence and protection.

About the beginning of the year 1730, Sir Alexander arrived in Carolina, and made preparations for his journey to the distant hills. For his guides he procured some Indian traders, well acquainted with the woods, and an interpreter, who understood the Cherokee language, to assist him in his negotiations. When he reached Keowee, about 300 miles from Charlestown, the chiefs of the lower towns there met him, and received him with marks of great friendship and esteem. He immediately dispatched messengers to the middle, the valley, and over-hill settlements, and summoned a general meeting of all their chiefs, to hold a congress with him at Nequassee. Accordingly, in the month of April the chief warriors of all the Cherokee towns assembled at the place appointed. After the various Indian ceremonies were over, Sir Alexander made a speech to them, acquainting them by whose authority he was sent, and representing the great power and goodness of his sovereign, King George; how he, and all his other subjects, paid a cheerful obedience to his laws, and of course were protected by him from all harm: that he had come a great way to demand of Moytoy, and all the chieftains of the nation, to acknowledge themselves the subjects of his king, and to promise obedience to his authority; and as he loved them, and was answerable to his sovereign for their good and peaceable behaviour, he hoped they would agree

to what he should now require of them. Upon which the chiefs, falling on their knees, solemnly promised fidelity and obedience, calling upon all that was terrible to fall upon them if they violated their promise. Sir Alexander then, by their unanimous consent, nominated Moytoy commander and chief of the Cherokee nation, and enjoined all the warriors of the different tribes to acknowledge him for their king, to whom they were to be accountable for their conduct. To this they also agreed, provided Moytoy should be made answerable to Sir Alexander for his behaviour to them. After which, many useful presents were made them, and the congress ended to the great satisfaction of both parties. The crown was brought from Tennessee, their chief town, which, with five eagle tails and four scalps of their enemies, Moytoy presented to Sir Alexander, requesting him on his arrival at Britain, to lay them at his majesty's feet. But Sir Alexander proposed to Moytoy that he should depute some of their chiefs to accompany him to England, there to do homage in person to the great king. Accordingly six of them agreed, and accompanied Sir Alexander to Charlestown, where, being joined by another, they embarked for England in the Fox man-of-war, and arrived at Dover in June 1730.

We shall not pretend to describe their behaviour at the sight of the vast effects of civilization. Being admitted into the presence of the king, they, in the name of their nation, promised to continue for ever his majesty's faithful and obedient subjects; and a treaty was accordingly drawn up, and signed by Alured Popple, secretary to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations on one side, and by the marks of the six chiefs on the other. The preamble to this treaty recites, "That whereas the six chiefs, with the consent of the whole nation of Cherokees, at a general meeting of their nation at Nequassee, were deputed by Moytoy, their chief warrior, to attend Sir Alexander Cumming to Great Britain, where they had seen the great King George: and Sir Alexander, by authority from Moytoy and all the Cherokees, had laid the crown of their nation, with the scalps of their enemies and feathers of glory, at his majesty's feet, as a pledge of their loyalty: and whereas the great king had commanded the lords commissioners of trade and plantations to inform the Indians that the English on all sides of the mountains and lakes were his people, their friends his friends, and their enemies his enemies; that he took it kindly the great nation of Cherokees had sent them so far to brighten the chain of friendship between him and them, and between his people and their people; that the chain of friendship between him and the Cherokees is now like the sun, which shines both in Britain and also upon the great mountains where they live, and equally warms the hearts of Indians and Englishmen; that as there are no spots or blackness in the sun, so neither is there any rust or foulness on this chain. And as the king had fastened one end to his breast, he desired them to carry the other end of the chain and fasten it to the breast of Moytoy of Tellico, and to the breasts of all their old wise men, their captains, and people, never more to be made loose or broken.

"The great king and the Cherokees being thus fastened together by a chain of friendship, he was ordered, and it is agreed, that his children in Carolina do trade with the Indians, and furnish them with all manner of goods they want, and to make haste to build houses and plant corn from Charlestown, towards the towns of Cherokees behind the

great mountains: that he desires the English and Indians may live together as children of one family, that the Cherokees be always ready to fight against any nation, whether white men or Indians, who shall dare to molest or hurt the English; that the nation of Cherokees shall, on their part, take care to keep the trading path clean, that there be no blood on the path where the English tread, even though they should be accompanied with other people with whom the Cherokees may be at war: that the Cherokees shall not suffer their people to trade with white men of any other nation but the English, nor permit white men of any other nation to build any forts or cabins, or plant any corn among them, upon lands which belong to the great king: and if any such attempt shall be made, the Cherokees must acquaint the English governor therewith, and do whatever he directs, in order to maintain and defend the great king's right to the country of Carolina: that if any negroes shall run away into the woods from their English masters, the Cherokees shall endeavour to apprehend them, and bring them to the plantation from whence they run away, or to the governor, and for every slave so apprehended and brought back, the Indian that brings him shall receive a gun and a watch-coat: and if by any accident it shall happen that an Englishman shall kill a Cherokee, the king or chief of the nation shall first complain to the English governor, and the man who did the harm shall be punished by the English laws as if he had killed an Englishman; and in like manner, if any Indian happens to kill an Englishman, the Indian shall be delivered up to the governor, to be punished by the same English laws as if he were an Englishman."

This was the substance of the first treaty between the king and the Cherokees, every article of which was accompanied with presents of different kinds, such as cloth, guns, shot, vermilion, flints, hatchets, knives, &c. The Indians were given to understand, "That these were the words of the great king, whom they had seen, and as a token that his heart was open and true to his children the Cherokees, and to all their people, a belt was given the warriors, which they were told the king desired them to keep, and shew to all their people, to their children, and children's children, to confirm what was now spoken, and to bind this agreement of peace and friendship between the English and Cherokees, as long as the rivers shall run, the mountains shall last, or the sun shall shine."

This treaty, that it might be the easier understood, was drawn up in language as similar as possible to that of the Indians, which at this time was very little known in England, and given to them, certified and approved by Sir Alexander Cumming. In answer to which, Skijagustah, in name of the rest, made a speech to the following effect:—"We are come hither from a mountainous place, where nothing but darkness is to be found; but we are now in a place where there is light. There was a person in our country, he gave us a yellow token of warlike honour, which is left with Moytoy of Tellico, and as warriors we received it. He came to us like a warrior from you. A man he is; his talk is upright, and the token he left preserves his memory among us. We look upon you as if the great king were present; we love you as representing the great king: we shall die in the same way of thinking. The crown of our nation is different from that which the great King George wears, and from that we saw in the tower. But to us it is all one. The chain of



friendship shall be carried to our people. We look upon the great King George as the sun, and as our father, and upon ourselves as his children. For though we are red and you are white, yet our hands and hearts are joined together. When we shall have acquainted our people with what we have seen, our children from generation to generation will always remember it. In war we shall always be one with you. The enemies of the great king shall be our enemies; his people and ours shall be one, and shall die together. We came hither naked and poor as the worms of the earth, but you have every thing; and we that have nothing must love you, and will never break the chain of friendship which is between us. Here stands the governor of Carolina, whom we know. This small rope we show you is all that we have to bind our slaves with, and it may be broken. But you have iron chains for yours. However, if we catch your slaves, we will bind them as well as we can, and deliver them to our friends, and take no pay for it. We have looked round for the person that was in our country—he is not here; however, we must say that he talked uprightly to us, and we shall never forget him. Your white people may very safely build houses near us; we shall hurt nothing that belongs to them, for we are children of one father, the great king, and shall live and die together.” Then laying down his feathers upon the table, he added, “This is our way of talking, which is the same thing to us as your letters in the book are to you; and to you, beloved men, we deliver these feathers in confirmation of all we have said.”

The Cherokees, however barbarous, were a free and independent people; and this method of obtaining a share of their lands by the general consent, was honourable in itself, and beneficial in its effects; for the Cherokees, in consequence of this treaty, for many years remained in a state of peace with the colonists, who followed their various employments in the neighbourhood of those Indians without the least fear or molestation.

About the beginning of the year 1731, Robert Johnson, who had been governor of Carolina while in the possession of the lords proprietors, having received a commission from the king, investing him with the same office and authority, arrived in the province. He brought back these Indian chiefs, possessed with the highest ideas of the power and greatness of the English nation, and not a little pleased with the treatment they had received. The Carolinians, who had always entertained the highest esteem for this gentleman, even in the time of their greatest confusion, having now obtained him in the character of king's governor, a thing they formerly had so much desired, received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Sensible of his ability, and his strong attachment to the colony, they promised themselves much prosperity and happiness under his gentle administration.

This new governor, from his knowledge of the province, and the dispositions of the people, was not only well qualified for his high office, but he had a council to assist him, composed of the most respectable inhabitants. Thomas Broughton was appointed lieutenant-governor, and Robert Wright chief justice. The other members of the council were, William Bull, James Kinloch, Alexander Skene, John Fenwick, Arthur Middleton, Joseph Wragg, Francis Yonge, John Hamerton, and Thomas Waring. At the first meeting of assembly, the governor recommended to both houses to embrace the earliest opportunity of testifying their gratitude to his majesty

for taking the colony under his particular care; he enjoined them to put the laws in execution against impiety and immorality, and as the most effectual means of discouraging vice, to attend carefully to the education of youth. He acquainted them of the treaty which had been concluded in England with the Cherokees, which he hoped would be attended with beneficial and happy consequences; and recommended the payment of public debts, the establishment of public credit, and peace and unanimity among themselves as the chief objects of their attention. They in return presented to him the most loyal and affectionate addresses, and entered on their public deliberations with uncommon harmony and great satisfaction.

For the encouragement of the people, now connected with the mother country both by mutual affection and the mutual benefits of commerce, several favours and indulgences were granted them. The restraint upon rice, an enumerated commodity, was partly taken off; and, that it might arrive more seasonably and in better condition at the market, the colonists were permitted to send it to any port southward of Cape Finisterre. A discount upon hemp was also allowed by parliament. The arrears of quit-rents bought from the proprietors were remitted by a bounty from the crown. For the benefit and enlargement of trade their bills of credit were continued, and 77,000*l.* were stamped and issued by virtue of an act of the legislature, called the Appropriation Law. Seventy pieces of cannon were sent out by the king, and the governor had instructions to build one fort at Port-royal, and another on the river Alatamaha. An independent company of foot was allowed for their defence by land, and ships of war were stationed there for the protection of trade. These and many more favours flowed to the colony, now emerging from the depths of poverty and oppression, and arising to a state of freedom, ease, and affluence.

As a natural consequence of its domestic security, the credit of the province in England increased. The merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, turned their eyes to Carolina, as a new and promising channel of trade, and established houses in Charlestown for conducting their business with the greater ease and success. They poured in slaves from Africa for cultivating their lands, and manufactures of Britain for supplying the plantations; by which means the planters obtained great credit, and goods at a much cheaper rate than they could be obtained from any other nation. In consequence of which, the planters having greater strength, turned their whole attention to cultivation, and cleared the lands with greater facility and success. The lands arose in value, and men of foresight and judgment began to look out and secure the richest spots for themselves, with that ardour and keenness which the prospect of riches naturally inspires. The produce of the province in a few years was doubled. During this year above 39,000 barrels of rice were exported, besides deer-skins, furs, naval stores, and provisions; and above 1500 negroes were imported into it. From this period its exports kept pace with its imports, and secured its credit in England. The rate of exchange had now arisen to 700 per cent., i. e. 700 Carolina money was given for a bill of 100*l.* sterling on England; at which rate it afterwards continued, with little variation, for upwards of 40 years.

Hitherto the progress in cultivation Carolina had made was very inconsiderable, and the face of the

country appeared like a desert, with small spots here and there cleared, scarcely discernible amidst the immense forest. The colonists were slovenly farmers, owing to the vast quantities of lands, and the easy and cheap terms of obtaining them; and for a good crop they were more indebted to the great power of vegetation, and natural richness of the soil, than to their own culture and management. They had abundance of the necessities, and several of the conveniences of life. But their habitations were clumsy and miserable huts, and having no carriages, all travellers were exposed in open boats, or on horseback, to the violent heat of the climate. Their houses were constructed of wood, by erecting first a wooden frame, and then covering it with clapboards without, and plastering it with lime within, of which they had plenty made from oyster-shells. Charlestown, at this time, consisted of between 500 and 600 houses, mostly built of timber, and neither well constructed nor comfortable, plain indications of the wretchedness and poverty of the people. However, from this period the province improved in building as well as in many other respects; many ingenious artificers and tradesmen of different kinds found encouragement in it, and introduced a taste for brick buildings, and more neat and pleasant habitations. In process of time as the colony increased in numbers, the face of the country changed, and exhibited an appearance of industry and plenty. The planters made a rapid progress towards wealth and independence, and the trade being well protected, yearly increased and flourished.

At the same time, for the relief of the poor and indigent people of Great Britain and Ireland, and for the further security of Carolina, the settlement of a new colony between the rivers Altamaha and Savanna was projected in England. This large territory, situated on the south-west of Carolina, yet lay waste, without an inhabitant, except its original savages. Private compassion and public spirit conspired towards promoting the excellent design. Several persons of humanity and opulence having observed many families and valuable subjects oppressed with the miseries of poverty at home, united, and formed a plan for raising money, and transporting them to this part of America. For this purpose they applied to the king, obtained from him letters-patent, bearing date June 9th, 1732, for legally carrying into execution what they had generously projected. They called the new province Georgia, in honour of the king, who likewise greatly encouraged the undertaking. A corporation, consisting of 21 persons, was constituted, by the name of trustees, for settling and establishing the colony of Georgia; which was separated from Carolina by the river Savanna. The trustees having first set an example themselves, by largely contributing towards the scheme, undertook also to solicit benefactions from others, and to apply the money towards clothing, arming, purchasing utensils for cultivation, and transporting such poor people as should consent to go over and begin a settlement. They, however, confined not their views to the subjects of Britain alone, but wisely opened a door also for oppressed and indigent Protestants from other nations. To prevent any misapplication or abuse of charitable donations, they agreed to deposit the money in the Bank of England, and to enter in a book the names of all the charitable benefactors, together with the sums contributed by each of them; and to bind themselves and their successors in office, to lay an account of the money received and expended before

the lord chancellor of England, the lord chief justice of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, the master of the Rolls, and the lord chief baron of the Exchequer.

The benevolent founders of the colony of Georgia perhaps may challenge the annals of any nation to produce a design more generous and praise-worthy than that they had undertaken. They voluntarily offered their money, their labour, and time, for promoting what appeared to them the good of others, having no other reward but the satisfaction of doing good. Among other great ends they had also in view the conversion and civilization of Indian savages. If their public regulations were afterwards found improper and impracticable; if their plan of settlement proved too narrow and circumscribed, praise, nevertheless, is due to them. Human policy at best is imperfect; but, when the design appears so evidently disinterested, the candid will make many allowances for them, considering their ignorance of the country, and the many defects that adhere to all codes of laws, even when framed by the wisest legislators.

About the middle of July 1732, the trustees for Georgia held their first general meeting, when Lord Percival was chosen president of the corporation. After all the members had qualified themselves, agreeably to the charter, for the faithful discharge of the trust, a common seal was ordered to be made. The device was, on one side, two figures resting upon urns, representing the rivers Altamaha and Savanna, the boundaries of the province; between them the genius of the colony seated, with a cap of liberty on his head, a spear in one hand, and a cornucopia in the other, with the inscription, "Colonia Georgia Aug.:" on the other side was a representation of silk-worms, some beginning, and others having finished their web, with the motto, "Non Sibi sed Aliis;" a very proper emblem, signifying that the nature of the establishment was such, that neither the first trustees nor their successors could have any views of interest, it being entirely designed for the benefit and happiness of others.

In November following, 116 settlers embarked from England at Gravesend for Georgia, having their passage paid, and every thing requisite for building and cultivation furnished them by the corporation. They could not properly be called adventurers, as they ran no risk but what arose from the change of climate, and as they were to be maintained until by their industry they were able to support themselves. James Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, embarked along with them, and proved a zealous and active promoter of the settlement. In the beginning of the year following, Oglethorpe arrived in Charlestown, where he was received by the governor and council in the kindest manner, and treated with every mark of civility and respect. Governor Johnson, sensible of the great advantage that must accrue to Carolina from this new colony, gave all the encouragement and assistance in his power to forward the settlement. Many of the Carolinians sent them provisions and hogs, and cows, to begin their stock. William Bull, a man of knowledge and experience, agreed to accompany Mr. Oglethorpe, and the rangers and scout-boats were ordered to attend him to Georgia. After their arrival at Yamacraw, Oglethorpe and Bull explored the country, and having found a high and pleasant spot of ground, situated on a navigable river, they fixed on this place as the most convenient and healthy situation for the settlers. On this hill they marked out a town, and from the Indian name of the river

which ran past it, called it Savanna. A small fort was erected on the banks of it as a place of refuge, and some guns were mounted on it for the defence of the colony. The people were set to work in felling trees and building huts for themselves, and Oglethorpe animated and encouraged them, by exposing himself to all the hardships which the poor objects of his compassion endured. He formed them into a company of militia, appointed officers from among themselves, and furnished them with arms and ammunition. To show the Indians how expert they were at the use of arms, he frequently exercised them; and as they had been trained beforehand by the sergeants of the guards in London, they performed their various parts in a manner little inferior to regular troops.

Having thus put his colony in as good a situation as possible, the next object of his attention was to treat with the Indians for a share of their possessions. The principal tribes that at this time occupied the territory were the Upper and Lower Creeks; the former were numerous and strong, the latter, by diseases and war, had been reduced to a smaller number: both tribes together were computed to amount to about 25,000 men, women and children. These Indians, according to a treaty formerly made with Governor Nicolson, laid claim to the lands lying south-west of Savanna river, and, to procure their friendship for this infant colony, was an object of the highest consequence. But as the tribe of Indians settled at Yamacraw was inconsiderable, Oglethorpe judged it necessary to have the other tribes also to join with them in the treaty. To accomplish this union he found an Indian woman named Mary, who had married a trader from Carolina, and who could speak both the English and Creek languages; and perceiving that she had great influence among Indians, and might be made useful as an interpreter in forming treaties of alliance with them; he therefore first purchased her friendship with presents, and afterwards settled 100*l.* yearly on her, as a reward for her services. By her assistance he summoned a general meeting of the chiefs, to hold a congress with him at Savanna, in order to procure their consent to the peaceable settlement of his colony. At this congress 50 chieftains were present, when Oglethorpe of course represented to them the great power, wisdom and wealth of the English nation, and the many advantages that would accrue to Indians in general from a connexion and friendship with them; and after having distributed some presents, an agreement was made, and then Tomochichi, in the name of the Creek warriors, addressed him, and, giving him a buffalo's-skin, adorned on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle, desired him to accept it, because the eagle, was an emblem of speed, and the buffalo of strength. He told him, that the English were as swift as the bird and as strong as the beast, since like the former, they flew over vast seas to the uttermost parts of the earth; and, like the latter, they were so strong that nothing could withstand them. He said, the feathers of the eagle were soft, and signified love; the buffalo's-skin was warm, and signified protection; and therefore he hoped the English would love and protect their little families. Oglethorpe accordingly accepted the present, and after having concluded this treaty of friendship with Indians, and placed his colony in the best posture of defence, he returned to Britain, carrying with him Tomochichi, his queen, and some more Indians.

On their arrival in London, these Indian chiefs

were introduced to his majesty, while many of the nobility were present; when Tomochichi, overpowered with astonishment, addressed the king in the following words: "This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house, and the number of your people; I am come in my old days, though I cannot expect to see any advantage to myself; I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Lower and Upper Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English. These are feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and which flieth round our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there. We have brought them over to leave them with you, O great king, as a token of everlasting peace. O great king, whatever words you shall say unto me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nations." To which his majesty replied: "I am glad of this opportunity of assuring you of my regard for the people from whom you came; and I am extremely well pleased with the assurances you have brought me from them, and accept very gratefully of this present, an indication of their good dispositions to me and my people. I shall always be ready to cultivate a good correspondence between the Creeks and my subjects; and shall be glad on any occasion to show you a mark of my particular friendship."

During the whole time these Indians were in England, nothing was neglected that might serve to engage their affections, and fill them with just notions of the greatness and power of the British nation. The nobility, curious to see them, and observe their manners, entertained them magnificently at their tables. Wherever they went, multitudes flocked around them, shaking hands with the rude warriors of the forest, giving them little presents, and treating them with every mark of friendship and civility. Twenty pounds a week were allowed them by the crown while they remained in England, and when they returned, it was computed they carried presents with them to the value of 400*l.* After staying four months, they were carried to Gravesend in one of his majesty's carriages, where they embarked for Georgia, highly pleased with the generosity of the nation, and promising perpetual fidelity to its interest.

It is said that James Oglethorpe, when he came out to settle this colony in Georgia, brought along with him Sir Walter Raleigh's manuscript journals; and by the latitude of the place, and the traditions of the Indians, it appeared to him that Sir Walter had landed at the mouth of Savanna river. Indeed during his wild and chimerical attempts for finding out a golden country, it is not improbable that he visited many different places. The Indians acknowledged that their fathers once held a conference with a warrior who came over the great waters; and at a little distance from Savanna, there is a high mount of earth, under which they said the Indian king was interred, who talked with the English warrior, and that he desired to be buried in the same place where this conference was held. But having little authority with respect to this matter, we cannot vouch for its correctness.

While the security of Carolina, against external enemies, by this settlement of Georgia, engaged the attention of the British government, the means of its internal improvement and population at the same time were not neglected. John Peter Pury, a native of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, having formed a design of leaving his native country, paid a visit to

Carolina, in order to inform himself of the circumstances, and situation of the province. After viewing the lands there, and procuring all the information he could, with respect to the terms of obtaining them, he returned to Britain. The government entered into a contract with him, and, for the encouragement of the people, agreed to give lands and 400*l.* sterling for every 100 effective men he should transport from Switzerland to Carolina. Pury, while in Carolina, having furnished himself with a flattering account of the soil and climate, and of the excellence and freedom of the provincial government, returned to Switzerland, and published it among the people. Immediately 170 poor Switzers agreed to follow him, and were transported to the fertile and delightful province as he described it; and not long afterwards 200 more arrived, and joined them. The governor allotted 40,000 acres of land for the use of the Swiss settlement on the north-east side of Savanna river; and a town was marked out for their accommodation, which he called Purisburgh, from the name of the principal promoter of the settlement. Mr. Bignon, a Swiss minister, whom they had engaged to go with them, having received episcopal ordination from the bishop of London, settled among them for their religious instruction. On the one hand the governor and council, happy in the acquisition of such a force, allotted each of them his separate tract of land, and gave every encouragement in their power to the people: on the other, the poor Swiss emigrants began their labours with uncommon zeal and courage. However, in a short time they felt the many inconveniences attending a change of climate. Several of them sickened and died, and others found all the hardships of the first state of colonization falling heavily upon them. They became discontented with the provisions allowed them, and complained to government of the persons employed to distribute them; and, to double their distress, the period for receiving the bounty expired before they had made such progress in cultivation as to raise sufficient provisions for themselves and families. The spirit of discontent crept into the poor Swiss settlement, and the people finding themselves oppressed with indigence and distress, could consider their situation in no other light than a state of banishment, and not only blamed Pury for deceiving them, but also heartily repented their leaving their native country.

According to the new plan adopted in England for the more speedy population and settlement of the province; the governor had instructions to mark out eleven townships, in square plats, on the sides of rivers, consisting each of 20,000 acres, and to divide the lands within them into shares of 50 acres for each man, woman, and child, that should come over to occupy and improve them. Each township was to form a parish, and all the inhabitants were to have an equal right to the river. So soon as the parish should increase to the number of 100 families, they were to have a right to send two members of their own election to the assembly, and to enjoy the same privileges as the other parishes already established. Each settler was to pay four shillings a year for every 100 acres of land, excepting the first ten years, during which term they were to be rent free. Governor Johnson issued a warrant to St. John, surveyor-general of the province, empowering him to go and mark out those townships. But he having demanded an exorbitant sum of money for his trouble, the members of the council agreed among themselves to do this piece of service for their country.

Accordingly eleven townships were marked out by them in the following situations; two on river Alamaha, two on Savanna, two on Santee, one on Wacamaw, one on Wateree, and one on Black rivers.

The old planters now acquiring every year greater strength of hands, by the large importation of negroes, and extensive credit from England, began to turn their attention more closely than ever to the lands of the province. A spirit of emulation broke out among them for securing tracts of the richest ground, but especially such as were most conveniently situated for navigation. Complaints were made to the assembly, that all the valuable lands on navigable rivers and creeks adjacent to Port-royal had been run out in exorbitant tracts, under colour of patents granted by the proprietors to Cassiques and Landgraves, by which the complainants, who had at the hazard of their lives, defended the country, were hindered from obtaining such lands as could be useful and beneficial, at the established quit-rents, though the attorney and solicitor-general of England had declared such patents void. Among others, Job Rothmaller and Thomas Cooper, having been accused of some illegal practices with respect to this matter, a petition was presented to the assembly by 39 inhabitants of Granville county in their vindication. When the assembly examined into the matter, they ordered their messenger forthwith to take into custody Job Rothmaller and Thomas Cooper, for aiding, assisting, and superintending the deputy-surveyor in marking out tracts of land already surveyed, contrary to the quit-rent act. But Cooper, being taken into custody, applied to Chief Justice Wright for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was granted. The assembly, however, sensible of the ill consequences that would attend such illegal practices, determined to put a stop to them by an act made on purpose. They complained to the governor and council against the surveyor-general, for encouraging land-jobbers, and allowing such liberties as tended to create litigious disputes in the province, and to involve it in great confusion. In consequence of which, the governor, to give an effectual check to such practices, prohibited St. John to survey lands to any person without an express warrant from him. The surveyor-general, however, determined to make the most of his office, and having a considerable number to support him, represented both governor and council as persons disaffected to his majesty's government, and enemies to the interest of the country. Being highly offended at the assembly, he began to take great liberties without doors, and to turn some of their speeches into ridicule. Upon which an order was issued to take St. John also into custody; and then the commons came to the following spirited resolution: "That it is the undeniable privilege of this assembly to commit such persons they may judge to deserve it: that the freedom of speech and debate ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of that house: that it is a contempt and violation of the privileges of that house, to call in question any of their commitments: that no writ of *habeas corpus* lies in favour of any person committed by that house, and that the messenger attending do yield no obedience to such; and that the chief justice be made acquainted with these resolutions." In consequence of which, Wright complained before the governor and council of these resolutions, as tending to the dissolution of all government, and charged the lower house with disallowing his majesty's undoubted pre-

rogative, and with renouncing obedience to his writs of *habeas corpus*. But the council in general approved of their conduct, and were of opinion, that the assembly of Carolina had that same privilege there, that the house of commons had in England. This affair created some dissension in the colony; for while a strong party, from motives of private interest, supported the chief justice; the assembly resolved, "That he appeared to be prejudiced against the people, and was therefore unworthy of the office he held, and that it would tend to the tranquillity of the province immediately to suspend him."

This was the situation of the colony about the end of the year 1733. Each planter, eager in the pursuit of large possessions of land, which were formerly neglected, because of little value, strenuously vied with his neighbour for a superiority of fortune, and seemed impatient of every circumstance that restrained him. Many favours and indulgencies had already been granted them from the crown, for promoting their success and prosperity, and for securing the province against external enemies. What further favours they expected, we may learn from the following memorial and representation of the state of Carolina, transmitted to the king, dated April 9, 1734, and signed by the governor, the president of the council, and the speaker of the commons house of assembly.

"Your majesty's most dutiful subjects of this province, having often felt, with hearts full of gratitude, the many signal instances of your majesty's peculiar favour and protection to those distant parts of your dominions, and especially those late proofs of your majesty's most gracious and benign care, so wisely calculated for the preservation of this your majesty's frontier province on the continent of America, by your royal charter to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, and your great goodness so timely applied, for the promoting the settlement of the Swiss at Purisburgh; encouraged by such views of your majesty's wise and paternal care, extended to your remotest subjects, and excited by the duty we owe to your most sacred majesty, to be always watchful for the support and security of your majesty's interest, especially at this very critical conjuncture, when the flame of a war breaking out in Europe may very speedily be lighted here, in this your majesty's frontier province, which, in situation, is known to be of the utmost importance to the general trade and traffic in America: we, therefore, your majesty's most faithful governor, council, and commons, convened in your majesty's province of South Carolina, crave leave with great humility to represent to your majesty the present state and condition of this your province, and how greatly it stands in need of your majesty's gracious and timely succour in case of a war, to assist our defence against the French and Spaniards, or any other enemies to your majesty's dominions, as well as against the many nations of savages which so nearly threaten the safety of your majesty's subjects.

"The province of South Carolina, and the new colony of Georgia, are the southern frontiers of all your majesty's dominions on the continent of America; to the south and south-west of which is situated the strong castle of St. Augustine, garrisoned by 400 Spaniards, who have several nations of Indians under their subjection, besides several other small settlements and garrisons, some of which are not 80 miles distant from the colony of Georgia. To the south-west and west of us the French have

erected a considerable town, near fort Thoulouse, on the Moville river, and several other forts and garrisons, some not above 300 miles distant from our settlements; and at New Orleans, on the Mississippi river, since her late majesty Queen Anne's war, they have exceedingly increased their strength and traffic, and have now many forts and garrisons on both sides of that great river for several hundred miles up the same; and since his most Christian majesty has taken out of the Mississippi Company the government of that country into his own hands, the French natives in Canada come daily down in shoals to settle all along that river, where many regular forces have of late been sent over by the king to strengthen the garrisons in those places, and, according to our best and latest advices, they have 500 men in pay, constantly employed as wood-rangers, to keep their neighbouring Indians in subjection, and to prevent the distant ones from disturbing the settlements; which management of the French has so well succeeded, that we are very well assured they have now wholly in their possession, and under their influence, the several numerous nations of Indians that are situated near the Mississippi river, one of which, called the Choctaws, by estimation consists of about 5000 fighting men, and who were always deemed a very warlike nation, lies on this side the river, not above 400 miles distant from our out-settlements, among whom, as well as several other nations of Indians, many French Europeans have been sent to settle, whom the priests and missionaries among them encourage to take Indian wives, and use divers other alluring methods to attach the Indians the better to the French alliance, by which means the French are become thoroughly acquainted with the Indian way, warring and living in the woods, and have now a great number of white men among them, able to perform a long march with an army of Indians upon any expedition.

"We further beg leave to inform your majesty, that if the measures of France should provoke your majesty to a state of hostility against it in Europe, we have great reason to expect an invasion will be here made upon your majesty's subjects by the French and Indians from the Mississippi settlements. They have already paved a way for a design of that nature, by erecting a fort called the Alabama fort, alias Fort Lewis, in the middle of the upper Creek Indians, upon a navigable river leading to Mobile, which they have kept well garrisoned and mounted with fourteen pieces of cannon, and have lately been prevented from erecting a second nearer to us on that quarter. The Upper Creeks are a nation very bold, active and daring, consisting of about 2500 fighting men (and not above 150 miles distant from the Choctaws), whom, though we heretofore have traded with, claimed and held in our alliance, yet the French, on account of that fort, and a superior ability to make them liberal presents, have been for some time striving to draw them over to their interest, and have succeeded with some of the town of the Creeks; which, if they can be secured in your majesty's interest, are the only nation which your majesty's subjects here can depend upon as the best barrier against any attempts either of the French or their confederate Indians.

"We most humbly beg leave farther to inform your majesty, that the French at Mobile, perceiving that they could not gain the Indians to their interest without buying their deer-skins (which is the only commodity the Indians have to purchase neces-

saries with), and the French not being able to dispose of those skins by reason of their having no vent for them in Old France, they have found means to encourage vessels from hence, New York, and other places, (which are not prohibited by the acts of trade,) to truck those skins with them for Indian trading goods, especially the British woollen manufactures, which the French dispose of to the Creeks and Choctaws, and other Indians, by which means the Indians are much more alienated from our interest, and on every occasion object to us that the French can supply them with strouds and blankets as well as the English, which would have the contrary effect if they were wholly supplied with those commodities by your majesty's subjects trading with them. If a stop were therefore put to that pernicious trade with the French, the chief dependence of the Creek Indians would be on this government, and that of Georgia, to supply them with goods; by which means great part of the Choctaws, living next the Creeks, would see the advantage the Creek Indians enjoyed by having British woollen manufactures wholly from your majesty's subjects, and thereby be invited in a short time to enter into a treaty of commerce with us, which they have lately made some offers for, and which, if effected, will soon lessen the interest of the French with those Indians, and by degrees attach them to that of your majesty.

"The only expedient we can propose to recover and confirm that nation to your majesty's interest, is by speedily making them presents to withdraw them from the French alliance, and by building some forts among them your majesty may be put in such a situation, that on the first notice of hostilities with the French, your majesty may be able at once to reduce the Albama fort, and we may then stand against the French and their Indians, which, if not timely prepared for before a war breaks out, we have too much reason to fear we may be soon overrun by the united strength of the French, the Creeks, and Choctaws, with many other nations of their Indian allies: for, should the Creeks become wholly enemies, who are well acquainted with all our settlements, we probably should also be soon deserted by the Cherokees, and a few others, small tribes of Indians, who, for the sake of our booty, would readily join to make us a prey to the French and savages. Ever since the late Indian war, the offences given us then by the Creeks have made that nation very jealous of your majesty's subjects of this province. We have therefore concerted measures with the honourable James Oglethorpe, Esq.; who, being at the head of a new colony, will (we hope) be successful for your majesty's interest among that people. He has already by presents attached the lower creeks to your majesty, and has laudably undertaken to endeavour the fixing a garrison among the upper creeks, the expense of which is already in part provided for in this session of the general assembly of this province. We hope, therefore, to prevent the French from encroaching farther on your majesty's territories, until your majesty is graciously pleased further to strengthen and secure the same.

"We find the Cherokee nation has lately become very insolent to your majesty's subjects trading among them, notwithstanding the many favours the chiefs of that nation received from your majesty in Great Britain, besides a considerable expense which your majesty's subjects of this province have been at in making them presents, which inclines us to believe that the French, by their Indians, have been tampering with them. We therefore beg leave to

inform your majesty, that the building and mounting some forts likewise among the Cherokees, and making them presents will be highly necessary to keep them steady in their duty to your majesty, lest the French may prevail in seducing that nation, which they may the more readily be inclined to from the prospect of getting considerable plunder in slaves, cattle, &c., commodities which they very well know we have among us, and that several other forts will be indispensably necessary, to be a cover to your majesty's subjects settled backwards in this province, as also to those of the colony of Georgia, both which in length are very extensive; for though the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, by a particular scheme of good management, painfully conducted by the gentleman engaged here in that charitable enterprise, have put that small part of the colony, which he has not yet been able to establish, in a tenable condition, against the Spaniards of Florida which lie to the southward; yet the back exposition of those colonies to the vast number of French and Indians which border on the westward, must, in case of a war, cry greatly aloud for your majesty's gracious and timely succour. The expense of our safety on such an occasion we must, with all humility, acquaint your majesty, either for men or money, can never be effected by your majesty's subjects of this province, who, in conjunction with Georgia, do not in the whole amount to more than 3500 men, which compose the militia, and wholly consist of planters, tradesmen, and other men of business.

"Besides the many dangers which by land we are exposed to from so many enemies that lie on the back of us; we further beg leave to represent to your majesty the defenceless condition of our ports and harbours, where any enemies of your majesty's dominions may very easily by sea invade us, there being no fortifications capable of making much resistance. Those in Charlestown harbour are now in a very shattered condition, occasioned by the late violent storms and hurricanes, which already cost this country a great deal of money, and it now requires several thousands of pounds to repair the old and build new ones, to mount the ordnance which your majesty was graciously pleased to send us, which, with great concern, we must inform your majesty we have not yet been able to accomplish, being lately obliged, for the defence and support of this your majesty's province and government, to raise, by a tax on the inhabitants, a supply of above 40,000*l.* paper currency per annum, which is a considerable deal more than a third part of all the currency among us; a charge which your majesty's subjects of this province are but barely able to sustain. Since your majesty's royal instruction to your majesty's governor here, an entire stop has been put to the duties which before accrued from European goods imported; and if a war should happen, or any thing extraordinary, to be farther expensive here, we should be under the utmost difficulties to provide additionally for the same, lest an increase of taxes, with an apprehension of danger, should drive away many of our present inhabitants, as well as discourage others from coming here to settle for the defence and improvement of your majesty's province, there being several daily moving with their families and effects to North Carolina, where there are no such fears and burdens.

"We must therefore beg leave to inform your majesty, that, amidst our other perilous circumstances, we are subject to many intestine dangers



from the great number of negroes that are now among us, who amount at least to 22,000 persons, and are three to one of all your majesty's white subjects in this province. Insurrections against us have been often attempted, and would at any time prove very fatal if the French should instigate them, by artfully giving them an expectation of freedom. In such a situation we most humbly crave leave to acquaint your majesty, that even the present ordinary expenses necessary for the care and support of this your majesty's province and government, cannot be provided for by your majesty's subjects of this province, without your majesty's gracious pleasure to continue those laws for establishing the duty on negroes and other duty for seven years, and for appropriating the same, which now lie before your majesty for your royal assent and approbation; and the further expenses that will be requisite for the erecting some forts, and establishing garrisons in the several necessary places, so as to form a barrier for the security of this your majesty's province, we most humbly submit to your majesty.

"Your majesty's subjects of this province, with fulness of zeal, duty, and affection to your most gracious and sacred majesty, are so highly sensible of the great importance of this province to the French, that we must conceive it more than probable, if a war should happen, they will use all endeavours to bring this country under their subjection; they would be thereby enabled to support their sugar islands with all sorts of provisions and lumber by an easy navigation, which, to our great advantage, is not so practicable from the present French colonies, besides the facility of gaining then to their interest most of the Indian trade on the northern continent; they might then easily unite the Canadees and Choctaws, with the many other nations of Indians which are now in their interest. And the several ports and harbours of Carolina and Georgia, which now enable your majesty to be absolute master of the passage through the Gulf of Florida, and to impede, at your pleasure, the transportation home of the Spanish treasure, would then prove so many convenient harbours for your majesty's enemies, by their privateers or ships of war to annoy a great part of the British trade to America, as well as that which is carried on through the gulf from Jamaica; besides the loss which Great Britain must feel in so considerable a part of its navigation, as well as the exports of masts, pitch, tar, and turpentine, which, without any dependence on the northern parts of Europe, are from hence plentifully supplied for the use of the British shipping.

"This is the present state and condition of your majesty's province of South Carolina, utterly incapable of finding funds sufficient for the defence of this wide frontier, and so destitute of white men, that even money itself cannot here raise a sufficient body of them.

"With all humility we therefore beg leave to lay ourselves at the feet of your majesty, humbly imploring your majesty's most gracious care in the extremities we should be reduced to on the breaking out of a war; and that your majesty would be graciously pleased to extend your protection to us, as your majesty, in your great wisdom, should think proper."

In the meantime the trustees for Georgia had been employed in framing a plan of settlement, and establishing such public regulations as they judged most proper for answering the great end of the corporation. In this general plan they considered each in-

habitant both as a planter and a soldier, who must be provided with arms and ammunition for defence, as well as with tools and utensils for cultivation. As the strength of the province was their chief object, they agreed to establish such tenures for holding lands in it as they judged most favourable for a military establishment. Each tract of land granted was considered as a military fief, for which the possessor was to appear in arms, and take the field, when called upon for the public defence. To prevent large tracts from falling into one hand, they agreed to grant their lands in tail-male in preference to tail-general. On the termination of the estate in tail-male, the lands were to revert to the trust; and such lands thus reverting were to be granted again to such persons as the common council of the trust should judge most advantageous for the colony; only the trustees in such a case were to pay special regard to the daughters of such persons as had made improvements on their lots, especially when not already provided for by marriage. The wives of such persons as should survive them, were to be during their lives entitled to the mansion-house, and one-half of the lands improved by their husbands. No man was to be permitted to depart the province without licence. If any part of the lands granted by the trustees should not be cultivated, cleared, and fenced with a worm-fence, or pales, six feet high, within eighteen years from the date of the grant, such part was to revert to the trust, and the grant with respect to it to be void. All forfeitures for non-residence, high-treason, felonies, &c. were to the trustees for the use and benefit of the colony. The use of negroes was to be absolutely prohibited, and also the importation of rum. None of the colonists were to be permitted to trade with Indians, but such as should obtain a special licence for that purpose.

These were some of the fundamental regulations established by the trustees of Georgia, and perhaps the imagination of man could scarcely have framed a system of rules worse adapted to the circumstances and situation of the poor settlers, and of more pernicious consequence to the prosperity of the province. Yet, although the trustees were greatly mistaken, with respect to their plan of settlement, it must be acknowledged their views were generous. As the people sent out by them were the poor and unfortunate, who were to be provided with necessaries at their public store, they received their lands upon condition of cultivation, and by their personal residence, of defence. Silk and wine being the chief articles intended to be raised, they judged negroes were not requisite to these purposes. As the colony was designed to be a barrier to South Carolina, against the Spanish settlement at Augustine, they imagined that negroes would rather weaken than strengthen it, and that such poor colonists would run into debt, and ruin themselves by purchasing them. Rum was judged pernicious to health, and ruinous to the infant settlement. A free trade with Indians was considered as a thing that might have a tendency to involve the people in quarrels and troubles with the powerful savages, and expose them to danger and destruction. Such were probably the motives which induced those humane and generous persons to impose such foolish and ridiculous restrictions on their colony. For by granting their small estates in tail-male, they drove the settlers from Georgia, who soon found that abundance of lands could be obtained in America upon a larger scale, and on much better terms. By their discharging a trade with the West Indies, they not only

deprived the colonists of an excellent and convenient market for their lumber, of which they had abundance on their lands, but also of rum, which, when mixed with a sufficient quantity of water, has been found by experience the cheapest, the most refreshing, and nourishing drink for workmen in such a foggy and burning climate. The trustees, like other distant legislators, who framed their regulations upon principles of speculation, were liable to many errors and mistakes, and however good their design, their rules were found improper and impracticable. The Carolinians plainly perceived, that they would prove insurmountable obstacles to the progress and prosperity of the colony, and therefore from motives of pity began to invite the poor Georgians to come over Savanna river, and settle in Carolina, being convinced that they could never succeed under such impolitic and oppressive restrictions.

Besides the large sums of money which the trustees had expended for the settlement of Georgia, the parliament had also granted during the two past years 36,000*l.* towards carrying into execution the humane purpose of the corporation. But after the representation and memorial from the legislature of Carolina reached Britain, the nation considered Georgia to be of the utmost importance to the British settlements in America, and began to make still more vigorous efforts for its speedy population. The first embarkations of poor people from England, being collected from towns and cities, were found equally idle and useless members of society abroad, as they had been at home. A hardy and bold race of men, inured to rural labour and fatigue, they were persuaded would be much better adapted both for cultivation and defence. To find men possessed of these qualifications, the trustees turned their eyes to Germany and the Highlands of Scotland, and resolved to send over a number of Scotch and German labourers to their infant province. When they published their terms at Inverness, 130 Highlanders immediately accepted them, and were transported to Georgia. A town-ship on the river Alatamaha, which was considered as the boundary between the British and Spanish territories, was allotted for the Highlanders, in which dangerous situation they settled, and built a town, which they called New Inverness. About the same time 170 Germans embarked with James Oglethorpe, and were fixed in another quarter; so that, in the space of three years, Georgia received above 400 British subjects, and about 170 foreigners. Afterwards several adventurers, both from Scotland and Germany, followed their countrymen, and added further strength to the province, and the trustees flattered themselves with the hopes of soon seeing it in a promising condition.

The same year Carolina lost Robert Johnson, her favourite governor, whose death was as much lamented by the people, as during his life he had been beloved and respected. The province having been much indebted to his courage and abilities, to perpetuate his memory among them, and, in testimony of their esteem, a monument was erected in their church at the public expense. After his decease the government devolved on Thomas Broughton, an honest man, but little distinguished either for his knowledge or enterprise. At this time many of the leading men of the colony scrupled not to practise impositions, and being eagerly bent on engrossing lands, the lieutenant-governor freely granted them warrants; and the planters, provided they acquired large possessions, were not very scrupulous as to the manner in which they were obtained.

James Oglethorpe having brought a number of great guns with him from England, now began to fortify Georgia, by erecting strong-holds on its frontiers, where he judged they might be useful for its safety and protection. At one place, which he called Augusta, a fort was erected on the banks of Savanna river, which was excellently situated for protecting the Indian trade, and holding treaties of commerce and alliance with several of the savage nations. At another place, called Frederica, on an island near the mouth of the river Alatamaha, another fort, with four regular bastions, was erected, and several pieces of cannon were mounted on it. Ten miles nearer the sea a battery was raised, commanding the entrance into the sound, through which all ships of force must come that might be sent against Frederica. To keep little garrisons in these forts, to help the trustees to defray the expenses of such public works, 10,000*l.* were granted by the parliament of Great Britain.

While James Oglethorpe was thus employed in strengthening Georgia, he received a message from the Governor of Augustine, acquainting him that a Spanish commissioner from the Havanna had arrived there, in order to make certain demands of him, and would meet him at Frederica for that purpose. At the same time he had advice, that three companies of foot had accompanied him to that Spanish settlement. A few days afterwards this commissioner came to Georgia by sea, and Oglethorpe, unwilling to permit him to come to Frederica, dispatched a sloop to bring him into Jekyll Sound, where he intended to hold a conference with him. Here the commissioner had the modesty to demand, that Oglethorpe and his people should immediately evacuate all the territories to the southward of St. Helena Sound, as they belonged to the king of Spain, who was determined to maintain his right to them; and if he refused to comply with his demand, he had orders to proceed to Charlestown and lay the same before the governor and council of that province. Oglethorpe endeavoured to convince him that his Catholic majesty had been misinformed with respect to those territories, but to no purpose; his instructions were peremptory, and the conference broke up without coming to any agreement. After which Oglethorpe embarked with all possible expedition, and sailed for England.

During his absence the strict law of the trustees, respecting the rum trade, had like to have created a quarrel between the Carolinians and Georgians. The fortification at Augusta had induced some traders of Carolina to open stores at that place, so conveniently situated for commerce with Indian nations. For this purpose, land-carriage being expensive, they intended to force their way by water with loaded boats up Savanna river to their stores at Augusta. But as they passed the town of Savanna, the magistrates rashly ordered the boats to be stopt, the packages to be opened, the casks of rum to be staved, and the people to be confined. Such injurious treatment was not to be suffered; the Carolinians determined to give a check to their insolence, and for that purpose deputed two persons, one from the council and another from the assembly, to demand of the Georgians by what authority they presumed to seize and destroy the effects of their traders, or to compel them to submit to their code of laws. The magistrates of Georgia, sensible of their error, made great concessions to the deputies, and treated them with the utmost civility and respect. The goods were instantly ordered to be returned, the people to be set at liberty,

and all manner of satisfaction was given to the deputies they could have expected. Strict orders were sent to the agents of Georgia among Indians not to molest the traders from Carolina, but to give them all the assistance and protection in their power. The Carolinians, on the other hand, engaged not to smuggle any strong liquors among the settlers of Georgia, and the navigation on the river Savanna was declared equally open and free to both provinces.

About the same time the French took the field against the emperor; and the flames of war kindling between such powerful potentates, would, it was thought, inevitably spread, and involve all Europe in the quarrel. In case Great Britain should interfere in this matter, and declare in favour of the emperor, orders were sent out to the governors of Quebec and New Orleans to invade the weakest frontiers of the British settlements of America. For this purpose an army was formed in New France, and preparations were made for uniting the force of Canada and Louisiana to attack Carolina. But before this design was put in execution, advice came, that the clouds of war which threatened Europe were dispersed, and a general peace was restored, by the mediation of Britain and Holland. This put a stop to the motions of the main body in Canada; however, a detachment of 200 French, and 400 Indians were sent down the Mississippi, to meet a party from New Orleans to cut off the Chicasaw Indians. This tribe were the firm allies of Britain, and the bravest nation of savages on the continent, but consisted only of between 600 and 800 gun-men. The French having encroached on their lands, and built some forts near them, had on that account drawn upon themselves their invincible enmity and resentment. The Chicasaws had long obstinately opposed their progress up the river Mississippi, and were now the chief obstacle that prevented a regular communication between Louisiana and Canada. The French determined to remove it, by extirpating this troublesome nation, and for this purpose fell down the river in boats to the place where they expected to meet their friends from New Orleans. But the party from the southward not coming up at the time appointed, and the Canadians thinking themselves strong enough for the enterprise, began the war by attacking the Chicasaw towns. Upon which the savages gathered together above 300 warriors, gave the French battle in an open field, and, though with considerable loss, completely defeated them. Above 40 Frenchmen and eight Indians were killed on the spot, and the rest were taken prisoners, among whom was their commander, and chief, brother to Mons. Bienville, governor of New Orleans. Another party of French from Mobile, in the same year, advanced against the Creeks, who were also unsuccessful, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss. Carolina rejoiced at those disasters, and began now more than ever to court the friendship and interest of these rude nations in their neighbourhood, considering them as the best barrier against their natural enemies.

By this time the episcopalian form of divine worship had gained ground in Carolina, and was more countenanced by the people than any other. That zeal for the right of private judgment had much abated, and those prejudices against the hierarchy, which the first emigrants carried from England with them, were now almost entirely worn off from the succeeding generation. To bring about this change, no doubt the well-timed zeal and extensive bounty of the society, incorporated for the propagation of

the Gospel, had greatly contributed. At this time the corporation had no less than twelve missionaries in Carolina, each of whom shared of their county. Spacious churches had been erected in the province, which were pretty well supplied with clergymen, who were paid from the public treasury, and countenanced by the civil authority, all which favoured the established church. The dissenters of Carolina were not only obliged to erect and uphold their churches, and maintain their clergy by private contributions, but also to contribute taxes equally with their neighbours, towards the maintenance of the poor, and the support of the establishment. This indeed many of them considered as a grievance, but having but few friends in the provincial assembly, no redress could be obtained for them. Besides, the establishment gave its adherents many advantageous privileges in point of power and authority over persons of other denominations. It gave them the best chance for being elected members of the legislature, and of course of being appointed to offices, both civil and military, in their respective districts; and these privileges drew over many of the dissenters, especially the younger part.

However, the emigrants from Scotland and Ireland, most of whom were Presbyterians, still composed a considerable part of the province, and kept up the Presbyterian form of worship. Archibald Stobo, by great diligence and ability, still preserved a number of followers; and an association had been formed in favour of this mode of religious worship, by him and Fisher, and Witherspoon, ministers of the church of Scotland, together with Joseph Stan-yarn, and Joseph Blake, men of respectable characters and considerable fortunes. The Presbyterians had already erected churches at Charlestown, Wil-town, and in three of the maritime islands, for the use of the people adhering to that form of religious worship. As the inhabitants multiplied, several more in different parts of the province afterwards joined them, and built churches, particularly at Jacksonburgh, Indian Town, Port-royal, and Williamsburgh. The first clergymen having received their ordination in the church of Scotland, the fundamental rules of the association were framed according to the doctrines and discipline of that establishment, to which they agreed to conform as closely as their local circumstances would admit. These ministers adopted this mode of religious worship, not only from a persuasion of its conformity to the primitive apostolic form, but also from a conviction of its being, of all others, the most favourable to civil liberty and independence. Sensible that not only natural endowments, but also a competent measure of learning and acquired knowledge were necessary to qualify men for the sacred function, and enable them to discharge the duties of it with honour and success, they associated on purpose to prevent deluded mechanics, and illiterate novices from creeping into the pulpit, to the disgrace of the character, and the injury of religion. In different parts of the province, persons of this stamp had appeared, who decried all establishments, both civil and religious, and seduced weak minds from the duties of allegiance, and all that the Presbytery could do was to prevent them from teaching under the sanction of their authority. But this association of Presbyterians having little countenance from government, and no name or authority in law, their success depended wholly on the superior knowledge, popular talents and exemplary life of their ministers. From time to time clergymen were afterwards sent out at

the request of the people from Scotland and Ireland ; and the colonists contributed to maintain them, till at length funds were established in trust by private legacies and donations, to be appropriated for the support of Presbyterian ministers, and the encouragement of that mode of religious worship and government.

We have several times, in the histories of all the colonies, had occasion to make remarks on paper currency ; which the planters were generally for increasing, and the merchants and money-lenders for sinking. The exchange of London, like a commercial thermometer, served to measure the rise or fall of paper credit in Carolina ; and the price of bills of exchange commonly ascertained the value of their current money. The permanent riches of the country consisted in lands, houses, and negroes ; and the produce of the lands, improved by negroes, raw materials, provisions, and naval stores, were exchanged for what the province wanted from other countries. The attention of the mercantile part was chiefly employed about staple commodities ; and as their great object was present profit, it was natural for them to be governed by that great axiom in trade, whoever brings commodities cheapest and in the best order to market, must always meet with the greatest encouragement and success. The planters, on the other hand, attended to the balance of trade, which was turned in their favour, and concluded, that when the exports of any province exceeded its imports, whatever losses private persons might now and then sustain, yet that province upon the whole was growing rich. Let us suppose, what was indeed far from being the case, that Georgia so far advanced in improvement as to rival Carolina in raw materials and exchangeable commodities, and to undersell her at the markets in Europe : this advantage could only arise from the superior quality of her lands, the cheapness of her labour, or her landed men being contented with smaller profits. In such a case it was the business of the Carolina merchants to lower the price of her commodities, in order to reap the same advantages with her neighbours ; and this could only be done by reducing the quantity of paper money in circulation. If gold and silver only past current in Georgia, which by general consent was the medium of commerce throughout the world, if it had a sufficient quantity to answer the purposes of trade, and no paper currency had been permitted to circulate ; in such case its commodities would bring their full value at the provincial market, and no more, according to the general standard of money in Europe. Supposing also that Carolina had a quantity of gold and silver in circulation, sufficient for the purposes of commerce, and that the planters, in order to raise the value of their produce, should issue paper money equal to the quantity of gold and silver in circulation, the consequence would be, the price of labour, and of all articles of exportation, would be doubled. But as the markets of Europe remained the same, and its commodities being of the same kind and quality with those of Georgia, they would not bring a higher price. Some persons must be losers, and in the first instance this loss must fall on the mercantile interest and monied men. Therefore this superabundance of paper credit, on whose foundation the deluded province built its visionary fabric of great wealth, was not only useless, but prejudicial with respect to the community. Paper money in such large quantities is the bane of commerce, a kind of fictitious wealth, making men by high-sounding language imagine they are worth

thousands and millions, while a ship's load of it would not procure for the country a regiment of auxiliary troops in time of war, nor a suit of clothes at an European market in time of peace. Had America, from its first settlement, prohibited paper money altogether, its staple commodities must have brought her, in the course of commerce, vast sums of gold and silver, which would have circulated through the continent, and answered all the purposes of trade both foreign and domestic. It is true, the value of gold and silver is equally nominal, and rises and falls like the value of other articles of commerce, in proportion to the quantity in circulation ; but as nations in general have fixed on these metals as the medium of trade, this has served to stamp a value on them, and render them the means not only of procuring every where the necessaries of life, but by supporting public credit, the chief means also of national protection.

However, some distinction in point of policy should perhaps be made between a colony in its infancy, and a nation already possessed of wealth, and in an advanced state of agriculture and commerce, especially while the former is united to, and under the protection of the latter. To a growing colony such as Carolina, paper credit, under certain limitations, was useful in several respects ; especially as the gold and silver always left the country, when it answered the purpose of the merchant for remittance better than produce. This credit served to procure the planter strength of hands to clear and cultivate his fields, from which the real wealth of the province arose. Adventurous planters in Carolina, eager to obtain a number of negroes, always stretched their credit with the traders to its utmost pitch ; for as negroes on good lands cleared themselves in a few years, they by this means made an annual addition to their capital stock. After obtaining this credit, it then became their interest to maintain their superiority in assembly, and discharge their debt to the merchants in the easiest manner they could. The increase of paper money always proved to them a considerable assistance, as it advanced the price of those commodities they brought to the market, by which they cancelled their debts with the merchants ; so that, however much this currency might depreciate, the loss occasioned by it from time to time fell not on the adventurous planters, but on the merchants and money-lenders, who were obliged to take it in payment of debts or produce, which always arose in price in proportion to its depreciation.

In excuse for increasing provincial paper money, the planters always pleaded the exigencies of the public, such as warlike expeditions, raising fortifications, providing military stores, and maintaining garrisons ; those no doubt rendered the measure sometimes necessary, and often reasonable, but private interest had also considerable weight in adopting it, and carrying it into execution. In the year 1737, a bill of exchange on London for 100*l.* sterling, sold for 750*l.* Carolina currency. Of this the merchants might complain, but from this period they had too little weight in the public councils to obtain any redress. The only resource left for them was to raise the price of negroes and British articles of importation, according to the advanced price of produce and bills of exchange. However, the exchange again fell to 700*l.* per cent., at which standard it afterwards remained.

By this time the colonists of Georgia, after a sufficient experience, had become fully convinced of

the impropriety and folly of that plan of settlement framed by the trustees, which, however well intended, was ill adapted to their circumstances, and ruinous to the settlement. In the province of Carolina, which lay adjacent, the colonists discovered that there they could obtain lands not only on better terms, but also liberty to purchase negroes to assist in clearing and cultivating them. They found labour in the burning climate intolerable, and the dangers and hardships to which they were subjected insurmountable. Instead of raising commodities for exportation, the Georgians, by the labour of several years, were not yet able to raise provisions sufficient to support themselves and families. Under such discouragements, numbers retired to the Carolina side of the river, where they had better prospects of success, and the magistrates observed the infant colony sinking into ruin, and likely to be totally deserted. The freeholders in and round Savannah assembled together, and drew up a state of their deplorable circumstances, and transmitted it to the trustees, in which they represented their success in Georgia as a thing absolutely impossible, without the enjoyment of the same liberties and privileges with their neighbours in Carolina. In two respects they implored relief from the trustees; they desired a fee-simple or free title to their lands, and liberty to import negroes under certain limitations, without which they declared they had neither encouragement to labour, nor ability to provide for their posterity. But the colony of Highlanders, instead of joining in this application, most sensibly and nobly remonstrated against the introduction of slaves. As they lay contiguous to the Spanish dominions, they were apprehensive that these enemies would entice their slaves from them in time of peace, and in time of war instigate them to rise against their masters. Besides, they considered perpetual slavery as shocking to human nature, and deemed the permission of it as a grievance, and which in some future day might also prove a scourge, and make many feel the misery of that oppression they so earnestly desired to introduce.

Few persons who are acquainted with the country will wonder at the complaints of the early settlers in Georgia; for if we consider the climate to which they were sent, and the labours and hardships they had to undergo, we may rather be astonished that any of them survived the first year after their arrival. When James Oglethorpe took possession of this wilderness, the whole was a thick forest, excepting savannas, which are natural plains where no trees grow, and a few Indian fields, where the savages planted maize for their subsistence. In the province there were the same wild animals, fish, reptiles and insects, which were found in Carolina. The country in the maritime parts was likewise a spacious plain, covered with pine trees, where the lands were barren and sandy; and with narrow slips of oaks, hickory, cyress, cane, &c., where the lands were of a better quality. Rains, thunder-storms, hurricanes, and whirlwinds, were equally frequent in the one province as in the other. Little difference could be perceived in the soil, which in both was barren or swampy; and the same diseases were common to both. The lands being covered with wood, through which the sea-breezes could not penetrate, there was little agitation in the air, which at some seasons was thick, heavy and foggy, and at others clear, close, and suffocating, both which were most pernicious to health. The air of the swampy land was pregnant with innumerable noxious qualities, insomuch

that a more unwholesome climate was not perhaps to be found in the universe. The poor settlers considered this wilderness to which they were brought, to have been designed by nature rather for the habitation of wild beasts than human creatures. They found that diseases, or even misfortunes were in effect equally fatal: for though neither of them might prove suddenly mortal, yet either would reduce them to a state in which they might more properly be said to perish than to die.

Nothing retarded the progress and improvement of these southern settlements more than the inattention shown to the natural productions of the soil, and the preference which has commonly been given to articles transplanted from Europe. As Georgia lay so convenient for supplying the West Indies with maize, Indian peas, and potatoes, for which the demand was very great, perhaps the first planters could scarcely have turned their attention to more profitable articles, but without strength of hands little advantage could be reaped from them. It is true the West Indian Islands would produce such articles, yet the planters would never cultivate them, while they could obtain them by purchase: the lands there suited other productions more valuable and advantageous. Abundance of stock, particularly hogs and black cattle, might have been raised in Georgia for the same market. Lumber was also in demand, and might have been rendered profitable to the province, but nothing could succeed there under the foolish restrictions of the trustees. European grain, such as wheat, oats, barley, and rye, thrived very ill on the maritime parts; and even silk and wine were found upon trial by no means to answer their expectations. The bounties given for raising the latter were an encouragement to the settlers, but either no pains were taken to instruct the people in the proper methods of raising them, or the soil and climate were ill adapted for the purpose. The poor and ignorant planters applied themselves to those articles of husbandry to which probably they had been formerly accustomed, but which poorly rewarded them and left them, after all their toil, in a starved and miserable condition.

The complaints of the Georgians, however ignorant they might be, ought not to have been entirely disregarded by the trustees. Experience suggested those inconveniences and troubles from which they implored relief. The hints they gave certainly ought to have been improved towards correcting errors in the first plan of settlement, and framing another more favourable and advantageous. The honour of the trustees depended on the success and happiness of the settlers, and it was impossible for the people to succeed and be happy without those encouragements, and privileges absolutely necessary to the first state of colonization.

It must be acknowledged, for the credit of the benevolent trustees, that they sent out these emigrants to Georgia under several very favourable circumstances. They paid the expenses of their passage, and furnished them with clothes, arms, ammunition, and instruments of husbandry. They gave them lands, and bought for some of them cows and hogs to begin their stock. They maintained their families during the first year of their occupancy, or until they should receive some return from their lands. So that if the planters were exposed to hazards from the climate, and obliged to undergo labour, they certainly entered on their task with several advantages. The taxes demanded, comparatively speaking, were a mere trifle; and for their



encouragement they laboured entirely for themselves, and for some time were favoured with a free and generous maintenance.

By this time an account of the great privileges and indulgences granted by the crown for the encouragement of emigration to Carolina, had been published through Britain and Ireland, and many industrious people in different parts had resolved to emigrate. Multitudes of labourers and husbandmen in Ireland, oppressed by landlords and bishops, and unable by their utmost diligence to procure a comfortable subsistence for their families, embarked for Carolina. The first colony of Irish people had lands granted them near Santee river, and formed the settlement called Williamsburgh township. But notwithstanding the bounty of the crown, these poor emigrants remained for several years in low and miserable circumstances. The rigours of the climate, joined to the want of precaution, so common to strangers, proved fatal to numbers of them. Having but scanty provisions in the first stage of cultivation, vast numbers, by their heavy labour, being both debilitated in body, and dejected in spirit, sickened and died in the woods. But as this township received frequent supplies from the same quarter, the Irish settlement, amidst every hardship, increased in number; and at length they applied to the merchants for negroes, who intrusted them with a few, by which means they were relieved from the severest part of the labour, then, by their great diligence and industry, spots of land were gradually cleared, which in the first place yielded them provisions, and in process of time became moderate and fruitful estates.

*Trade obstructed by the Spaniards of Mexico—William Bull lieutenant-governor—Oglethorpe's regiment sent to Georgia—The Spaniards try to seduce the Creeks—Mutiny in Oglethorpe's camp—A negro insurrection in Carolina—A war with Spain—A project for invading Florida—General Oglethorpe marches against Florida—Invests Augustine—Raises the siege—A great fire at Charleston—A petition in favour of the rice trade—James Glen governor—Lord Carteret's property divided from that of the crown—The Spaniards invade Georgia—Ill treatment of General Oglethorpe—Petition for three independent companies.*

For several years before an open rupture took place between Great Britain and Spain, no good understanding subsisted between those two different courts, neither with respect to the privileges of navigation on the Mexican seas, nor to the limits between the provinces of Georgia and Florida. On one hand, the Spaniards pretended that they had an exclusive right to some latitudes in the bay of Mexico; and, on the other, though the matter had never been clearly ascertained by treaty, the British merchants claimed the privilege of cutting logwood on the bay of Campeachy. This liberty indeed had been tolerated on the part of Spain for several years, and the British merchants, from avaricious motives, had begun a traffic with the Spaniards, and supplied them with goods of English manufacture. To prevent this illicit trade, the Spaniards doubled the number of ships stationed in Mexico for guarding the coast, giving them orders to board and search every English vessel found in those seas, to seize on all that carried contraband commodities, and confine the sailors. At length not only smugglers, but fair traders were searched and detained, so that all commerce in those seas was entirely obstructed. The British merchants complained to the ministry of

depredations committed, and damages sustained; which produced one remonstrance after another to the Spanish court; all which were answered only by evasive promises and delays. The Spaniards flattered the British minister, by telling him, they would inquire into the occasion of such grievances, and settle all differences by way of negotiation. Sir Robert Walpole, fond of pacific measures, and trusting to such proposals of accommodation, for several years suffered the grievances of the merchants to remain unredressed, and the trade of the nation to suffer great losses.

In the year 1738, Samuel Horsley was appointed governor of South Carolina, but he dying before he left England, the charge of the province devolved on William Bull, a man of good natural abilities, and well acquainted with the state of the province. The garrison at Augustine having received a considerable reinforcement, it became the business of the people of Carolina, as well as those of Georgia, to watch the motions of their neighbours. As the Spaniards pretended a right to that province, they were pouring in troops into Augustine, which gave the British colonists some reason to apprehend they had resolved to assert their right by force of arms. William Bull dispatched advice to England of the growing power of Spain in East Florida, and at the same time acquainted the trustees, that such preparations were making there as evidently portended approaching hostilities. The British ministers were well acquainted with the state of Carolina, from a late representation transmitted by its provincial legislature. The trustees for Georgia presented a memorial to the king, giving an account of the Spanish preparations, and the feeble and defenceless condition of Georgia, and imploring assistance. In consequence of which, a regiment of 600 effective men was ordered to be raised, with a view of sending them to Georgia. And James Oglethorpe being appointed major-general of all the forces of the two provinces, had the command of this regiment.

About the middle of the same year, the Hector, and Blandford ships of war sailed, to convoy the transports which carried General Oglethorpe and his regiment to that province. Forty supernumeraries followed the general to supply the place of such officers or soldiers as might suffer by the change of the climate. Upon the arrival of this regiment, the people of Carolina and Georgia testified their grateful sense of his majesty's paternal care in the strongest terms. The Georgians, who had been for some time harassed with frequent alarms, now found themselves happily relieved, and placed in such circumstances as enabled them to bid defiance to the Spanish power. Parties of the regiment were sent to the different garrisons, and the expense the trustees had formerly been at in maintaining them of course ceased. The general held his headquarters at Frederica, but raised forts on some other islands lying nearer the Spaniards, particularly in Cumberland and Jekyll islands, in which he also kept garrisons to watch the motions of his enemies.

While these hostile preparations were going on, it behoved General Oglethorpe to cultivate the firmest friendship with the Indian nations, that they might be ready on every emergency to assist him. During his absence the Spaniards had made several attempts to seduce the Creeks, who were much attached to Oglethorpe by telling them he was at Augustine, and promised them large presents in case they would pay him a visit at that place. Accordingly some of their leaders went down there, but not



finding him, they were highly offended, and resolved immediately to return to their nation. The Spanish governor, in order to cover the fraud, or probably with a design of conveying those leaders out of the way, that they might the more easily corrupt their nation, told them that the general lay sick on board of a ship in the harbour, where he would be extremely glad to see them; but the savages were suspicious of some evil design, and refused to go, and even rejected their presents and offers of alliance. When they returned to their nation, they found an invitation from General Oglethorpe to all the chieftains to meet him at Frederica, which plainly discovered to them the insidious designs of the Spaniards, and helped not a little to increase his power and influence among them. A number of their chief warriors immediately set out to meet him at the place appointed, where the general thanked them for their fidelity, made them many valuable presents, and renewed the treaty of friendship and alliance with them. At this congress the Creeks seemed better satisfied than usual, and agreed to march 1000 men to the general's assistance whenever he should demand them, and invited him up to see their towns. But as he was then busy, he excused himself, by promising to visit them next summer, and accordingly dismissed them no less pleased with his kindness, than incensed against the Spaniards for their falsehood and deceit.

By this time England had resolved to maintain the right of the territories in Georgia, together with the freedom of commerce and navigation in the Mexican seas. The pacific system of Sir Robert Walpole had drawn upon him the displeasure of the nation, particularly of the mercantile part; and that amazing power and authority he had long maintained began to decline. The spirit of the nation was roused, inasmuch that the administration could no longer connive at the depredations and cruelties of Spain. Instructions were sent to the British ambassador at the court of Madrid, to demand in the most absolute terms a compensation for the injuries of trade, which upon calculation amounted to 200,000*l.* sterling; and at the same time a squadron of ten ships of the line, under the command of Admiral Haddock, were sent to the Mediterranean sea. This produced an order from the Spanish court to their ambassador, to allow the accounts of the British merchants, upon condition that the Spanish demand on the South Sea Company be deducted: and that Oglethorpe be recalled from Georgia, and no more employed in that quarter, as he had there made great encroachments on his Catholic majesty's dominions. These conditions were received at the court of Britain with that indignation which might have been expected from an injured and incensed nation. In answer to which the Spanish ambassador was given to understand, that the king of Great Britain was determined never to relinquish his right to a single foot of land in the province of Georgia; and that he must allow his subjects to make reprisals, since satisfaction for their losses in trade could in no other way be obtained; and in this unsettled situation matters remained for a time.

In the meanwhile preparations were making both in Georgia and Florida, by raising fortifications on the borders of the two provinces, to hold each other at defiance. The British soldiers finding themselves subjected to a number of hardships in Georgia, to which they had not been accustomed in Britain, several of them were discontented and ungovernable. At length a plot was discovered in the camp for as-

sassinating their general. Two companies of the regiment had been drawn from Gibraltar, some of whom could speak the Spanish language. While stationed on Cumberland island, the Spanish outposts on the other side could approach so near as to converse with the British soldiers, one of whom had even been in the Spanish service, and not only understood their language, but also had so much of a Roman Catholic spirit as to harbour an aversion to Protestant heretics. The Spaniards had found means to corrupt this villain, who debauched the minds of several of his neighbours, inasmuch that they united and formed a design first to murder General Oglethorpe, and then make their escape to Augustine. Accordingly, on a certain day a number of soldiers under arms came up to the general, and made some extraordinary demands; which being refused, they instantly set up a shout, and one of them discharged his piece at him; and being only at the distance of a few paces, the ball whizzed over his shoulder, but the powder singed his clothes, and burnt his face. Another presented his piece, which flashed in the pan; a third drew his hanger, and attempted to stab him, but the general parrying it off, an officer standing by ran the ruffian through the body, and killed him on the spot. Upon which the mutineers fled, but were caught and laid in irons. A court-martial was called to try the ringleaders of this desperate conspiracy, some of whom were found guilty, and were shot.

Nor was this the only concealed effort of Spanish policy; another of a more dangerous nature soon followed in Carolina, which might have been attended with much more bloody and fatal effects. At this time there were above 40,000 negroes in the province, a fierce and strong race, whose constitutions were adapted to the warm climate, whose nerves were braced with constant labour, and who could not be expected to be contented with the oppression under which they groaned. For a long time liberty and protection had been promised to them by the Spaniards at Augustine, and at different times Spanish emissaries had been found secretly tampering with them, and persuading them to fly from slavery to Florida, and several had made their escape to that settlement. Of these negro-refugees the governor of Florida had formed a regiment, appointing officers from among themselves, allowing them the same pay and clothing as the regular Spanish soldiers. The most sensible part of the slaves in Carolina were not ignorant of this Spanish regiment, for whenever they ran away from their masters, they constantly directed their course to this quarter. To no place could negro sergeants be sent for enlisting men where they could have a better prospect of success. Two Spaniards were caught in Georgia, and committed to gaol for enticing slaves to leave Carolina and join this regiment; and five negroes, who were cattle-hunters at Indian Land, some of whom belonged to Captain M'Pherson, after wounding his son, and killing another man, made their escape. Several more attempting to get away were taken, tried, and hanged at Charlestown.

While Carolina was kept in a state of constant fear and agitation from this quarter, an insurrection openly broke out in the heart of the settlement, which alarmed the whole province. A number of negroes having assembled together at Stono, first surprised and killed two young men in a warehouse and then plundered it of guns and ammunition. Being thus provided with arms, they elected one of their number captain, and agreed to follow him

marching towards the south-west with colours flying and drums beating, like a disciplined company. They forcibly entered the house of Mr. Godfrey, and having murdered him, his wife, and children, they took all the arms he had in it, set fire to the house, and then proceeded towards Jacksonburgh. In their way they plundered and burnt every house, among which were those of Sacheverel, Nash, and Spry, killing every white person they found in them, and compelling the negroes to join them. Governor Bull returning to Charlestown from the southward, met them, and observing them armed, quickly rode out of their way. He spread the alarm, which soon reached the Presbyterian church at Wiltown, where Archibald Stobo was preaching to a numerous congregation of planters in that quarter. By a law of the province all planters were obliged to carry their arms to church, which at this critical juncture proved a very useful and necessary regulation. The women were left in church, trembling with fear, while the militia, under the command of Captain Bee, marched in quest of the negroes, who by this time had become formidable from the number that joined them. They had marched above twelve miles, and spread desolation through all the plantations in their way. Having found rum in some houses, and drank freely of it, they halted in an open field, and began to sing and dance, by way of triumph; but during these ill-timed rejoicings the militia discovered them, and stationed themselves in different places around them, to prevent them from making their escape. The intoxication of several of the slaves favoured the assailants. One party advanced into the open field, and attacked them, and, having killed some negroes, the remainder took to the woods, and were dispersed. Many ran back to their plantations, in hopes of escaping suspicion from the absence of their masters; but the greater part were taken and tried; and such as had been compelled to join them contrary to their inclination were pardoned, but all the chosen leaders and first insurgents suffered death.

All Carolina was struck with terror by this insurrection, in which above twenty persons were murdered; and to which, if it had become general, the whole colony must have fallen a sacrifice. It was commonly believed, and not without reason, that the Spaniards were deeply concerned in promoting the mischief, and by their secret influence and intrigues with slaves, had instigated them to this rising. Having already four companies of negroes in their service, by penetrating into Carolina, and putting the province into confusion, they might no doubt have raised many more. But, to prevent further attempts, Governor Bull sent an express to General Oglethorpe, with advice of the insurrection, desiring him to double his vigilance in Georgia, and seize all straggling Spaniards and negroes: in consequence of which a proclamation was issued to stop all slaves found in that province, offering a reward for every one they might catch attempting to escape. At the same time a company of rangers were employed to patrol the frontiers, and block up all the passages by which they might enter Florida.

In the mean time matters were hastening to a rupture in Europe, and a war between England and Spain was thought unavoidable. The plenipotentiaries appointed for settling the boundaries between Georgia and Florida, and other differences and misunderstandings subsisting between the two crowns, had met at Pardo in convention, where preliminary articles were drawn up; but the conference ended to the satisfaction of neither party. Indeed the pro-

posal of a negotiation, and the appointment of plenipotentiaries, gave universal offence to the people of Britain. The merchants had lost all patience under their sufferings, and became clamorous for letters of reprisal, which at length they obtained. Public credit arose, and forwarded hostile preparations. All officers of the navy and army were ordered to their stations, and with the unanimous voice of the nation war was declared against Spain on the 23rd of October, 1739.

While Admiral Vernon was sent to take the command of a squadron in the West India station, with orders to act offensively against the Spanish dominions in that quarter, to divide their force, General Oglethorpe was ordered also to annoy the subjects of Spain in Florida, by every method in his power. In consequence of which, the general immediately projected an expedition against the Spanish settlement at Augustinc. He communicated his design by letter to Lieutenant-Governor Bull, requesting the support of Carolina. Mr. Bull laid his letter before the provincial assembly, recommending to them to raise a regiment, and give him all possible assistance in an enterprise of such interesting consequence. The assembly, sensible of the vast advantages that must accrue to them from getting rid of such troublesome neighbours, resolved that so soon as the general should communicate to them his plan of operations, together with a state of the assistance requisite, at the same time making it appear that there was a probability of success, they would most cheerfully assist him. The Carolinians, however, were apprehensive, that as that garrison had proved such a painful thorn in their side in time of peace, they would have more to dread from it in time of war; and although the colony had been much distressed by the small-pox and the yellow fever for two years past, which had cut off the hopes of many flourishing families; the people, nevertheless, lent a very favourable ear to the proposal, and earnestly wished to give all the assistance in their power towards dislodging an enemy so malicious and cruel.

In the mean time, General Oglethorpe was industrious in picking up all the intelligence he could respecting the situation and strength of the garrison, and finding it in great straits for want of provisions, he urged the speedy execution of his project, with a view to surprise his enemy before a supply should arrive. To concert measures with the greater secrecy and expedition, he went to Charlestown himself, and laid before the legislature of Carolina an estimate of the force, arms, ammunition, and provisions, which he judged might be requisite for the expedition; and in consequence, the assembly voted 120,000*l.* Carolina money, for the service of the war. A regiment, consisting of 400 men, was raised, partly in Virginia and partly in North and South Carolina, with the greatest expedition, and the command was given to Colonel Vanderdussen. Indians were sent for from the different tribes in alliance with Britain. Vincent Price, commander of the ships of war on that station, agreed to assist with a naval force consisting of four ships of twenty guns each, and two sloops, which proved a great encouragement to the Carolinians, and induced them to enter with double vigour on military preparations. General Oglethorpe appointed the mouth of St. John's river, on the Florida shore, for the place of rendezvous, and having finished his preparations in Carolina, set out for Georgia to join his regiment, and make all ready for the expedition.

On the 9th of May 1740, the general passed over to Florida with 400 select men of his regiment, and a considerable party of Indians; and on the day following invested Diego, a small fort about 25 miles from Augustine, which after a short resistance surrendered by capitulation. In this fort he left a garrison of 60 men, under the command of Lieutenant Dunbar, and returned to the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by Colonel Vanderdussen, with the Carolina regiment and a company of Highlanders, under the command of Captain M'Intosh. But by this time six Spanish half-galleys, with long brass nine pounders, and two sloops loaded with provisions, had got into the harbour at Augustine; and a few days afterwards, the general marched with his whole force, consisting of above 2000 men, regulars, provincials, and Indians, to Fort Moosa, situated within two miles of Augustine, which on his approach the Spanish garrison evacuated, and retired into the town. He immediately ordered the gates of this fort to be burnt, three breaches to be made in its walls, and then proceeded to reconnoitre the town and castle.

Notwithstanding the dispatch of the British army, the Spaniards, during their stay at Fort Diego, had collected all the cattle in the woods around them, and driven them into the town; and the general found, both from a view of the works and the intelligence he had received from prisoners, that more difficulty would attend this enterprise than he at first expected. Indeed, if he intended a surprise, he ought not to have stopped at Fort Diego, for by that delay the enemy had notice of his approach, and time to gather their whole force, and put themselves in a posture of defence. The castle was built of soft stone, with four bastions; the curtain was 60 yards in length, the parapet nine feet thick; the rampart twenty feet high, casemated underneath for lodgings, arched over, and newly made bomb-proof. Fifty pieces of cannon were mounted, several of which were 24-pounders. Besides the castle, the town was intrenched with ten salient angles, on each of which some small cannon were mounted. The garrison consisted of 700 regulars, two troops of horse, four companies of armed negroes, besides the militia of the province, and Indians.

The general now plainly perceived that an attack by land upon the town, and an attempt to take the castle by storm, would cost him too much, and therefore changed his plan of operations. With the assistance of the ships of war, which were now lying at anchor off Augustine-bar, he resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and try to shut up every channel by which provisions could be conveyed to the garrison. For this purpose he left Colonel Palmer with 95 Highlanders and 42 Indians at Fort Moosa, with orders to scour the woods around the town, and intercept all supplies of cattle from the country by land; and, for the safety of his men, he at the same time ordered him to encamp every night in a different place, to keep strict watch around his camp, and by all means avoid coming to any action. This small party was the whole force the general left for guarding the land side. He then sent Colonel Vanderdussen with the Carolina regiment over a small creek, to take possession of a neck of land called Point Quartel, above a mile distant from the castle, with orders to erect a battery upon it; while he himself, with his regiment, and the greatest part of the Indians, embarked in boats, and landed on the island of Anastatia. In this island the Spaniards had a small party of men sta-

tioned for a guard, who immediately fled, and as it lay opposite to the castle from this place, the general resolved to bombard the town. Captain Pierce stationed one of his ships to guard the passage by way of the Motanzas, and with the others blocked up the mouth of the harbour, so that the Spaniards were cut off from all supplies by sea. On the island of Anastatia batteries were soon erected, and several cannon mounted by the assistance of the active and enterprising sailors. Having made these dispositions, General Oglethorpe then summoned the Spanish governor to a surrender; but the haughty Spaniard, secure in his strong hold, sent him for answer, that he would be glad to shake hands with him in his castle.

The opportunity of surprising the place being now lost, the English general had no other method left but to attack it at a distance: for which purpose he opened his batteries against the castle, and at the same time threw a number of shells into the town. The fire was returned with equal spirit both from the Spanish fort and from six half-galleys in the harbour, but so great was the distance, that though they continued the cannonade for several days, little execution was done on either side. Captain Warren, a brave naval officer, perceiving that all efforts in this way for demolishing the castle were ineffectual, proposed to destroy the Spanish galleys in the harbour by an attack in the night, and offered to go himself and head the attempt. A council of war was held to consider of and concert a plan for that service; but upon sounding the bar, it was found it would admit no large ship to the attack, and with small ones it was judged rash and impracticable, the galleys being covered by the cannon of the castle, and therefore that design was dropped.

In the mean time, the Spanish commander observing the besiegers embarrassed, and their operations beginning to relax, sent out a detachment of 300 men against Colonel Palmer, who surprised him at Fort Moosa, and while most of his party lay asleep, cut them almost entirely to pieces. A few that accidentally escaped went over in a small boat to the Carolina regiment at Point Quartel. Some of the Chickesaw Indians coming from that fort having met with a Spaniard, cut off his head, agreeably to their savage manner of waging war, and presented it to the general in his camp: but he rejected it with abhorrence, denouncing them as barbarous, and bidding them begone. At this disdainful behaviour, however, the Chickesaws were offended, declaring, that if they had carried the head of an Englishman to the French, they would not have treated them so: and perhaps the general discovered more humanity than good policy by it, for those Indians, who knew none of the European customs and refinements in war, soon after deserted him. About the same time the vessel stationed at the Metanzas being ordered off, some small ships from the Havannah with provisions, and a reinforcement of men, got into Augustine by that narrow channel, to the relief of the garrison. A party of Creeks having surprised one of their small boats, brought four Spanish prisoners to the general, who informed him that the garrison had received 700 men and a large supply of provisions; by which, all prospects of starving the enemy being lost, the army began to despair of forcing the place to surrender; and the Carolinean troops, enfeebled by the heat, dispirited by sickness, and fatigued by fruitless efforts, marched away in large bodies. The navy being short of provisions, and the usual season of hurri-

canes approaching, the commander judged it imprudent to hazard the ships by remaining longer on that coast; and last of all, the general himself, sick of a fever, and his regiment worn out with fatigue, and rendered unfit for action by a flux, with sorrow and regret followed, and reached Frederica about the 10th of July 1740.

Thus ended the unsuccessful expedition against Augustine, to the great disappointment of both Georgia and Carolina. Many reflections were afterwards thrown out against General Oglethorpe for his conduct during the whole enterprise; and perhaps the only chance of success he had from the beginning was by surprising this garrison by some sudden attempt. He was blamed for remaining so long at Fort Diego, by which means the enemy had full intelligence of his approach, and time to prepare for receiving him. He was charged with timidity afterwards, in making no bold attempt on the town. He indeed used great caution to save his men, for excepting those who fell by the sword in Fort Moosa, he lost more men by sickness than by the hands of the enemy. Though the disaster of Colonel Palmer, in which many brave Highlanders were massacred, was perhaps occasioned chiefly by want of vigilance and a disobedience of orders; yet many were of opinion that it was too hazardous to have left so small a party on the main land, exposed to sallies from a superior enemy, and entirely cut off from all possibility of support and assistance from the main body. The general, on the other hand, declared he had no confidence in the firmness and courage of the provincials; for that they refused obedience to his orders, and at last abandoned his camp, and retreated. The truth was, the place was so strongly fortified both by nature and art, that probably the attempt must have failed, though it had been conducted by the ablest officer, and executed by the best disciplined troops. The miscarriage, however, was particularly ruinous to Carolina, having not only subjected the province to a great expense, but also left it in a worse situation than it was previous to the attempt.

The same year stands distinguished in the annals of Carolina, not only for this unsuccessful expedition against the Spaniards, but also for a desolating conflagration, which in November following broke out in the capital, and laid half of it in ruins. This fire began about two o'clock in the afternoon, and burnt with unquenchable violence until eight at night; and the houses being built of wood, and the wind blowing hard at north-west, the flames spread with astonishing rapidity. From Broad-street, where the fire kindled, to Granville's Bastion, almost every house was at one time in flames, and the vast quantities of deer-skins, rum, pitch, tar, turpentine, and powder in the different stores, very much increased it. Amidst the cries and shrieks of women and children, and the bursting forth of flames in different quarters, occasioned by the violent wind, which carried the burning shingles to a great distance, the men were put into confusion, and so anxious were they about the safety of their families, that they could not be prevailed upon to unite their efforts for extinguishing the fire. The sailors from the men of war, and ships in the harbour were the most active and adventurous hands engaged in the service. But such was the violence of the flames, that it baffled all the art and power of man, and burnt until the calmness of the evening closed the dreadful scene. Three hundred of the best and most convenient buildings in the town were consumed,

which, together with loss of goods, and provincial commodities, amounted to a prodigious sum. Happily few lives were lost, but the lamentations of ruined families were heard in every quarter. In short, from a flourishing condition the town was reduced in the space of six hours to the lowest and most deplorable state; and all those inhabitants whose houses escaped the flames, went round and kindly invited their unfortunate neighbours to them, so that two and three families were lodged in places built only for the accommodation of one. After the legislature met, to take the miserable state of the people under consideration, they agreed to make application to England for relief; and the British parliament voted 20,000*l.* sterling to be distributed among the sufferers at Charlestown.

While the war between Great Britain and Spain continued, a bill was brought into parliament to prevent the exportation of rice, among other articles of provision, to France or Spain, with a view to distress these enemies as much as possible. In consequence of which, a representation to the following effect, in behalf of the province of Carolina, and the merchants concerned in that trade, was presented to the house of commons:—"The inhabitants of South Carolina have not any manufactures of their own, but are supplied from Great Britain with all their clothing, and the other manufactures by them consumed, to the amount of 150,000*l.* sterling a-year. The only commodity of consequence produced in South Carolina is rice, and they reckon it as much their staple commodity as sugar is to Barbadoes and Jamaica, or tobacco to Virginia and Maryland; so that if any stop be put to the exportation of rice from South Carolina to Europe, it will not only render the planters there incapable of paying their debts, but also reduce the government of that province to such difficulties for want of money, as at this present precarious time may render the whole colony an easy prey to their neighbours the Indians and Spaniards, and also to those yet more dangerous enemies their own negroes, who are ready to revolt on the first opportunity, and are eight times as many in number as there are white men able to bear arms, and the danger in this respect is greater since the unhappy expedition to Augustine.

"From the year 1729, when his majesty purchased South Carolina, the trade of it hath so increased, that their annual exports and imports of late have been double the value of what they were in the said year; and their exports of rice in particular have increased in a greater proportion: for, from the year 1720 to 1729, being ten years, both included, the whole export of rice was 264,488 barrels, making 44,081 tons. From the year 1730 to 1739, being also ten years, the whole export of rice was 499,525 barrels, making 99,905 tons; so that the export of the latter ten years exceeded the former by 235,037 barrels, or 55,824 tons: and of the vast quantities of rice thus exported, scarcely one-fifteenth part is consumed either in Great Britain or in any part of the British dominions; so that the produce of the other fourteen parts is clear gain to the nation; whereas almost all the sugar, and one-fourth part of the tobacco, exported from the British colonies, are consumed by the people of Great Britain, or by British subjects; from whence it is evident, that the national gain arising from rice is several times as great in proportion, as the national gain arising from either sugar or tobacco.

"This year, viz. 1740, in particular, we shall export from South Carolina above 90,000 barrels of

rice, of which quantity there will not be 3000 barrels used here, so that the clear national gain upon that export will be very great; for at the lowest computation, of 25s. sterling per barrel, the 87,000 barrels exported will amount in value to 108,750*l.* at the first hand; whereto there must be added the charge of freight, &c. from South Carolina to Europe, which amount to more than the first cost of the rice, and are also gain to Great Britain; so that the least gain upon this article for the present year will be 220,000*l.*, over and above the naval advantage of annually employing more than 160 ships, of 100 tons each.

"Rice being an enumerated commodity, it cannot be exported from South Carolina without giving bond for double the value that the same shall be landed in Great Britain, or in some of the British plantations, excepting to the southward of Cape Finisterre, which last was permitted by a law made in the year 1729; and the motive for such permission was, that the rice might arrive more seasonably, and in better condition at market. We have hereunto added an account of the several quantities of rice which have been exported from South Carolina to the different European markets since the said law was made; and it will thereby appear, that we have not in those ten years been able to find sale for any considerable quantity of rice in Spain; for in all that time we have not sold above 3570 barrels to the Spaniards, making only 357 barrels annually upon a medium; nor can we in the time to come expect any alteration in favour of our rice trade there, because the Spaniards are supplied with an inferior sort of rice from Turkey, &c. equally agreeable to them, and a great deal cheaper than ours, the truth whereof appears by the rice taken in a ship called the Baltic Merchant, and carried into St. Sebastians, where it was sold at a price so much under the market rate here, or in Holland, as to encourage the sending of it thence to Holland and Hamburg.

"In France the importation of Carolina rice without licence is prohibited; and though during the last and present years there hath, by permission, been some consumption of it there, yet the whole did not exceed 9000 barrels, and they have received from Turkey so much rice of the present year's growth, as to make that commodity five shillings per 100*lb.* cheaper at Marseilles than here, and even at Dunkirk it is one shilling and sixpence per 100*lb.* cheaper than here; so that there is not any prospect of a demand for Carolina rice in France, even if liberty could be obtained for sending the same to any port of that kingdom.

"Germany and Holland are the countries where we find the best market for our rice, and there the greater part of it is consumed; so that the present intended embargo, or prohibitory law, cannot have any other effect, in relation to rice, than that of preventing our allies from using what our enemies do not want, nor we ourselves consume more than a twentieth part of, and which is of so perishable a nature, that even in a cold climate it doth not keep above a year without decaying, and in a warm climate it perishes entirely. The great consumption of rice in Germany and Holland is during the winter season, when peas and all kinds of pulse, &c. are scarce; and the rice intended for those markets ought to be brought there before the frost begins, time enough to be carried up the rivers; so that preventing the exportation only a few days may be attended with this bad consequence, that by the frost the winter sale may be lost.

"And as we have now, viz. since November 11th, above 10,000 barrels of old rice arrived, so we may in a few weeks expect double that quantity, besides the new crop now shipping off from Carolina; the stopping of all which, in a country where there is not any sale for it, instead of permitting the same to be carried to the only places of consumption, must soon reduce the price thereof to so low a rate, that the merchants who have purchased that rice will not be able to sell it for the prime cost, much less will they be able to recover the money they have paid for duty, freight, and other charges thereon, which amount to double the first cost: for the rice that 100*l.* sterling will purchase in South Carolina, costs the importer 200*l.* more in British duties, freight, and other charges.

"Thus it appears, that by prohibiting the exportation of rice from this kingdom, the merchants who have purchased the vast quantities before mentioned will not only lose the money it cost them, but twice as much more in duties, freight, and other charges, by their having a perishable commodity embargoed in a country where it is not used. Or if, instead of laying the prohibition here, it be laid in South Carolina; that province, the planters there, and the merchants who deal with them, must all be involved in ruin; the province, for want of means to support the expense of government; the planters, for want of the means to pay their debts and provide future supplies; and the merchants, by not only losing those debts, but twice as much more in the freight, duties, and other charges upon rice which they cannot sell. So that, in either case, a very profitable colony, and the merchants concerned in the trade of it, would be ruined for the present, if not totally lost to this kingdom, by prohibiting the exportation of rice; and all this without doing any national good in another way, for such prohibition could not in any shape distress our enemies. It is therefore humbly hoped, that rice will be excepted out of the bill now before the honourable house of commons."

As this representation contains a distinct account of the produce and trade of the province, and shows its usefulness and importance to Great Britain, we judged it worthy of the particular attention of our readers, and therefore have inserted it.

The following is an account of the rice exported in the first ten years, after the province was purchased for the king:—

	Barrels.
To Portugal.....	83,379
To Gibraltar .....	958
To Spain .....	3,570
To France .....	9,500
To Great Britain, Ireland, and the British plantations .....	30,000
To Holland, Hamburg, and Bremen, including 7000 barrel to Sweden and Denmark .....	372,118

Total quantity exported in the ten years 499,525

About this time James Glen received a commission from his majesty, investing him with the government of South Carolina, and at the same time was appointed colonel of a new regiment of foot, to be raised in the province. He was a man of considerable knowledge, and of very courteous manners; but exceedingly fond of military parade, which commonly has great force on ordinary minds, and by these means he maintained his dignity and importance in the eyes of the people. His council, consisting of twelve men, were appointed also by the

king, under his sign manual; and the assembly of representatives consisted of 44 members, and were elected every third year by the freeholders of sixteen parishes. The court of chancery was composed of the governor and council, to which court belonged a master of chancery and a register. There was also a court of vice-admiralty, the judge, register and marshal of which were appointed by the lords commissioners of the admiralty in England. The court of King's Bench consisted of a chief-justice appointed by the king, who sat with some assistant justices of the province; and the same judges constituted the court of Common Pleas. There were likewise an attorney-general, a clerk, and provost-marshal. The secretary of the province, who was also register, the surveyor-general of the lands, and the receiver-general of the quit-rents were all appointed by the crown. The comptroller of the customs, and three collectors, at the ports of Charlestown, Port-royal, and George-town, were appointed by the commissioners of the customs in England. The provincial treasurer was appointed by the general assembly. The clergy were elected by the freeholders of the parish. All justices of the peace, and officers of the militia, were appointed by the governor in council. Such at this time was the nature of the provincial government and constitution.

About the same time John, Lord Carteret (then earl of Granville,) applied by petition to his majesty, praying that the eighth part of the lands and soil granted by King Charles, and reserved to him by the act of parliament establishing an agreement with the other seven lords proprietors for the surrender of their title and interest to his majesty, might be set apart and allotted to him and his heirs for ever, and proposing to appoint persons to divide the same; at the same time offering to resign to the king his share of, and interest in the government, and to release and confirm to his majesty, and his heirs, the other seven parts of the province. This petition being referred to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, they reported, that it would be for his majesty's service that Lord Carteret's property should be separated from that of his majesty, and that the method proposed by his lordship would be the most proper and effectual for the purpose. Accordingly five commissioners were appointed on the part of the king, and five on that of Lord Carteret, for separating his lordship's share, and making it one entire district by itself. The territory allotted him was divided on the north-east by the line which separated North Carolina from Virginia; on the east by the Atlantic ocean; on the south by a point on the sea-shore, in latitude 35 degrees and 34 minutes; and, agreeable to the charter, westward from these points on the sea-shore it extended, in a line parallel to the boundary line of Virginia, to the Pacific Ocean. Not long afterwards, a grant of the eighth part of Carolina, together with all yearly rents and profits arising from it, passed the great seal, to John, Lord Carteret and his heirs. But the power of making laws, calling and holding assemblies, erecting courts of justice, appointing judges and justices, pardoning criminals, granting titles of honour, making ports and havens, taking customs or duties on goods, executing the martial law, exercising the royal rights of a county Palatine, or any other prerogatives relating to the administrations of government, were all excepted out of the grant. Lord Carteret was to hold this estate upon condition of yielding and paying to his majesty, and his heirs and successors, the annual rent of *l. 13s. 4d.*, on the

feast of All Saints, for ever, and also one-fourth part of all the gold and silver ore found within this eighth part of the territory so separated and granted him.

As Carolina abounds with navigable rivers, while it enjoys many advantages for commerce and trade, it is also much exposed to foreign invasions. The tide on that coast flows from six to ten feet perpendicular, and makes its way up into the flat country by a variety of channels. All vessels that draw not above seventeen feet water, may safely pass over the bar of Charlestown, which at spring-tides will admit ships that draw eighteen feet. This bar lies in 32 degrees and 40 minutes north latitude, and 78 degrees and 45 minutes west longitude from London. Its situation is variable, owing to a sandy foundation and the rapid flux and reflux of the sea. The channel leading to George-town is twelve or thirteen feet deep, and likewise those of North and South Edisto rivers, and will admit all ships that draw not above ten or eleven feet of water. At Stono there is also a large creek, which admits vessels of the same draught of water; but Sewee and Santee rivers, and many others of less note, are for smaller craft, which draw seven, eight, or nine feet. The channel up to Port-royal harbour is deep enough for the largest ships that sail on the sea; and the whole royal navy of England might ride with safety in it; and it is admirably ordained for trade and commerce.

Several leagues to the southward of Port-royal, Savannah river empties itself into the ocean, which is also navigable for ships that draw not above fourteen feet water. At the southern boundary of Georgia the great river Alatomaha falls into the Atlantic sea, about sixteen leagues north-east of Augustine, which lies in 29 degrees 50 minutes. This river admits ships of large burden as far as Frederica, a small town built by General Oglethorpe, on an eminence in Simon's island. The island on the west end is washed by a branch of the river Alatomaha, before it empties itself into the sea at Jekyl sound. At Frederica the river forms a kind of bay. The fort General Oglethorpe erected here for the defence of Georgia had several eighteen-pounders mounted on it, and commanded the river both upwards and downwards. It was built with four bastions, surrounded by a quadrangular rampart, and a palisadoed ditch, which included also the king's stores, and two large buildings of brick and timber. The town was surrounded with a rampart, in the form of a pentagon, with flankers of the same thickness with that at the fort, and a dry ditch. On this rampart several pieces of ordnance were also mounted. In this situation General Oglethorpe had pitched his camp, which was divided into streets, distinguished by the names of the several captains of his regiment. Their little huts were built of wood, and constructed for holding each four or five men. At some distance from Frederica was the colony of Highlanders, situated on the same river, a wild and intrepid race, living in a state of rural freedom and independence. Their settlement being near the frontiers, afforded them abundance of scope for the exercise of their warlike temper; and having received one severe blow from the garrison at Augustine, they seemed to long for an opportunity of revenging the massacre of their friends.

The time was fast approaching for giving them what they desired. For although the territory granted by the second charter to the proprietors at Carolina extended far to the south-west of the river Alatomaha, the Spaniards had never relinquished



their pretended claim to the province of Georgia. Their ambassador at the British court had even declared that his Catholic majesty would as soon part with Madrid as his claim to that territory. The squadron commanded by Admiral Vernon had for some time occupied their attention in the West Indies so much, that they could spare none of their forces to maintain their supposed right; but no sooner had the greatest part of the British fleet left those seas, and returned to England, than they immediately turned their eyes to Georgia, and began to make preparations for dislodging the English settlers in that province. Finding that threats could not terrify General Oglethorpe to a compliance with their demands, an armament was prepared at the Havanna to go against him, and expel him by force of arms from their frontiers. With this view 2000 forces, commanded by Don Antonio de Rodondo, embarked at the Havanna, under the convoy of a strong squadron, and arrived at Augustine in May 1742.

But before this formidable fleet and armament had reached Augustine, they were observed by Captain Haymer, of the Flamborough man-of-war, who was cruising on that coast; and advice was immediately sent to General Oglethorpe of their arrival in Florida. Georgia now began to tremble in her turn. The general sent intelligence to Governor Glen at Carolina, requesting him to collect all the forces he could with the greatest expedition, and send them to his assistance; and at the same time to dispatch a sloop to the West Indies, to acquaint Admiral Vernon with the intended invasion.

Carolina by this time had found great advantage from the settlement of Georgia, which had proved an excellent barrier to that province, against the incursions of Spaniards and Spanish Indians. The southern parts being rendered secure by the regiment of General Oglethorpe in Georgia, the lands backward of Port-royal had become much in demand, and rose to four times their former value. But though the Carolinians were equally interested with their neighbours in the defence of Georgia, having little confidence in General Oglethorpe's military abilities, since his unsuccessful expedition against Augustine; the planters, struck with terror, especially those on the southern parts, deserted their habitations, and flocked to Charlestown with their families and effects. Many of the inhabitants of Charlestown, being prejudiced against the general, declared against sending him any assistance, and determined rather to fortify their town, and stand upon their own grounds in a posture of defence.

In the mean time General Oglethorpe was making all possible preparations at Frederica for a vigorous defence. Message after message was sent to his Indian allies, who were greatly attached to him, and crowded to his camp. A company of Highlanders joined him on the first notice, and seemed joyful at the opportunity of retorting Spanish vengeance on their own heads. With his regiment and a few rangers, Highlanders, and Indians, the general fixed his head-quarters at Frederica, never doubting a reinforcement from Carolina, and expecting their arrival every day; but in the mean time determined, in case he should be attacked, to sell his life as dear as possible in defence of the province.

About the end of June 1742, the Spanish fleet, amounting to 32 sail, and carrying above 3000 men, under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano, came to anchor off Simons's bar. Here they continued for some time sounding the channel, and after

finding a depth of water sufficient to admit their ships, they came in with the tide of flood into Jekyl sound. General Oglethorpe, who was at Simons's fort, fired at them as they passed the sound, which the Spaniards returned from their ships, and proceeded up the river Alatomaha, out of the reach of his guns. There the enemy, having hoisted a red flag at the mizen top-mast head of the largest ship, landed their forces upon the island, and erected a battery, with twenty eighteen-pounders mounted on it. Among their land-forces they had a fine company of artillery, under the command of Don Antonio de Rodondo, and a regiment of negroes. The negro commanders were clothed in lace, bore the same rank with white officers, and with equal freedom and familiarity walked and conversed with their commander and chief. Such an example might justly have alarmed Carolina. For should the enemy penetrate into that province, where there were such numbers of negroes, they would soon have acquired such a force as must have rendered all opposition fruitless and ineffectual.

General Oglethorpe having found that he could not stop the progress of the enemy up the river, and judging his situation at Fort Simons too dangerous, nailed up the guns, burst the bombs and cohorns, destroyed the stores, and retreated to his headquarters at Frederica. So great was the force of the enemy, that he resolved to act only on the defensive. On all sides he sent out scouting parties to watch the motions of the Spaniards, while the main body were employed in working at the fortifications, making them as strong as circumstances would admit. Day and night he kept his Indian allies ranging through the woods, to harass the outposts of the enemy, who at length brought in five Spanish prisoners, who informed him of their number and force, and that the governor of Augustine was commander-in-chief of the expedition. The general, still expecting a reinforcement from Carolina, used all his address in planning measures for gaining time, and preventing the garrison from sinking into despair. For this purpose he sent out the Highland company also to assist the Indians, and obstruct as much as possible the approach of the enemy till he should obtain assistance and relief. His provisions for the garrison were neither good nor plentiful, and his great distance from all settlements, together with the enemy keeping the command of the river, cut off entirely all prospects of a supply. To prolong the defence, however, he concealed every discouraging circumstance from his little army, which, besides Indians, did not amount to more than 700 men; and to animate them to perseverance, exposed himself to the same hardships and fatigues with the meanest soldier in his garrison.

While Oglethorpe remained in this situation, the enemy made several attempts to pierce through the woods, with a view to attack the fort; but met with such opposition from the morasses and thickets, which were lined with fierce Indians and wild Highlanders, that they honestly confessed that the devil himself could not pass through them to Frederica. Don Manuel de Monteano, however, had no other prospect left, and these difficulties must either be surmounted, or the design dropt; and therefore one party after another was sent out to explore the thickets, and to take possession of every advantageous post to be found in them. In two skirmishes with the Highlanders and Indians, the enemy had one captain and two lieutenants killed, with above 100 men taken prisoners. After which the Spanish

commander changed his plan of operations, and keeping his men under cover of his cannon, proceeded with some galleys up the river with the tide of flood, to reconnoitre the fort and draw the general's attention to another quarter. To this place Oglethorpe sent a party of Indians, with orders to lie in ambuscade in the woods, and endeavour to prevent their landing. About the same time an English prisoner escaped from the Spanish camp, and brought advice to General Oglethorpe of a difference subsisting in it, in so much that the forces from Cuba, and those from Augustine encamped in separate places. Upon which the general resolved to attempt a surprise on one of the Spanish camps, and taking the advantage of his knowledge of the woods, marched out in the night with 300 chosen men, the Highland company, and some rangers. Having advanced within two miles of the enemy's camp he halted, and went forward with a small party to take a view of the posture of the enemy. But while he wanted above all things to conceal his approach, a Frenchman fired his musket, ran off, and alarmed the enemy. Upon which, Oglethorpe finding his design defeated, retreated to Frederica, and being apprehensive that the deserter would discover his weakness, began to study by what device he might most effectually defeat the credit of his informations. For this purpose he wrote a letter, addressing it to the deserter, in which he desired him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and how easy and practicable it would be to cut him and his small garrison to pieces. He begged him, as his spy, to bring them forward to the attack, and assure them of success; but if he could not prevail with them to make that attempt, to use all his art and influence to persuade them to stay at least three days more at Fort Simons, for within that time, according to the advice he had just received from Carolina, he would have a reinforcement of 2000 land-forces, and six British ships of war, with which he doubted not he would be able to give a good account of the Spanish invaders. He entreated the deserter to urge them to stay, and above all things cautioned him against mentioning a single word of Vernon coming against Augustine, assuring him that for such services he should be amply rewarded by his Britannic majesty. This letter he gave to one of the Spanish prisoners, who for the sake of liberty and a small reward, promised to deliver it to the French deserter; but instead of that, as Oglethorpe expected, he delivered it to the commander-in-chief of the Spanish army.

Various were the speculations and conjectures which this letter occasioned in the Spanish camp, and the commander, among others, was not a little perplexed what to infer from it. In the first place he ordered the French deserter to be put in irons to prevent his escape, and then called a council of war, to consider what was most proper to be done in consequence of intelligence so puzzling and alarming. Some officers were of opinion that the letter was intended to deceive, and to prevent them from attacking Frederica; others thought that the things mentioned in it appeared so feasible, that there were good grounds to believe the English general wished them to take place, and therefore gave their voice for consulting the safety of Augustine, and dropping a plan of conquest attended with so many difficulties, and which, in the issue, might perhaps hazard the loss of both army and fleet, if not of the whole province of Florida. While the Spanish leaders were employed in these delibera-

tions, and much embarrassed, fortunately three ships of force which the governor of South Carolina had sent out, appeared at some distance on the coast. This corresponding with the letter, convinced the Spanish commander of its real intent, and struck such a panic into the army, that they immediately set fire to their fort, and in great hurry and confusion embarked, leaving behind them several cannon, and a quantity of provisions and military stores. The wind being contrary, the English ships could not, during that day, beat up to the mouth of the river, and before next morning the invaders got past them, and escaped to Augustine.

In this manner was the province of Georgia delivered, when brought to the very brink of destruction by a formidable enemy. Fifteen days had Don Manuel de Monteano been on the small island on which Frederica was situated, without gaining the smallest advantage over a handful of men, and in different skirmishes lost some of his bravest troops. What number of men Oglethorpe lost we have not been able to learn, but it must have been very inconsiderable. In this resolute defence of the country he displayed both military skill and personal courage, and an equal degree of praise was due to him from the Carolinians as from the Georgians. It is not improbable that the Spaniards had Carolina chiefly in their eye, and had meditated an attack where rich plunder could have been obtained, and where, by an accession of slaves, they might have increased their force in proportion to their progress. Never did the Carolinians make so bad a figure in defence of their country. When union, activity, and dispatch were so requisite, they ingloriously stood at a distance, and suffering private pique to prevail over public spirit, seemed determined to risk the safety of their country, rather than General Oglethorpe, by their help, should gain the smallest degree of honour and reputation. Money, indeed, they voted for the service, and at length sent some ships, but by coming so late, they proved useful rather from the fortunate co-operation of an accidental cause, than from the zeal and public spirit of the people. The Georgians with justice blamed their more powerful neighbours, who, by keeping at a distance in the day of danger, had almost hazarded the loss of both provinces. Had the enemy pursued their operations with vigour and courage, the province of Georgia must have fallen a prey to the invaders, and Carolina had every thing to dread in consequence of the conquest. Upon the return of the Spanish troops to the Havannah, the commander was imprisoned, and ordered to take his trial for his conduct during this expedition, the result of which proved so shameful and ignominious to the Spanish arms. Though the enemy threatened to renew the invasion, yet we do not find that after this repulse they made any attempts by force of arms to gain possession of Georgia.

The Carolinians having had little or no share of the glory gained by this brave defence, were also divided in their opinions with respect to the conduct of General Oglethorpe. While one party acknowledged his signal services, and poured out the highest encomiums on his wisdom and courage, another shamefully censured his conduct, and meanly detracted from his merit; and no one took any public notice of his services, except the inhabitants in and about Port-royal, who presented him with a congratulatory address.

But at the same time reports were circulating in Charlestown to his prejudice, insomuch that both

his honour and honesty were called in question. Such malicious rumours had even reached London, and occasioned some of his bills to return to America protested. Lieutenant-Colonel William Cook, who owed his preferment to the general's particular friendship and generosity, and who, on pretence of sickness, had left Georgia before this invasion, had filed no less than nineteen articles of complaint against him, summoning several officers and soldiers from Georgia to prove the charge. As the general had, in fact, stretched his credit, exhausted his strength, and risked his life for the defence of Carolina in its frontier colony, such a recompense must have been equally mortifying as it was unmerited. The charges brought by envy and malice he might have treated with contempt; but to vindicate himself against the attacks of an inferior officer, he thought himself bound in honour to return to England.

Soon after his arrival there, a court-martial of general officers was called, who sat two days at the Horse Guards, and after the most mature deliberation, the board adjudged the charge to be false, malicious, and groundless, and reported the same to his majesty. In consequence of which, Lieutenant-Colonel Cook was dismissed from the service, and declared incapable of serving his majesty in any military capacity whatever.

After this period General Oglethorpe never returned to the province of Georgia, but upon all occasions discovered in England an uncommon zeal for its prosperity and improvement. From its first settlement the colony had hitherto been under a military government, executed by the general and such officers as he thought proper to nominate and appoint. But now the trustees established a kind of civil government, and committed the charge of it to a president and four assistants, who were to act by certain instructions which they should receive from them, and to be accountable to that corporation for their public conduct. William Stephens was made chief magistrate, and Thomas Jones, Henry Parker, John Fallowfield, and Samuel Mercer, were appointed assistants. They were instructed to hold four general courts at Savanna every year, for regulating public affairs, and determining all differences relating to private property. No public money could be disposed of but by a warrant under the seal of the president and major part of the assistants in council assembled, who were enjoined to send monthly accounts to England of money expended, and of the particular services to which it was applied. All officers of militia were continued, for the purpose of holding musters, and keeping the men properly trained for military services; and Oglethorpe's regiment was left in the colony for its defence.

By this time the trustees had transported to Georgia, at different times, above 1500 men, women, and children. As the colony was intended as a barrier to Carolina, by their charter the trustees were at first laid under several restraints with respect to the method of granting lands, as well as the settlers with respect to the terms of holding and disposing of them. But it was now found expedient to relieve both the former and latter from these impolitic restrictions. Under the care of General Oglethorpe the infant province had surmounted many difficulties, yet still it promised a poor recompense to Britain for the vast sums of money expended for its protection. The indigent emigrants, especially those from England, having little acquaintance with hus-

bandry, and less inclination to labour, made bad settlers; and as greater privileges were allowed them on the Carolina side of the river, they were easily decoyed away to that colony. The Highlanders and Germans indeed, being more frugal and industrious, succeeded better, but hitherto had made very small progress, owing partly to wars with the Spaniards, and to severe hardships attending all kinds of culture in such an unhealthy climate and woody country. The staple commodities intended to be raised in Georgia were silk and wine, which were indeed very profitable articles; but so small was the improvement made in them, that they had hitherto turned out to little account. The most industrious and successful settlers could as yet scarcely provide for their families, and the unfortunate, the sick, and indolent part, remained in a destitute condition.

Soon after the departure of General Oglethorpe, the Carolinians petitioned the king, praying that three independent companies, consisting each of 100 men, might be raised in the colonies, paid by Great Britain, and stationed in Carolina, to be entirely under the command of the governor and council of that province. This petition was referred to the lords of his majesty's privy-council, and a time appointed for considering whether the present state of Carolina was such as rendered this additional charge to the nation proper and necessary. Two reasons were assigned by the colonists for the necessity of this military force: the first was, to preserve peace and security at home; the second, to protect the colony against foreign invasions. They alleged, that as the country was overstocked with negroes, such a military force was requisite to subject them and prevent insurrections; and as the coast was so extensive, and the ports lay exposed to every French and Spanish plunderer that might at any time invade the province, their security against such attempts was of the highest consequence to the nation. But though they afterwards obtained some independent companies, the privy-council at that time denied their request, declaring that it belonged to the provincial legislature to make proper laws for limiting the importation of negroes, and regulating and restraining them when imported; rather than put the mother-country to the expense of keeping a standing force in the province to overawe them: that Georgia, and the Indians on the Apalachian hills, were a barrier against foreign enemies on the western frontiers; that Fort Johnson, and the fortifications in Charleston, were a sufficient protection for that port; besides, that as the entrance over the bar was so difficult to strangers, before a foreign enemy could land 500 men in that town, half the militia in the province might be collected for its defence. George-town and Port-royal indeed were exposed, but the inhabitants being both few in number and poor, it could not be worth the pains and risk of a single privateer to look into those harbours. For which reasons it was judged that Carolina could be in little danger till a foreign enemy had possession of Georgia; and therefore it was agreed to maintain Oglethorpe's regiment in that settlement complete; and give orders to the commandant to send detachments to the forts in James's Island, Port-royal, and such other places where their service might be thought useful and necessary to the provincial safety and defence.

The plan of settling townships, especially as it came accompanied with the royal bounty, had proved beneficial to the colony in many respects. It en-

couraged multitudes of poor people to emigrate from Ireland, Holland, and Germany, by which means the province received a number of frugal and industrious settlers. As many of them came from manufacturing towns in Europe, it might have been expected that they would naturally have pursued those occupations to which they had been bred, and in which their chief skill consisted; but this was not the case; for excepting a few of them that took up their residence in Charlestown, they procured lands, applied to pasturage and agriculture, and by raising hemp, wheat, and maize, in the interior parts of the country, and curing hams, bacon, and beef, they supplied the market with abundance of provision, while at the same time they found that they had taken the shortest way of arriving at easy and independent circumstances.

Indeed, while such vast territories in Carolina remained unoccupied, it was neither for the interest of the province, nor that of the mother-country, to employ any hands in manufactures. So long as labour bestowed on lands was most profitable, no prudent colonist would direct his attention or strength to any other employment, especially as the mother-country could supply him with all kinds of manufactures at a much cheaper rate than he could make them. The surplus part of British commodities and manufactures for which there was no vent in Britain, found in Carolina a good market, and in return brought the English merchant such articles as were in demand at home, by which means the advantages were mutual and reciprocal. In the year 1744, 230 vessels were loaded at the port of Charlestown, so that the national value of the province was not only considerable as to the large quantity of goods it consumed, but also as to the naval strength it promoted. Fifteen hundred seamen at least found employment in the trade of this province, and besides other advantages, the profits of freight must make a considerable addition to the account in favour of Britain.

*Influx of Scotch settlers—Climate and diseases—Cultivation of indigo—State of Georgia—Disensions excited by Bosomworth—Georgia made a royal government—Whitfield in Carolina—Conference with the Indians—Great hurricane at Charlestown—State of commerce.*

After the rebellion in England of 1745 had been subdued, the Highlanders were induced by the government to emigrate; and indeed many were allowed the choice of trial or voluntary banishment; and among the other settlements in America, the southern provinces had a great share of these bold and hardy men, who afterwards proved excellent and industrious settlers.

As every family of labourers is an acquisition to a growing colony, such as Carolina, where lands are plenty, and hands only wanted to improve them; to encourage emigration, a door was opened there to Protestants of every nation. The poor and distressed subjects of the British dominions, and those of Germany and Holland, were easily induced to leave oppression, and transport themselves and families to that province. Lands free of quit-rents, for the first ten years, were allotted to men, women, and children. Utensils for cultivation, and hogs and cows to begin their stock, they purchased with their bounty-money. The like bounty was allowed to all servants after the expiration of the term of their servitude. From this period Carolina was found to be an excellent refuge to the poor, the unfortunate, and oppressed. The

population and prosperity of her colonies engrossed the attention of the mother-country. His majesty's bounty served to alleviate the hardships inseparable from the first years of cultivation, and landed property animated the poor emigrants to industry and perseverance. The different townships yearly increased in numbers. Every one upon his arrival obtained his grant of land, and sat down on his freehold with no taxes, or very trifling ones, no tithes, no poor rates, with full liberty of hunting and fishing, and many other advantages and privileges he never knew in Europe. It is true the unhealthiness of the climate was a great bar to his progress, and proved fatal to many of these first settlers; but to such as surmounted this obstacle, every year brought new profits, and opened more advantageous prospects. All who escaped the dangers of the climate, if they could not be called rich during their own life, by improving their little freeholds, yet commonly left their children in easy or opulent circumstances. Even in the first age being free, contented, and accountable to no man for their labour and management, their condition in many respects was preferable to that of the poorest class of labourers in Europe. In all improved countries, where commerce and manufactures have been long established, and luxury prevails, the poorest ranks of citizens are always oppressed and miserable. Indeed this must necessarily be the case, otherwise trade and manufactures, which flourish principally by the low price of labour and provisions, must decay. In Carolina, though exposed to more troubles and hardships for a few years, such industrious people had better opportunities than in Europe for advancing to an easy and independent state. Hence it happened that few emigrants ever returned to their native country; on the contrary, the success and prosperity of the most fortunate, brought many adventurers and relations after them. Their love to their former friends, and their natural partiality for their countrymen, induced the old planters to receive the new settlers joyfully, and even to assist and relieve them.

It has been observed, that in proportion as the lands have been cleared and improved, and scope given for a more free circulation of air, the climate likewise became more salubrious and pleasant. This change was more remarkable in the heart of the country than in the maritime parts, where the best plantations of rice are, and where water is carefully preserved to overflow the fields; yet even in those places cultivation has been attended with salutary effects. Time and experience had now taught the planters, that, during the autumnal months, their living among the low rice plantations subjected them to many disorders, from which the inhabitants of the capital were entirely exempted. This induced the richer part to retreat to town during this unhealthy season. Those who were less able to bear the expenses of this retreat, and had learned to guard against the inconveniences of the climate, sometimes escaped; but laborious strangers suffered much during these autumnal months. Accustomed as they were in Europe to toil through the heat of the day, and expose themselves in all weathers, they followed the same practices in Carolina, where the climate would by no means admit of such liberties.

In the months of July, August, and September, the heat in the shaded air, from noon to three o'clock, is often between 90 and 100 degrees; and as such extreme heat is of short duration, being commonly productive of thunder-showers, it becomes on that account the more dangerous. Fahrenheit's thermo-

meter has been seen to arise in the shade to 96 in the hottest, and fall to sixteen in the coolest season of the year; and occasionally even as high as 100, and as low as ten. The mean diurnal heat of the different seasons has been, upon the most careful observation, fixed at 64 in spring, and 79 in summer, 72 in autumn, and 52 in winter; and the mean nocturnal heat in those seasons at 56 degrees in spring, 75 in summer, 68 in autumn, and 46 in winter.

Intermittent, nervous, putrid and bilious fevers are common in the country, and prove fatal to many of its inhabitants. Young children are very subject to the worm-fever, which destroys numbers of them. The dry colic, which is a dreadful disorder, is no stranger to the climate; and an irruption, commonly called the prickly heat, often breaks out during the summer, which is attended with troublesome itching and stinging pains; but this disease being common, and not dangerous, is little regarded; and if proper caution be used to prevent it from striking suddenly inward, is thought to be attended even with salutary effects. In the spring and winter, pleurisies and peripneumonies are common, and often obstinate, and frequently fatal. So changeable is the weather, that the thermometer will often rise or fall 20, 25, and 30 degrees, in the space of 24 hours, and in autumn there is sometimes a difference of 20 degrees between the heat of the day and that of the night, and in winter a greater difference between the heat of the morning and that of noon-day. Not only man, but every animal, is strongly affected by the sultry heat of summer. Horses and cows retire to the shade, and there, though harassed with insects, they stand and profusely sweat through the violence of the day. Hogs and dogs are also much distressed with it; as are poultry and wild fowls. The planter who consults his health is not only cautious in his dress and diet, but rises early for the business of the field, and transacts it before ten o'clock, and then retreats to the house for shade during the violent heat of the day, until the coolness of the evening again invites him to the field; and such is the feebleness and languor at noon, that the greatest pleasure of life consists in being entirely at rest.

This kind of climate, however, is favourable to the culture of indigo; and about the year 1745 a fortunate discovery was made, that this plant grew spontaneously in the province, and was found almost every where among the wild weeds of the forest. Some seed of a better kind was immediately imported from the French West Indies, where it had been cultivated with great success, and yielded the planters immense profit; and in consequence of the success which attended various experiments, several planters turned their attention to its culture, and studied the art of extracting the dye from it. Every trial gave them fresh encouragement; and in the year 1747 a considerable quantity of it was sent to England, which induced the merchants trading to Carolina to petition parliament for a bounty on Carolina indigo. The parliament, upon examination, found that it was one of the most beneficial articles of French commerce, that their West Indian islands supplied all the markets of Europe; and that Britain alone consumed annually 600,000 weight of French indigo, which, at five shillings a pound, cost the nation 150,000*l.* sterling. This petition of the merchants was soon followed by another from the planters and inhabitants of Carolina, and others to the same effect from the clothiers, dyers, and traders of different towns in Britain; and it was proved, that the

demand for indigo annually increased, and it could never be expected that the planters in the West Indies would turn their hands to it, while the culture of sugar-canes proved more profitable. Accordingly, an act of parliament passed, about the beginning of the year 1748, for allowing a bounty of six-pence a pound on all indigo raised in the British American plantations, and imported directly into Britain from the place of its growth. In consequence of which act the planters applied themselves with double vigour and spirit to its cultivation. Some years indeed elapsed before they learned the art of preparing it as well as the French, whose long practice and experience had brought it to perfection; but every year they acquired greater skill and knowledge in preparing it. Many of the cultivators doubled their capital every three or four years, and in time brought it to such a degree of perfection, as not only to supply the mother-country, but also to undersell the French at several European markets.

As it was long the staple commodity of this colony, the following account, as given by an early colonist of its mode of culture, may serve to illustrate the manners and circumstances of the inhabitants. "As both the quantity and quality of indigo greatly depend on the cultivation of the plant, it is proper to observe, that it seems to thrive best in a rich, light soil, unmixed with clay or sand. The ground to be planted should be ploughed, or turned up with hoes, some time in December, that the frost may render it rich and mellow. It must also be well harrowed, and cleansed from all grass, roots, and stumps of trees, to facilitate the hoeing after the weed appears above ground. The next thing to be considered is the choice of the seed, in which the planters should be very nice; there is great variety of it, and from every sort good indigo may be made; but none answers so well in this colony as the true Guatimala, which if good is a small oblong black seed, very bright and full, and when rubbed in the hand will appear as if finely polished.

"In Carolina we generally begin to plant about the beginning of April, in the following manner: the ground being well prepared, furrows are made with a drill-plough, or hoe, two inches deep, and eighteen inches distant from each other, to receive the seed, which is sown regularly, and not very thick, after which it is lightly covered with earth. A bushel of seed will sow four English acres. If the weather proves warm and serene, the plant will appear above ground in ten or fourteen days. After the plant appears, the ground, though not grassy, should be hoed to loosen the earth about it, which otherwise would much hinder its growth. In good seasons it grows very fast, and must all the while be kept perfectly clean of weeds. Whenever the plant is in full bloom it must be cut down, without paying any regard to its height, as its leaves are then thick and full of juice, and this commonly happens in about four months after planting. But, previous to the season for cutting, a complete set of vats of the following dimensions, for every twenty acres of weed, must be provided, and kept in good order. The steeper or vat in which the weed is first put to ferment, must be sixteen feet square in the clear, and two and a half feet deep; the second vat or battery twelve feet long, ten feet wide, and four and a half feet deep from the top of the plate. These vats should be made of the best cypress or yellow-pine plank, two and a half inches thick, well fastened to the joints and studs with seven-inch spikes, and then caulked, to prevent their leaking. Vats thus made

will last in Carolina, notwithstanding the excessive heat, at least seven years. When every thing is ready, the weed must be cut and laid regularly in the steeper with the stalk upward, which will hasten the fermentation; then long rails must be laid the length of the vat, at eighteen inches distance from one another, and wedged down to the weed, to prevent its buoying up when the water is pumped into the steeper. For this purpose the softest water answers best, and the quantity of it necessary must be just sufficient to cover all the weed. In this situation it is left to ferment, which will begin sooner or later in proportion to the heat of the weather, and the ripeness of the plant, but for the most part takes twelve or fifteen hours. After the water is loaded with the salts and substance of the weed, it must be let out of the steeper into the battery, there to be beat; in order to perform which operation, many different machines have been invented: but for this purpose any instrument that will agitate the water with great violence may be used. When the water has been violently agitated for fifteen or twenty minutes in the battery, by taking a little of the liquor up in a plate it will appear full of small grain or curdled; then you are to let in a quantity of lime-water kept in a vat for the purpose, to augment and precipitate the *feculæ*, still continuing to stir and beat vehemently the indigo water, till it becomes of a strong purple colour, and the grain hardly perceptible. Then it must be left to settle, which it will do in eight or ten hours. After which the water must be gently drawn out of the battery through plug-holes contrived for that purpose, so that the *feculæ* may remain at the bottom of the vat. It must then be taken up, and carefully strained through a horse-hair sieve, to render the indigo perfectly clean, and put into bags made of Osnaburghs, eighteen inches long, and twelve wide, and suspended for six hours, to drain the water out of it. After which the mouths of these bags being well fastened, it must be put into a press to be entirely freed from any remains of water, which would otherwise greatly hurt the quality of the indigo. The press commonly used for this purpose is a box of five feet in length, two and a half wide, and two deep, with holes at one end to let out the water. In this box the bags must be laid, one upon another, until it is full, upon which a plank must be laid, fitted to go within the box, and upon all a sufficient number of weights to squeeze out the water entirely by a constant and gradual pressure, so that the indigo may become a fine stiff paste; which is then taken out and cut into small pieces, each about two inches square, and laid out to dry. A house made of logs must be prepared on purpose for drying it, and so constructed that it may receive all the advantages of an open and free air, without being exposed to the sun, which is very pernicious to the dye. For here indigo placed in the sun, in a few hours will be burnt up to a perfect cinder. While the indigo remains in the drying house, it must be carefully turned three or four times a day, to prevent its rotting. Flies should likewise be carefully kept from it, which at this season of the year are hatched in millions, and infest an indigo plantation like a plague. After all, great care must also be taken, that the indigo be sufficiently dry before it is packed, lest after it is headed up in barrels it should sweat, which will certainly spoil and rot it."

The province of Georgia, notwithstanding all that Britain had done for its population and improvement, still remained in a poor and languishing con-

dition. After the peace Oglethorpe's regiment being disbanded, a number of soldiers accepted the encouragement offered them by government, and took up their residence in Georgia. All those adventurers who had brought some substance along with them, having by this time exhausted their small stock in fruitless experiments, were reduced to indigence, so that emigrants from Britain, foreigners, and soldiers, were all on a level in point of poverty. From the impolitic restrictions of the trustees, these settlers had no prospects during life but those of hardship and poverty. Nor was the trade of the province in a better situation than its agriculture. The want of credit was an insurmountable obstacle to its progress in every respect. Formerly the inhabitants in and about Savanna had transmitted to the trustees a representation of their grievous circumstances, and obtained from them some partial relief. But now, chagrined with disappointments, and dispirited by the severities of the climate, they could view the design of the trustees in no other light than that of having decoyed them into misery. Even though they had been favoured with credit, and had proved successful, which was far from being their case; as the tenure of their freehold was restricted to heirs male, their eldest son could only reap the benefit of their toil. They considered their younger children and daughters as equally entitled to their regard, and could not brook their holding lands under such a tenure, as excluded them from the rights and privileges of other colonists. They saw numbers daily leaving the province through mere necessity, and declared to the trustees, that nothing could prevent it from being totally deserted, but the same encouragements with their more fortunate neighbours in Carolina.

They complained that the landholders in Georgia were prohibited from selling or leasing their possessions; that a tract, containing 50 acres of the best lands was too small an allowance for the maintenance of a family, and much more so when they were refused the freedom to choose it; that a much higher quit-rent was exacted from them than was paid for the best lands in America; that the importation of negroes was prohibited, and white people were utterly unequal to the labours requisite; that the public money granted yearly by parliament, for the relief of settlers and the improvement of the province, was misapplied, and therefore the wise purposes for which it was granted were by no means answered. That these inconveniences and hardships kept them in a state of poverty and misery, and that the chief cause of all their calamities was the strict adherence of the trustees to their chimerical and impracticable scheme of settlement, by which the people were refused the obvious means of subsistence, and cut off from all prospects of success.

We have already observed, that the laws and regulations even of the wisest men, founded on theoretical principles, have often proved to be impracticable; and the trustees had an example of this in the fundamental constitutions of John Locke. The lands in Georgia, especially such as were first occupied, were sandy and barren; the hardships of clearing and cultivating them were great, the climate was unfavourable for labourers, and dangerous to European constitutions.

Hitherto Georgia had made but small improvement in agriculture and trade, and her government was feeble and contemptible; and at this time, by the avarice and ambition of a single family, the whole colony was brought to the very brink of destruction



During the time General Oglethorpe had the direction of public affairs in Georgia, he had, from maxims of policy, treated an Indian woman, called Mary, with particular kindness and generosity. Finding that she had great influence among the Creeks, and understood their language, he made use of her as an interpreter, in order the more easily to form treaties of alliance with them, allowing her, as already stated, for her services, 100*l.* sterling a-year. This woman, Thomas Bosomworth, who was chaplain to Oglethorpe's regiment, had married, and among the rest, had accepted a portion of land from the crown, and settled in the province. Finding that his wife laid claim to some islands on the seacoast, which, by treaty, had been allotted the Indians as part of their hunting-lands; to stock them he had purchased cattle from the planters of Carolina, from whom he obtained credit to a considerable amount. However, this plan not proving so successful as he expected, he resolved on a bold mode of supporting his credit, and acquiring a fortune. His wife pretended to be descended in a maternal line from an Indian king, who held from nature the territories of the Creeks, and Bosomworth now persuaded her to assert her right to them, as superior not only to that of the trustees, but also to that of the king. Accordingly Mary immediately assumed the title of an independent empress, disavowing all subjection or allegiance to the king of Great Britain, otherwise than by way of treaty and alliance, such as one independent sovereign might make with another. A meeting of all the Creeks was summoned, to whom Mary made a speech, setting forth the justice of her claim, and the great injury done to her and them, by taking possession of their ancient territories; and excited them to defend their property by force of arms. The Indians immediately declared they would adhere to her, and in consequence Mary, with a large body of savages, set out for Savanna, to demand a formal surrender of them from the president of the province. A messenger was dispatched before hand, to acquaint him that Mary had assumed her right of sovereignty over the whole territories of the upper and lower Creeks, and to demand that all lands belonging to them be instantly relinquished; for as she was the hereditary and rightful queen of both nations, and could command every man of them to follow her, in case of refusal, she had determined to extirpate the settlement.

The president and council, alarmed at her pretensions and bold threats, and sensible of her influence with the savages, were not a little embarrassed what steps to take. They determined to use gentle measures until an opportunity might offer of privately laying hold of her, and shipping her off to England. But, in the mean time, orders were sent to all the captains of the militia, to hold themselves in readiness to march to Savanna at an hour's warning. The town was put in the best posture of defence, but the whole militia in it amounted to no more than 170 men. A messenger was sent to Mary; who was at the head of the Creeks, several miles distant from town, to know whether she was serious in such wild pretensions, and to try to persuade her to dismiss her followers, and drop her design. But finding her inflexible and resolute, the president resolved to receive the savages with firmness. The militia was ordered under arms, to overawe them as much as possible, and as the Indians entered the town, Captain Jones, at the head of his company of horse, stopped them, and demanded whether they

came with hostile or friendly intentions? But receiving no satisfactory answer, he told them they must there ground their arms, for he had orders not to suffer a man of them armed to set his foot within the town. The savages, with great reluctance, submitted, and accordingly Thomas Bosomworth, in his canonical robes, with his queen by his side, followed by the various chiefs according to their rank, marched into town, making a formidable appearance. When they advanced to the parade, they found the militia drawn up under arms to receive them, who saluted them with fifteen cannon, and conducted them to the president's house. There Thomas and Adam Bosomworth being ordered to withdraw, the Indian chiefs, in a friendly manner, were called upon to declare their intention of visiting the town in so large a body, without being sent for by any person in lawful authority. The warriors, as they had been previously instructed, answered, that Mary was to speak for them, and that they would abide by her words. They had heard, they said, that she was to be sent like a captive over the great waters, and they were come to know on what account they were to lose their queen. They assured the president they intended no harm, and begged their arms might be restored; and, after consulting with Bosomworth and his wife, they would return and settle all public affairs. To please them their muskets were accordingly given back, but strict orders were issued to allow them no ammunition, until the council should see more clearly into their designs.

On the day following, the Indians having had some private conferences with their queen, began to be very outrageous, and to run in a tumultuous manner up and down the streets. All the men being obliged to mount guard, the women were terrified to remain by themselves in their houses, expecting every moment to be murdered or scalped; and during this confusion, a false rumour was spread, that they had cut off the president's head with a tomahawk, which so exasperated the inhabitants, that it was with difficulty the officers could prevent them from firing on the savages.

Orders were given to the militia to seize Bosomworth, and to convey him into close confinement. Upon which Mary became outrageous, and insolently threatened vengeance against the magistrates and whole colony; ordered every man to depart from her territories; cursed General Oglethorpe and his fraudulent treaties, and furiously stamping with her feet upon the ground, swore by her Maker that the whole earth on which she trode was her own. To prevent bribery, which she knew to have great weight with her warriors, she kept the leading men constantly in her eye, and would not suffer them to speak a word respecting public affairs but in her presence.

The president finding that no peaceable agreement could be made with the Indians while under the influence of their pretended queen, privately laid hold of her, and put her under confinement with her husband; and having thus secured the chief promoters of the conspiracy, he then employed men acquainted with the Indian language to entertain the warriors in the most friendly and hospitable manner, and explain to them the wicked designs of Bosomworth and his wife. Accordingly a feast was prepared for all the chief leaders; at which they were informed that Mr. Bosomworth had involved himself in debt, and wanted not only their lands, but also a large share of the royal bounty, to satisfy his creditors in Carolina; that the king's presents

were only intended for Indians, on account of their useful services and firm attachment to him during the former wars; that the lands adjoining the town were reserved for them to encamp upon when they should come to visit their beloved friends at Savannah, and the three maritime islands to hunt upon when they should come to bathe in the salt waters; that neither Mary nor her husband had any right to those lands, which were the common property of the Creek nations; that the great king had ordered the president to defend their right to them, and expected that all his subjects, both white and red, would live together like brethren; in short, that he would suffer no man or woman to molest or injure them, and had ordered these words to be left on record, that their children might know them when they were dead and gone.

This conduct produced the desired effect, and many of the chieftains being convinced that Bosomworth had deceived them, declared they would trust him no more. Even Malatchee, the leader of the Lower Creeks, and a relation to their pretended empress, seemed satisfied, and was not a little pleased to hear that the great king had sent them some valuable presents. Being asked why he acknowledged Mary as the empress of the great nation of Creeks, and resigned his power and possessions to a despicable old woman, while all Georgia owned him as chief of the nation, and the president and council were now to give him many rich clothes and medals for his services? He replied, that the whole nation acknowledged her as their queen, and none could distribute the royal presents but one of her family. The president by this answer perceiving more clearly the design of the family of Bosomworth, to lessen their influence, and show the Indians that he had power to divide the royal bounty among the chiefs, determined to do it immediately, and dismiss them, on account of the growing expenses to the colony, and the hardships the inhabitants underwent, in keeping guard night and day for the defence of the town.

In the mean time Malatchee, whom the Indians compared to the wind, because of his fickle and variable temper, having at his own request obtained access to Bosomworth and his wife, was again seduced and drawn over to support their chimerical claim. While the Indians were gathered together to receive their respective shares of the royal bounty, he stood up in the midst of them, and with a frowning countenance, and in violent agitation of spirit, delivered a speech fraught with the most dangerous insinuations. He protested that Mary possessed that country before General Oglethorpe; and that all the lands belonged to her as queen, and head of the Creeks; that it was by her permission Englishmen were at first allowed to set their foot on them; that they still held them of her as the original proprietor; that her words were the voice of the whole nation, consisting of above 3000 warriors, and at her command every one of them would take up the hatchet in defence of her right; and then pulling out a paper out of his pocket, he delivered it to the president in confirmation of what he had said. This was evidently the production of Bosomworth, and served to discover in the plainest manner his ambitious views and wicked intrigues. The preamble was filled with the names of Indians called kings, of all the towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks, none of whom, however, were present, excepting two. The substance of it corresponded with Malatchee's speech; styling Mary the rightful princess

and chief of their nation, descended in a maternal line from the emperor, and invested with full power and authority from them to settle and finally determine all public affairs and causes, relating to lands and other things, with King George and his beloved men on both sides of the sea, and whatever should be said or done by her they would abide by, as if said or done by themselves.

After reading this paper in council, the whole board were struck with astonishment; and Malatchee, perceiving their uneasiness, begged to have it again, declaring he did not know it to be "a bad talk," and promising he would return it immediately to the person from whom he had received it. To remove all impression made on the minds of the Indians by Malatchee's speech, and convince them of the deceitful and dangerous tendency of this confederacy into which Bosomworth and his wife had betrayed them, had now become a matter of the highest consequence: happy was it for the province this was a thing neither difficult nor impracticable; for as ignorant savages are easily misled on the one hand, so, on the other, it was equally easy to convince them of their error. Accordingly, having gathered the Indians together for this purpose, the president addressed them to the following effect:—"Friends and brothers, when Mr. Oglethorpe and his people first arrived in Georgia, they found Mary, then the wife of John Musgrove, living in a small hut at Yamacraw, having a licence from the governor of South Carolina to trade with Indians. She then appeared to be in a poor ragged condition, and was neglected and despised by the Creeks. But Mr. Oglethorpe finding that she could speak both the English and Creek languages, employed her as an interpreter, richly clothed her, and made her the woman of the consequence she now appears. The people of Georgia always respected her until she married Thomas Bosomworth, but from that time she has proved a liar and a deceiver. In fact, she was no relation of Malatchee, but the daughter of an Indian woman of no note, by a white man. General Oglethorpe did not treat with her for the lands of Georgia, she having none of her own, but with the old and wise leaders of the Creek nation, who voluntarily surrendered their territories to the king. The Indians at that time having much waste land that was useless to themselves, parted with a share of it to their friends, and were glad that white people had settled among them to supply their wants. He told them that the present bad humour of the Creeks had been artfully infused into them by Mary, at the instigation of her husband, who owed 4000 sterling in Carolina for cattle; that he demanded a third part of the royal bounty, in order to rob the naked Indians of their right; that he had quarrelled with the president and council of Georgia for refusing to answer his exorbitant demands, and therefore had filled the heads of Indians with wild fancies and groundless jealousies, in order to breed mischief, and induce them to break their alliances with their best friends, who alone were able to supply their wants, and defend them against all their enemies." Here the Indians desired him to stop and put an end to the contest, declaring that their eyes were now opened, and they saw through his insidious design. But though he intended to break the chain of friendship, they were determined to hold it fast, and therefore begged that all might immediately smoke the pipe of peace. Accordingly pipes and rum were brought, and the whole congress, joining hand in hand, drank and smoked together in friendship.

Then all the royal presents, except ammunition, with which it was judged imprudent to trust them until they were at some distance from town, were brought and distributed among them. The most disaffected were purchased with the largest presents; and even Malatchee himself seemed fully contented with his share; and the savages in general perceiving the poverty and insignificance of the family of Bosomworth, and their total inability to supply their wants, determined to break off all connexion with them for ever.

While the president and council flattered themselves that all differences were amicably compromised, and were rejoicing in the re-establishment of their former friendly intercourse with the Creeks, Mary, drunk with liquor, and disappointed in her views, came rushing in among them like a fury, and told the president that these were her people, that he had no business with them, and he should soon be convinced of it to his cost. The president calmly advised her to keep to her lodgings, and forbear to poison the minds of Indians, otherwise he would order her again into close confinement. Upon which, turning about to Malatchee in great rage, she told him what the president had said, who instantly started from his seat, laid hold of his arms, and then calling upon the rest to follow his example, dared any man to touch his queen. The whole house was filled in a moment with tumult and uproar; and every Indian having his tomahawk in his hand, the president and council expected nothing but a massacre; but Captain Jones, who commanded the guard, very seasonably interposed, and ordered the Indians immediately to deliver up their arms. The Indians submitted, though with reluctance, and Mary was conveyed to a private room, where a guard was set over her, and all further intercourse with savages denied her during their stay in Savanna. Her husband was sent for, in order to convince him of the folly of his chimerical pretensions, and of the dangerous consequences which must result from persisting in them. But in spite of every argument, he remained obstinate and contumacious, and protested he would stand forth in vindication of his wife's right to the last extremity, and that the province of Georgia should soon feel the weight of her vengeance. Finding that gentle means were ineffectual, the council determined to remove him also out of the way of the savages, and afterwards to deal with him. They first persuaded the Indians to retire, and a young warrior who had discovered to his tribe the base intrigues of Bosomworth, set out among the first; and the rest followed him in different parties, and the inhabitants, wearied out with constant watching, and harassed with frequent alarms, were at length happily relieved.

By this time Adam Bosomworth, another brother of the family, who was agent for Indian affairs in Carolina, had arrived from that province, and being made acquainted with what had passed in Georgia, was filled with shame and indignation; he exerted himself to his utmost, and ultimately induced his brother, Thomas Bosomworth, to repent of his folly, and to ask pardon of the magistrates and people. The latter wrote to the president, acquainting him that he was now deeply sensible of his duty as a subject, and the respect he owed to civil authority, and could no longer justify the conduct of his wife; but hoped that her present remorse, and past services to the province, would entirely blot out the remembrance of her unguarded expressions and rash design. He appealed to the letters of General Ogle-

thorpe for her former irreproachable conduct, and steady friendship to the settlement, and hoped her good behaviour for the future would atone for her past offences, and reinstate her in the public favour. For his own part, he acknowledged her title to be groundless, and for ever relinquished all claim to the lands of the province. The colonists generously forgave all that had past; and public tranquillity being re-established, new settlers applied for lands as usual, without meeting any more obstacles from the idle claims of Indian queens and chieftains.

The trustees of Georgia finding that the province languished under their care, and weary of the complaints of the people, in the year 1752 surrendered their charter to the king, and it was made a royal government. In consequence of which, his majesty appointed John Reynolds, an officer of the navy, governor of the province, with a legislature similar to that of the other royal governments in America. Although the expense which the mother-country had already incurred, besides private benefactions, for supporting this colony had been very great, yet the returns had been very small. The vestiges of cultivation were scarcely perceptible in the forest, and in England all commerce with it was neglected and despised. At this time the whole annual exports of Georgia did not amount to 10,000*l.* sterling; and although the people were now favoured with the same privileges enjoyed by their neighbours under the royal care, yet several years elapsed before the value of the lands in Georgia was known, and that spirit of industry broke out in it which afterward diffused its happy influence over the country.

In the annals of Georgia the famous George Whitfield may not be unworthy of some notice, especially as the Orphan-house built by him there has been so celebrated. Actuated by religious motives, Whitfield several times passed the Atlantic to convert the Americans, whom he addressed in such a manner as if they had been all equal strangers to the privileges and benefits of religion with the original inhabitants of the forest. However, his zeal never led him beyond the maritime parts of America, through which he travelled, spreading what he called the true evangelical faith among the most populous towns and villages. It might have been expected that the heathens, or at least those who were most destitute of the means of instruction, would have been the chief objects of his zeal and compassion; but this was far from being the case. However, wherever he went in America, as in Britain, he had multitudes of followers. When he first visited Charlestown, Alexander Garden, a man of some sense and erudition, who was the episcopal clergyman of that place, to put the people upon their guard, took occasion to point out to them the pernicious tendency of Whitfield's wild doctrines and irregular manner of life. He represented him as a religious imposter or quack, who had an excellent knack of setting off to advantage his poisonous tenets. On the other hand, Whitfield, who had been accustomed to bear reproach and face opposition, rearmated with double acrimony and greater success. While Alexander Garden, to keep his flock from straying after this strange pastor, expatiated on the words of Scripture, "Those that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." Whitfield, with all the force of humour and wit for which he was so much distinguished, by way of reply, enlarged on these words, "Alexander the coppersmith hath done me much evil, the Lord reward him according to his works." In short, the pulpit was per-

verted by both into the mean purposes of personal controversy, and every one catching a share of the infection, spoke of the clergymen as they were differently affected.

In Georgia, Whitfield having obtained a tract of land from the trustees, erected a wooden-house two stories high, the dimensions of which were 70 feet by 40, upon a sandy beach near the sea-shore. This house, which he called the Orphan-house, he began to build about the year 1740, and afterwards finished it at a great expense. It was intended to be a lodging for poor children, where they were to be clothed and fed by charitable contributions, and trained up in the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion. The design, beyond doubt, was humane and laudable; but, perhaps, had he travelled over the whole earth, he could scarcely have found out a spot of ground upon it more improper for the purpose. The whole province of Georgia could not furnish him with land of the same extent more barren and unprofitable. To this house poor children were to be sent from at least a healthy country, to be supported partly by charity, and partly by the produce of this land cultivated by negroes. Nor was the climate better suited to the purpose than the soil, for it is certain, before the unwholesome marshes around the house were fertilized, the influences of both air and water must have conspired to the children's destruction.

However, Whitfield having formed his chimerical project, determined to accomplish it, and instead of being discouraged by obstacles and difficulties, gloried in despising them. He travelled through the British empire, persuaded the ignorant and credulous part of the world of the excellence of his design, and obtained from them money, clothes, and books, to forward his undertaking, and supply his poor orphans in Georgia. About 30 years after this wooden house was finished it was burned to the ground; without, according to all accounts, having repaid its benevolent, though eccentric founder, for his anxiety and labours. After his death he was brought from New England, above 800 miles, and buried at this Orphan-house. Lady Huntingdon became his executrix, and the funds of the land, negroes, &c., were appropriated to the support of dissenting ministers.

About the year 1752 a war broke out among some Indian nations, which threatened to involve the province of Carolina. The Creeks having quarrelled with their neighbours for permitting some Indians to pass through their country to wage war against them, by way of revenge had killed some Cherokees near the gates of Charlestown. A British trader to the Chickesaw nation had likewise been scalped by a party of warriors belonging to the same nation; and Governor Glen sent a messenger to the Creeks to demand satisfaction for these outrages, and to request a conference at Charlestown with their leading men. The Creeks returned for answer, that they were willing to meet him, but as the path had not been open and safe for some time, they could not enter the settlement without a guard to escort them. Upon which the governor sent 50 horsemen, who met them at the confines of their territories, and conveyed Malatchee, with above 100 of his warriors, to Charlestown.

As they arrived on Sunday the governor did not summon his council until the day following, to hold a congress with them. At this meeting a number of gentlemen were present, whom curiosity had drawn together to see the warriors and hear their speeches.

When they entered the council-chamber the governor arose and took them by the hand, signifying that he was glad to see them, and then addressed them to the following effect: "Being tied together by the most solemn treaties, I call you by the beloved names of friends and brothers. In the name of the great King George I have sent for you, on business of the greatest consequence to your nation. I would have received you yesterday on your arrival, but it was a beloved day, dedicated to repose and the concerns of a future life. I am sorry to hear that you have taken up the hatchet, which I flattered myself had been for ever buried. It is my desire to have the chain brightened and renewed, not only between you and the English, but also between you and other Indian nations. You are all our friends, and I could wish that all Indians in friendship with us were also friends one with another. You have complained to me of the Cherokees permitting the northern Indians to come through their country to war against you, and supplying them with provisions and ammunition for that purpose. The Cherokees, on the other hand, allege, that it is not in their power to prevent them, and declare, that while their people happen to be out hunting, those northern Indians come in to their town well armed, and in such numbers that they are not able to resist them.

"I propose that a treaty of friendship and peace be concluded first with the English, and then with the Cherokees, in such a manner as may render it durable. Some of your people have from smaller crimes proceeded to greater. First, they waylaid the Cherokees, and killed one of them in the midst of our settlements; then they came to Charlestown, where some Cherokees at the same time happened to be, and though I cautioned them, and they promised to do no mischief, yet the next day they assaulted and murdered several of them nigh the gates of this town. For these outrages I have sent for you, to demand satisfaction; and also for the murder committed in one of your towns, for which satisfaction was made by the death of another person, and not of the murderer. For the future, I acquaint you, that nothing will be deemed as satisfaction for the lives of our people, but the lives of those persons themselves who shall be guilty of the murder. The English never make treaties of friendship but with the greatest deliberation, and when made observe them with the strictest punctuality. They are, at the same time vigilant, and will not suffer other nations to infringe the smallest article of such treaties. It would tend to the happiness of your people, were you equally careful to watch against the beginnings of evil; for sometimes a small spark, if not attended to, may kindle a great fire; and a slight sore, if suffered to spread, may endanger the whole body. Therefore, I have sent for you to prevent farther mischief, and I hope you come disposed to give satisfaction for the outrages already committed, and to promise and agree to maintain peace and friendship with your neighbours for the future."

This speech delivered to the Indians was interpreted by Lachlan M'Gilvray, an Indian trader, who understood their language. After which Malatchee, the king of the Lower Creek nation, stood forth, and in a solemn and dignified manner addressed the governor to the following effect: "I never had the honour to see the great King George, nor to hear his talk,—but you are in his place; I have heard yours, and I like it well. Your sentiments are agreeable to my own; the great king wisely judged, that the best way of maintaining friendship between

white and red people was by trade and commerce. He knew we are poor, and want many things, and that skins are all we have to give in exchange for what we want. I have ordered my people to bring you some as a present, and, in the name of our nation, I lay them at your excellency's feet. You have sent for us; we are come to hear what you have to say; but I did not expect to hear our whole nation accused for the faults of a few private men. Our head men neither knew nor approved of the mischief done. We imagined our young men had gone a hunting as usual. When we heard what had happened at Charlestown, I knew you would send and demand satisfaction. When your agent came and told me what satisfaction you required, I owned the justice of it; but it was not advisable for me alone to grant it. It was prudent to consult with our beloved men, and have their advice in a matter of such importance. We met; we found that the behaviour of some of our people had been bad; we found that blood had been spilt at your gates. We thought it just that satisfaction should be made; we turned our thoughts to find out the chief persons concerned (for a man will sometimes employ another to commit a crime he does not choose to be guilty of himself). We found the Acorn Whistler was the chief contriver and promoter of the mischief; we agreed that he was the man that ought to suffer. Some of his relations, who are here present, then said he deserved death, and voted for it; accordingly he was put to death. He was a very great warrior, and had many friends and relations in different parts of the country. We thought it prudent to conceal for some time the true reason of his death, which was known only to the head men that concerted it; we did this for fear some of his friends in the heat of fury would take revenge on some of your traders. At a general meeting all matters were explained; the reasons of his death were made known; his relations approved of all that was done. Satisfaction being made, I say no more about that matter. I hope our friendship with the English will continue as heretofore.

"As to the injuries done to the Cherokees, which you spoke of, we are sorry for them. We acknowledge our young men do many things they ought not to do, and very often act like madmen; but it is well known I and the other head warriors did all we could to oblige them to make restitution. I rode from town to town with Mr. Bosomworth and his wife to assist them in this matter. Most of the things taken have been restored. When this was over, another accident happened which created fresh troubles. A Chickesaw, who lived in our nation, in a drunken fit shot a white man. I knew you would demand satisfaction. I thought it best to give it before it was asked. The murder was committed at a great distance from me. I mounted my horse and rode through the towns with your agent. I took the head men of every town along with me. We went to the place and demanded satisfaction; it was given; the blood of the Indian was spilt for the blood of a white man. The uncle of the murderer purchased his life, and voluntarily killed himself in his stead. Now I have done. I am glad to see you face to face to settle those matters; it is good to renew treaties of friendship. I shall always be glad to call you friends and brothers."

This speech throws no small light on the judicial proceedings of barbarous nations, and shows that human nature in its rudest state possesses a strong sense of right and wrong. Although Indians have little property, yet here we behold their chief mag-

istrate protecting what they have, and, in cases of robbery, acknowledging the necessity of making restitution. They indeed chiefly injure one another in their persons or reputations, and in all cases of murder the guilty are brought to trial and condemned to death by the general consent of the nation. Even the friends and relations of the murderer here voted for his death. But, what is more remarkable, they gave us an instance of an atonement made, and justice satisfied, by the substitution of an innocent man in place of the guilty. An uncle voluntarily and generously offers to die in the place of his nephew, the savages accept of the offer, and in consequence of his death declare that satisfaction is made. Next to personal defence, the Indian guards his character and reputation; for as it is only from the general opinion his nation entertains of his wisdom, justice and valour, that he can expect to arrive at rank and distinction, he is exceedingly watchful against doing any thing for which he may incur public blame or disgrace; and in this answer Malatchee discovers considerable talents as a public speaker, and appears to be insensible neither to his own dignity and freedom, nor to the honour and independence of his nation.

During the months of June, July, and August, 1752, the weather in Carolina was warmer than any of the inhabitants then alive had ever felt it, and the mercury in the shade often arose above the 90th, and at one time was observed at the 101st degree of the thermometer; and, at the same time, when exposed to the sun, and suspended at the distance of five feet from the ground, it rose to 120. By this excessive heat the air becomes greatly rarefied, and a violent hurricane commonly restores the balance in the atmosphere. In such a case the wind usually proceeds from the north-east, directly opposite to the point from which it had long blown before. These storms indeed seldom happen except in seasons when there has been little thunder, when the weather has been for a long time exceedingly dry and intolerably hot, and though they occasion damages to some individuals, there is reason to believe that they are productive upon the whole of salutary effects; and the want of them for many years together has been deemed a great misfortune by the inhabitants; especially such as are exposed to the noon-day heat, or to the heavy fogs that fall every morning and evening.

It is not improbable that the maritime parts of Carolina have been forsaken by the sea, for on digging however deep no stones or rocks are found, but every where sand or beds of shells. As a small decrease of water will leave so flat a country entirely bare, so a small increase will again cover it; and the coast is not only very level, but the dangerous hurricanes commonly proceed from the north-east; and as the stream of the Gulf of Florida flows rapidly towards the same point, this large body of water, when obstructed by the tempest, recurs upon the shore, and overflows the country.

As had been fully expected owing to the previous weather, a dreadful hurricane visited Charlestown in the month of September, 1752. It was observed on the night before by the inhabitants that the wind at north-east began to blow hard, and continued increasing in violence till next morning; when the sky appeared wild and cloudy, and it began to drizzle and rain. About nine o'clock the flood came rolling in with great impetuosity, and in a little time rose ten feet above high-water mark at the highest tides. As usual in such cases, the town was overflowed, and

the streets were covered with boats, boards, and wrecks of houses and ships. Before eleven all the ships in the harbour were driven ashore, and sloops and schooners were dashing against the houses of Bay-street, in which great quantities of goods were damaged and destroyed. Except the Hornet man-of-war, which by cutting away her masts, rode out the storm, no vessel escaped being damaged or wrecked. The consternation which seized the inhabitants may be more easily conceived than expressed. Finding themselves in the midst of a tempestuous sea, and expecting the tide to flow till one o'clock, its usual hour, at eleven they retired to the upper stories of their houses, and there remained despairing of life; but providentially soon after eleven the wind shifted, in consequence of which the waters fell five feet in the space of ten minutes. By this happy change the gulf-stream, stemmed by the violent blast, had freedom to run in its usual course, and the town was saved from destruction. Had the water continued to rise, and the tide to flow until its usual hour, every inhabitant of Charlestown must have perished. As it was, almost all the tiled and slated houses were uncovered, several persons were hurt, and some were drowned. The fortifications and wharfs were almost entirely demolished; the provisions in the field, in the maritime parts, were destroyed, and numbers of cattle and hogs perished in the waters. The pest-house in Sullivan's island, built of wood, with fifteen persons in it, was carried several miles up Cooper river, and nine out of the fifteen were drowned.

To form a right judgment of the progress of the colony, and the mutual advantages resulting from its political and commercial connexion with Britain, we need only attend to its annual imports and exports. We cannot exactly say what its imports amounted to at this time; but if they amounted to above 150,000*l.* sterling in the year 1740, as we have already seen, they must have arisen at least to 200,000*l.* sterling in 1754. The quantities of rice exported in that year were 104,682 barrels; of indigo, 216,024 pounds weight, which, together with naval stores, provisions, skins, lumber, &c. amounted in value to 242,529*l.* sterling.

*A dispute about the limits of British and French territories—War with the French—Governor Glen holds a congress with the Cherokees—Forts built—The Cherokee war—The Highlanders return to Carolina—Peace with the Cherokees—Storm at Charlestown.*

Although the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle extended to the subjects of both Britain and France residing in America, yet the boundaries of the respective territories there were by no means so determinate as to preclude grounds of future dispute; and consequently a war broke out with the French, commonly called the French war of 1756; of which, as we have already, in the histories of the northern colonies, given a sufficient account, it will be sufficient to say here, that while hostilities were openly carrying on in those parts of America, it was judged prudent to consult the safety of the provinces to the south, and put them in the best posture of defence; and to prevent the fatal influence of French emissaries among the Indian tribes, it was thought necessary to build some small forts in the heart of their country. A message was also sent to Governor Glen from the chief warrior of the over-hill settlements, acquainting him that it would be necessary to hold a general congress with the nation, and renew their former treaties of friendship,

It may be remarked, that the Cherokees differ in some respects from other Indian nations that have wandered often from place to place, and fixed their habitations on separate districts. From time immemorial they have had possession of the same territory which at present they occupy. They affirm, that their forefathers sprung from that ground, or descended from the clouds upon those hills. These lands of their ancestors they value above all things in the world. They venerate the places where their bones lie interred, and esteem it disgraceful in the highest degree to relinquish these sacred repositories. The man that would refuse to take the field in defence of these hereditary possessions, is regarded by them as a coward, and treated as an outcast from their nation. To the over-hill villages the French had an easy access by means of rivers that emptied themselves into the Ohio and Mississippi; but their middle settlements and towns in the valley lay more convenient for trading with the Carolinians. Hitherto they despised the French, whom they called light as a feather, fickle as the wind, and deceitful as serpents; and, being naturally of a very grave cast, they considered the levity of that people as an unpardonable insult. They looked upon themselves as a great and powerful nation, and though their number was much diminished, yet they could bring from their different towns about 3000 men to the field. At this time they had neither arms nor ammunition to defend themselves against their enemy, and the governor of Carolina wanted liberty to build two forts on their lands, in order to secure their friendship and trade.

Governor Glen met the Cherokee warriors in their own country, with a view to purchase some lands from them; and, after the usual ceremonies previous to such treaties, a territory of prodigious extent was ceded and surrendered to the king; containing not only a fertile district, but one where the air was more serene, and the climate more healthy, than in the maritime parts.

Soon after the cession of these lands, Governor Glen built a fort about 300 miles from Charlestown, afterwards called Fort Prince George, which was situated on the banks of the river Savanna, and within gun-shot of an Indian town called Keowee. This fort was made in the form of a square, and had an earthen rampart about six feet high, on which stockades were fixed, with a ditch, a natural glacis on two sides, and bastions at the angles, on each of which four small cannon were mounted. It contained barracks for 100 men, and was designed for a defence to the western frontiers of the province. About 170 miles further down there was another strong hold, called Fort Moore, in a beautiful commanding situation on the banks of the same river. In the year following another fort was erected, called Fort Loudon, among the Upper Cherokees, situated on Tennessee river, upwards of 500 miles distant from Charlestown; to which place it was very difficult at all times, but, in case of a war with the Cherokees, utterly impracticable to convey necessary supplies. These strong holds, together with those of Frederica and Augusta in Georgia, were garrisoned by the king's independent companies of foot, stationed there for the protection of the two provinces.

After having fortified these frontiers, the settlers of Carolina began to stretch backward, and occupied lands above 150 miles from the shore. New emigrants from Ireland, Germany, and the northern colonies obtained grants in these interior parts, and



introduced the cultivation of wheat, hemp, flax, and tobacco, for which the soil answered better there than in the low-lands nearer the sea. The cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses multiplied fast, and having a country of vast extent to range over, they found plenty of provisions in it through the whole year. From different parts new settlers were invited to those hilly and more healthy parts of Carolina, where they laboured with greater safety than among the swamps, and success crowned their industry. By degrees public roads were made, and they conveyed their produce in waggons to the capital, where they found an excellent market for all their productions, but especially the provisions which they raised. And now many of the vegetables, herbs, and fruits common to English gardens were introduced.

The province of Georgia at this time, with respect to improvement, still remained little better than a wilderness, and the vast expense it had cost the mother-country might perhaps have been laid out to greater advantage in other parts of the continent. In the government of that colony, John Ellis, a fellow of the Royal Society, succeeded Captain John Reynolds. The rich swamps on the sides of the rivers lay uncultivated; and the planters had not yet found their way into the interior parts of the country, which were more fertile and healthy. Excepting vagabonds and fraudulent debtors, who fled to them from Carolina, few of the Georgians had any negroes to assist them in cultivation; so that, in 1756, the whole exports of the country were 2997 barrels of rice, 9335lb. of indigo, 268lb. of raw silk, which, together with skins, furs, lumber, and provisions, amounted only to 16,776l. sterling.

Although the hostilities which had commenced between Great Britain and France still continued, yet both countries remained averse from an open declaration of war. William Lyttleton, now Lord Westcot, being appointed governor of South Carolina, in his way through the Bay of Biscay, was intercepted by a French squadron under the command of Count de Guay, and carried into France; but an order from the French court came to release the ship, and permit the governor to return to England. The British commanders at sea, indeed, had orders to seize all French ships and bring them into port, yet as some hopes of an accommodation still remained, the crews were only confined, and the cargoes remained entire. But so soon as the news of the invasions of the English dominions in the Mediterranean, joined with the many encroachments in America, had reached the British court, all prospects of an accommodation vanished at once, and war was publicly declared against France on the 17th of May, 1756.

When General Abercrombie succeeded Lord Loudon as commander-in-chief in America, the British force being considerably augmented, bolder enterprises were undertaken. It was agreed to attack the French settlements in different places; and the French having determined to abandon Fort Duquesne, it was taken possession of by the British; and no sooner was their flag erected there, than the numerous tribes of Indians came in and made their submission; and from a conviction of the superior valour and strength of the British army, joined the conquerors.

The flight of this French garrison to the south promised little good to Carolina. The scene of action was changed only from one place to another, and the baleful influence of those active and enterprising enemies soon appeared among the upper

tribes of Cherokees. An unfortunate quarrel with the Virginians helped to forward their designs, by opening to them an easier access into the towns of the savages. In the different expeditions against Fort Duquesne, the Cherokees, agreeable to treaty, had sent considerable parties of warriors to the assistance of the British army. As the horses in those parts run wild in the woods, it was customary, both among Indians and white people on the frontiers, to lay hold of them and appropriate them to their own purposes; but while the savages were returning home through the back parts of Virginia, many of them having lost their horses, laid hold of such as came in their way, never imagining that they belonged to any individual in the province. The Virginians, however, instead of asserting their right in a legal way, resented the injury by force of arms, and killed twelve or fourteen of the unsuspecting warriors, and took several more prisoners. The Cherokees, with reason, were highly provoked at such ungrateful usage from allies, whose frontiers they had helped to change from a field of blood into peaceful habitations, and when they came home told what had happened to their nation. The flame soon spread through the upper towns, and those who had lost their friends and relations were implacable, and breathed nothing but fury and vengeance against such perfidious friends. In vain did the chieftains interpose their authority, nothing could restrain the furious spirits of the young men, who were determined to take satisfaction for the loss of their relations. The emissaries of France among them instigated them to bloodshed, and for that purpose furnished them with arms and ammunition; and the scattered families on the frontiers of Carolina lay much exposed to scalping parties of these savages.

The garrison of Fort Loudon, consisting of about 200 men, under the command of Captains Demeeré and Stuart, first discovered the ill-humour in which the Cherokee warriors returned from the northern expedition. The soldiers, as usual, making excursions into the woods to hunt for fresh provisions, were attacked by them, and some of them were killed. From this time such dangers threatened the garrison, that every one was confined within the small boundaries of the fort; and all communication with the distant settlement from which they received supplies being cut off, and the soldiers being but poorly provided, had no other prospects left but those of famine or death. Parties of young Indians took the field, and rushing down among the settlements, murdered and scalped a number of people on the frontiers.

The commanding officer at Fort Prince George having received intelligence of these acts of hostility, dispatched a messenger to Charlestown to inform Governor Lyttleton that the Cherokees had commenced hostilities. In consequence of which, parties of the independent companies were brought to Charlestown; and the militia of the country had orders to rendezvous at Congaree, where the governor, with such a force as he could procure from the lower parts, resolved to join them, and march to the relief of the frontier settlements.

No sooner had the Cherokees heard of these warlike preparations at Charlestown, than 32 of their chiefs set out for that place, in order to settle all differences, and prevent if possible a war; but the governor notwithstanding determined that nothing should prevent his military expedition, although Lieutenant-Governor Bull urged the danger of a war at that time.

A few days after holding this conference with the chieftains, the governor set out for Congarees, the place of general rendezvous for the militia, and about 140 miles distant from Charlestown, where he mustered in all about 1400 men. To this place the Cherokees marched along with the army, and were to all appearance contented, but in reality burning with resentment. When the army moved from the Congarees, the chieftains, very unexpectedly, were all made prisoners; and to prevent their escape to the nation, a captain's guard was mounted over them, and in this manner they were obliged to march to Fort Prince George. And these 32 Indians, upon the arrival of the army at Fort Prince George, were all shut up in a hut scarcely sufficient for the accommodation of six soldiers, where they very naturally concerted plots for obtaining their liberty.

Governor Lyttleton's little army being not only ill armed and disciplined, but also discontented and mutinous, he judged it dangerous to proceed further into the enemy's country. Having beforehand sent for Attakullakulla, who was esteemed both the wisest man of the Creek nation and the most steady friend of the English, to meet him at Fort Prince George, this warrior hastened to his camp from an excursion against the French, in which he had taken some prisoners, one of whom he presented to the governor. Mr. Lyttleton knew that for obtaining a re-establishment of peace there was not a man in the whole nation better disposed to assist him than this old warrior, though it was observed that he cautiously avoided making any offer of satisfaction. But so small was his influence among the Cherokees at this time, that they considered him as no better than an old woman, on account of his attachment to their English enemies, and his aversion from going to war against them.

About the 18th of December 1759, the governor held a congress with this warrior, and ultimately agreed to a treaty of peace, drawn up and signed by the governor and six of the head men; in which it was agreed that the 32 chieftains of the Cherokees (who had been taken prisoners) should be kept as hostages confined in the fort, until the same number of Indians guilty of murder should be delivered up to the commander-in-chief of the province; that trade should be opened and carried on as usual; that the Cherokees should kill, or take every Frenchman prisoner, who should presume to come into their nation during the continuance of the war; and that they should hold no intercourse with the enemies of Great Britain, but should apprehend every person, white or red, found among them, that might be endeavouring to set the English and Cherokees at variance, and interrupt the friendship and peace established between them.

After having concluded this treaty with the Cherokees, the governor resolved to return to Charlestown. But whether the Indians who put their mark to it understood the articles of agreement or not, we cannot pretend to affirm; one thing is certain, that few or none of the nation afterward paid the smallest regard to it. The treacherous act of confining their chiefs, against whom no charge could be brought, and who had travelled several hundred miles in order to obtain peace for their nation, had made a strong impression on their minds, but particularly on that of Oconostota, who breathed nothing but vengeance against such false friends.

Scarcely had Governor Lyttleton concluded the treaty of Fort Prince George, when the small-pox,

which was raging in an adjacent Indian town, broke out in his camp; and as few of his little army had ever gone through that distemper, and as the surgeons were totally unprovided for such an accident, his men were struck with terror, and in great haste returned to the settlements, cautiously avoiding all intercourse one with another, and suffering much from hunger and fatigue by the way. The governor followed them, and arrived in Charlestown about the beginning of the year 1760. Though not a drop of blood had been spilt during the expedition, he was received like a conqueror, with the greatest demonstrations of joy; and the most flattering addresses were presented to him by the different societies and professions, and bon-fires and illuminations testified the high sense the inhabitants entertained of his merit and services, and the happy consequences which they believed would result from his expedition.

However, those rejoicings on account of the peace were scarcely over, when the news arrived that fresh hostilities had been committed, and the governor was informed that the Cherokees had killed fourteen men within a mile of Fort Prince George. The Indians had contracted an invincible antipathy to Capt. Coymore, the officer whom Mr. Lyttleton had left commander of that fort; and the treatment they had received at Charlestown, but especially the imprisonment of their chiefs, had now converted their former desire of peace into the bitterest rage for war. Oconostota, a chieftain of great influence, had become a most implacable and vindictive enemy to Carolina, and determined to repay treachery with treachery. Having gathered a strong party of Cherokees, he surrounded Fort Prince George, and compelled the garrison to keep within their works; but finding that he could make no impression on the fort, nor oblige the commander to surrender, he contrived the following stratagem for the relief of his countrymen confined in it.

As that country was every where covered with woods, he placed a party of savages in a dark thicket by the river side, and then sent an Indian woman, whom he knew to be always welcome at the fort, to inform the commander that he had something of consequence to communicate to him, and would be glad to speak with him at the river side. Captain Coymore imprudently consented, and without any suspicion of danger walked down towards the river, accompanied by Lieutenants Bell and Foster; when Oconostota appearing on the opposite side, told him he was going to Charlestown to procure a release of the prisoners, and would be glad of a white man to accompany him as a safeguard; and the better to cover his dark design, had a bridle in his hand, and added, he would go and hunt for a horse to him. The captain replied, that he should have a guard, and wished he might find a horse, as the journey was very long. Upon which the Indian, turning quickly about, swung the bridle thrice round his head, as a signal to the savages placed in ambush, who instantly fired on the officers, shot the captain dead on the spot, and wounded the other two. In consequence of which, orders were given to put the hostages in irons, to prevent any further danger from them; but while the soldiers were attempting to execute their orders, the Indians stabbed the first man who laid hold of them with a knife, and wounded two more; upon which the garrison, exasperated to the highest degree, fell on the unfortunate hostages, and butchered them in a manner too shocking to relate.

There were few men in the Cherokee nation that did not lose a friend or a relation by this massacre, and therefore with one voice all immediately declared for war. The leaders in every town seized the hatchet, telling their followers that the spirits of their murdered brothers were flying around them, and calling for vengeance. From the different towns large parties of warriors took the field, painted in the most formidable manner, and singing the war song, rushed down among the defenceless families on the frontiers of Carolina, where men, women and children, without distinction, fell a sacrifice to their merciless fury. Such as fled to the woods, and escaped the scalping-knife, perished with hunger; and those whom they made prisoners were carried into the wilderness, where they suffered inexpressible hardships; and every day brought fresh accounts to the capital of their ravages, murders and desolations. But while the back settlers impatiently looked to their governor for relief, the small-pox raged to such a degree in town, that few of the militia could be prevailed on to leave their distressed families to serve the public. In this extremity an express was sent to General Amherst, the commander-in-chief in America, acquainting him with the deplorable situation of the province, and imploring his assistance in the most pressing terms. Accordingly a battalion of Highlanders, and four companies of the Royal Scots, under the command of Colonel Montgomery, afterwards earl of Eglinton, were ordered immediately to embark, and sail for the relief of Carolina.

In the mean time William LITTLETON being transferred to the government of Jamaica, the charge of the province devolved on William BULL, a man of great integrity and erudition. Application was made to the inhabitants of North Carolina and Virginia for relief, and seven troops of rangers were raised to patrol the frontiers, and prevent the savages from penetrating further down among the settlements. A considerable sum was voted for presents to such of the Creeks, Chickesaws and Catabaws as should join the province, and go to war against the Cherokees; and provisions were sent to the families that had escaped to Augusta and Fort Moore, and the best preparations possible made for chastising their enemy, so soon as the regulars coming from New York should arrive in the province.

Before the end of April, 1760, Colonel Montgomery landed in Carolina, and encamped at Monk's Corner; but as the conquest of Canada was the grand object of this year's campaign in America, he had orders to strike a sudden blow for the relief of Carolina, and return to head-quarters at Albany without loss of time. Nothing was therefore omitted that was judged necessary to forward the expedition. Several gentlemen of fortune, excited by a laudable zeal, formed themselves into a company of volunteers, and joined the army. The whole force of the province was collected, and ordered to rendezvous at Congarees; and waggons, carts and horses were impressed.

A few weeks after his arrival Colonel Montgomery marched to the Congarees, where he was joined by the internal strength of the province, and immediately set out for the Cherokee country. He was provided with a half-blooded Indian, for a guide, who was well acquainted with the roads through the woods, and the passages through the rivers. Having little time allowed him, his march was spirited and expeditious. After reaching a place called Twelve-mile River, he encamped on an advantageous ground,

and marched with a party of his men in the night to surprise Estatoe, an Indian town about 20 miles from his camp. The first noise he heard by the way was the barking of a dog before his men, where he was informed there was an Indian town called Little Keowee, which he ordered the light infantry to surround, and, except women and children, to put every Indian in it to the sword. He next proceeded to Estatoe, which he found abandoned by all the savages, excepting a few who had not had time to make their escape; and this town, which consisted of at least 200 houses, and was well provided with corn, hogs, poultry, and ammunition, he reduced to ashes; and Sugar Town, and every other settlement in the lower nation, afterwards shared the same fate. In these lower towns about 60 Indians were killed and 40 made prisoners, and the rest were driven to seek for shelter among the mountains. He then marched to the relief of Fort Prince George, which had been for some time invested by savages, insomuch that no soldier durst venture beyond the bounds of the fort, and where the garrison was in distress, not for the want of provisions, but of fuel to prepare them.

While the army rested at Fort Prince George, Edmund ATKIN, agent for Indian affairs, dispatched two Indian chiefs to the middle settlements, to inform the Cherokees that by suing for peace they might obtain it, as the former friends and allies of Britain; and at the same time he sent a messenger to Fort Loudon, requesting Captains DEMERÉ and STUART, the commanding officers at that place, to use their best endeavours for obtaining peace with the Cherokees in the upper towns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the savages were as yet disposed to listen to no terms of accommodation, determined to carry the chastisement a little further. While he was piercing through the thick forest he had numberless difficulties to surmount, particularly from rivers fordable only at one place, and overlooked by high banks on each side, where an enemy might attack him with advantage, and retreat with safety. When he had advanced within five miles of Etchoe, the nearest town in the middle settlements, he found there a low valley, covered so thickly with bushes that the soldiers could scarcely see three yards before them, and in the middle of which there was a muddy river, with steep clay banks. Through this dark place, where it was impossible for any number of men to act together, the army must necessarily march; and therefore Captain MORISON, who commanded a company of rangers well acquainted with the woods, had orders to advance and scour the thicket. He had scarcely entered it, when a number of savages sprung from their lurking den, and firing on them, killed the captain and wounded several of his party. Upon which the light-infantry and grenadiers were ordered to advance and charge the enemy, which they did with great courage and alacrity. A heavy fire then began on both sides, and during some time the soldiers could only discover the places where the savages were hid by the report of their guns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the number of Indians that guarded this place was great, and that they were determined obstinately to dispute it, ordered the Royal Scots, who were in the rear, to advance between the savages and a rising ground on the right, while the Highlanders marched towards the left to sustain the light-infantry and grenadiers. The woods now resounded with the horrible shouts and yells of the savages, but these, instead of inti-

midating the troops, seemed rather to inspire them with double firmness and resolution. At length the savages gave way, and in their retreat falling in with the Royal Scots, suffered considerably before they got out of their reach. By this time the Royals being in the front and the Highlanders in the rear, the enemy stretched away and took possession of a hill, seemingly disposed to keep at a distance, and always retreating as the army advanced; and Colonel Montgomery perceiving that they kept aloof, gave orders to the line to face about, and march directly for the town of Etchoe; but the enemy no sooner observed this movement, than they got behind the hill, and ran to alarm their wives and children. During the action, which lasted above an hour, Colonel Montgomery, who made several narrow escapes, had 20 men killed, and 76 wounded. What number the enemy lost is uncertain, but some places were discovered into which they had thrown several of their slain, from which it was conjectured that they must have lost a great number, as it is a custom among them to carry their dead off the field. Upon viewing the ground, all were astonished to see with what judgment and skill they had chosen it; for the most experienced European officer could not have fixed upon a spot more advantageous for way-laying and attacking an enemy, according to the method of fighting practised among the Indian nations.

This action, though it terminated much in favour of the British troops, had nevertheless reduced them to such a situation as made it very imprudent, if not altogether impracticable, to penetrate further into those woods. The repulse was far from being decisive, for the enemy had only retired from one to another advantageous situation in order to renew their attack when the army should again advance. Humanity would not suffer the commander to leave so many wounded men exposed to the vengeance of savages, without any strong hold in which he might lodge them, or some detachment, which he could not spare, to protect them; and should he proceed further, he saw plainly that he must expect frequent skirmishes, which would increase the number, and the burning of so many Indian towns would be a poor compensation for the great risk, and perhaps wanton sacrifice of so many valuable lives. To furnish horses for the men already wounded obliged him to throw many bags of flour into the river, and what remained was no more than sufficient for his army during their return to Fort Prince George. Orders were therefore given for a retreat, which was made with great regularity, although the enemy continued hovering around them, and annoying them to the utmost of their power. A large train of wounded men was brought above 60 miles through a hazardous country in safety, for which no small share of honour and praise was due to the officer that conducted the retreat.

After Colonel Montgomery had returned to the settlements, and was preparing to embark for New York, agreeable to his orders from General Amherst, the Carolinians were again thrown under the most dreadful apprehensions from the dangers which still hung over the province; and prevailed on the colonel to leave four companies of the royal regiment, under the command of Major Frederick Hamilton, for covering the frontiers, while he embarked with the battalion of Highlanders, and sailed for New York.

In the mean time the distant garrison of Fort Loudon, consisting of 200 men, was reduced to the

dreadful alternative of perishing by hunger or submitting to the mercy of the enraged Cherokees. The governor having information that the Virginians had undertaken to relieve it, for a while seemed satisfied, and anxiously waited to hear the news of that happy event; but the Virginians were equally ill qualified with their neighbours of Carolina to send them any assistance. So remote was the fort from every settlement, and so difficult was it to march an army through the barren wilderness, where the various thickets were lined with enemies, and to carry at the same time sufficient supplies along with them, that the Virginians had dropped all thoughts of the attempt. Provisions being entirely exhausted at Fort Loudon, the garrison was reduced to the most deplorable situation; and for a whole month they had no other subsistence but the flesh of lean horses and dogs, and a small supply of Indian beans, which some friendly Cherokee women procured for them by stealth. Long had the officers endeavoured to animate and encourage the men with the hopes of relief; but now being blockaded night and day by the enemy, and having no resource left, they threatened to leave the fort, and die at once by the hands of savages, rather than perish slowly by famine. In this extremity the commander was obliged to call a council of war, to consider what was proper to be done; when the officers were all of opinion that it was impossible to hold out any longer, and therefore agreed to surrender the fort to the Cherokees on the best terms that could be obtained from them. For this purpose Captain Stuart, an officer of great sagacity and address, and much beloved by all the Indians that remained in the British interest, procured leave to go to Choté, one of the principal towns in the neighbourhood, where he obtained the following terms of capitulation, which were signed by the commanding officer and two of the Cherokee chiefs. "That the garrison of Fort Loudon march out with their arms and drums, each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officer shall think necessary for their march, and all the baggage they may choose to carry: that the garrison be permitted to march to Virginia, or Fort Prince George, as the commanding officer shall think proper, unmolested; and that a number of Indians be appointed to escort them, and hunt for provisions during their march: that such soldiers as are lame, or by sickness disabled from marching, be received into the Indian towns, and kindly used until they recover, and then be allowed to return to Fort Prince George: that the Indians do provide for the garrison as many horses as they conveniently can for their march, agreeing with the officers and soldiers for payment: that the fort, great guns, powder, ball, and spare arms, be delivered to the Indians without fraud or further delay, on the day appointed for the march of the troops."

On these terms the garrison delivered up the fort, and marched out with their arms, accompanied by Occonostota, Judd's friend, the chief of Choté, and several other Indians, and that day went fifteen miles on their way to Fort Prince George. At night they encamped on a plain about two miles from Taliquo, an Indian town, when all their attendants, upon one pretence or another, left them; which the officers considered as no good sign, and therefore placed a strict guard round their camp. During the night they remained unmolested, but next morning about break of day a soldier from an out-post came running in, and informed them that he saw a vast number of Indians, armed, and painted in the

most dreadful manner, creeping among the bushes, and advancing in order to surround them. Scarcely had the officer time to order his men to stand to their arms, when the savages poured in upon them a heavy fire from different quarters, accompanied with the most hideous yells, which struck a panic into the soldiers, who were so much enfeebled and dispirited that they were incapable of making any effectual resistance. Captain Demeré, with three other officers, and about 26 private men, fell at the first onset. Some fled into the woods, and were afterwards taken prisoners and confined among the towns in the valley. Captain Stuart, and those that remained, were seized, pinioned, and brought back to Fort Loudon. No sooner had Attakullakulla heard that his friend Mr. Stuart had escaped, than he hastened to the fort, and purchased him from the Indian that took him, giving him his rifle, clothes, and all he could command, by way of ransom. He then took possession of Captain Demeré's house, where he kept his prisoner as one of his family, and freely shared with him the little provisions his table afforded, until a fair opportunity should offer for rescuing him from their hands; but the poor soldiers were kept in a miserable state of captivity for some time, and then redeemed by the province at a great expense.

During the time these prisoners were confined at Fort Loudon, Oconostota formed a design of attacking Fort Prince George, and for this purpose dispatched a messenger to the settlements in the valley, requesting all the warriors there to join him at Stuckoey old town. By accident a discovery was made of ten bags of powder, and ball in proportion, which the officers had secretly buried in the fort, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This discovery had nearly proved fatal to Captain Stuart, and would certainly have cost him his life, had not the interpreter had so much presence of mind as to assure the enemy that these warlike stores had been concealed without his knowledge or consent. The Indians having now abundance of ammunition for the siege, a council was called at Choté, to which the captain was brought, and put in mind of the obligations he lay under to them for sparing his life; and as they had resolved to carry six cannon and two cohorts with them against Fort Prince George, to be managed by men under his command, they told him he must go and write such letters to the commandant as they should dictate to him. They informed him at the same time, that if that officer should refuse to surrender, they were determined to burn the prisoners one after another before his face, and try if he could be so obstinate as to hold out while he saw his friends expiring in the flames. Captain Stuart was much alarmed at his situation, and from that moment resolved to make his escape, or perish in the attempt. His design he privately communicated to Attakullakulla, and told him how uneasy he was at the thoughts of being compelled to bear arms against his countrymen. He acknowledged that he had always been a brother, and hoped he would assist him to get out of his present perilous circumstances. The old warrior, taking him by the hand, told him he was his friend, he had already given one proof of his regard, and intended to give another so soon as his brother should return and help him to concert the measure. He said he was well apprised of the ill designs of his countrymen, and should he go and persuade the garrison of Fort Prince George to do as he had done, what could he expect but that they should share the same dismal fate. Strong and uncultivated minds carry their friendship, as well as

their enmity, to an astonishing pitch. Among savages family friendship is a national virtue, and civilized men may blush when they consider how much barbarians have often surpassed them in the practice of it.

Attakullakulla claimed Captain Stuart as his prisoner, and had resolved to deliver him from danger, and for this purpose there was no time to be lost. Accordingly he gave out among his countrymen that he intended to hunt for a few days, and carry his prisoner along with him to eat venison, of which he declared he was exceedingly fond. At the same time the captain went among his soldiers, telling them that they could never expect to be ransomed by the province, if they gave the smallest assistance to the Indians against Fort Prince George. Having settled all matters, they set out on their journey, accompanied by the warrior's wife, his brother, and two soldiers, who were the only persons in the garrison that knew how to convey great guns through the woods. For provisions they depended on what they might kill by the way; but the distance to the frontier settlements was great, and the utmost expedition was necessary to prevent any surprise from Indians pursuing them. Nine days and nights did they travel through a dreary wilderness, shaping their course by the sun and moon towards Virginia, and traversing many hills, valleys, and paths, that had never been crossed before but by savages and wild beasts. On the tenth they arrived at the banks of Holston's river, where they fortunately fell in with a party of 300 men, sent out by Colonel Bird for the relief of such soldiers as might make their escape that way from Fort Loudon. On the fourteenth day the Captain reached Colonel Bird's camp on the frontiers of Virginia, where having loaded his faithful friend with presents and provisions, he sent him back to protect the unhappy prisoners till they should be ransomed, and to exert his influence among the Cherokees for the restoration of peace.

No sooner had Captain Stuart made his escape from the hands of the savages, than he immediately began to concert ways and means for the relief of his garrison. An express was dispatched to Lieutenant-governor Bull, informing him of the disaster that had happened to the garrison of Fort Loudon, and of the designs of the enemy against Fort Prince George. In consequence of which orders were given to Major Thomson, who commanded the militia on the frontiers, to throw in provisions for ten weeks into that fort, and warn the commanding officer of his danger. At the same time a messenger was sent to Attakullakulla, desiring him to inform the Cherokees that Fort George was impregnable, having vast quantities of powder buried under ground every where around it, to blow up all enemies that should attempt to come near it. Presents of considerable value were sent to redeem the prisoners at Fort Loudon, a few of whom had by this time made their escape; and afterwards not only those that were confined among the towns in the valley, but also all that had survived the hardships of hunger, disease, and captivity in the upper towns were released, and delivered up to the commanding officer at Fort Prince George.

It might now have been expected that the vindictive spirit of the savages would be satisfied, and that they would be disposed to listen to some terms of accommodation. This treacherous conduct to the soldiers at Fort Loudon, they intended as a satisfaction for the harsh treatment their relations had met with at Fort Prince George; and dearly had the province paid for the base imprisonment and

massacre of the chiefs at that place. Still, however, a great majority of the nation spurned at every offer of peace. The lower towns had all been destroyed by Colonel Montgomery; the warriors in the middle settlements had lost many friends and relations; and several Frenchmen had crept in among the upper towns, and helped to foment their ill humour against Carolina. Lewis Latinac, a French officer, was among them, and proved an indefatigable instigator to mischief. He persuaded the Indians that the English had nothing less in view than to exterminate them from the face of the earth; and, furnishing them with arms and ammunition, urged them on to war. At a great meeting of the nation he pulled out his hatchet, and striking it into a log of wood, called out, Who is the man that will take this up for the king of France? Saloué, the young warrior of Estatoe, instantly laid hold of it, and cried out, "I am for war. The spirits of our brothers who have been slain still call upon us to avenge their death. He is no better than a woman that refuses to follow me." Many others seized the tomahawk, yet dyed in British blood, and burned with impatience for the field.

Under the flattering appearance of a calm were these clouds again gathering: however, Lieutenant-governor Bull, who well knew how little Indians were to be trusted on any occasion, kept the royal Scots and militia on the frontiers in a posture of defence. But finding the province still under the most dreadful apprehensions from their savage neighbours, who continued insolent and vindictive, and ready to renew their ravages and murders, he made application a second time to General Amherst for assistance. Canada being now reduced, the commander-in-chief could the more easily spare a force adequate to the purpose intended; and Colonel Montgomery, who conducted the former expedition, having by this time embarked for England, the command of the Highlanders devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel James Grant, who received orders to return to the relief of Carolina. Early in the year 1761 he landed at Charlestown, where he took up his winter-quarters, until the proper season should approach for taking the field; but, unfortunately, during this time many of the soldiers, by drinking brackish water, were taken sick, which afforded the inhabitants an opportunity of showing their kindness and humanity. They considered themselves under the strongest obligations to treat men with tenderness, who came to protect them against their enemies, and therefore they brought the sick soldiers into their houses, and nursed them with the greatest care and attention.

In this campaign the province determined to exert itself to the utmost, that, in conjunction with the regular forces, a severe correction might be given to those troublesome savages. For this purpose a provincial regiment was raised, and the command of it given to Colonel Middleton. Presents were provided for the Indian allies, and several of the Chickesaws and Catabaws engaged to assist them against the Cherokees. But the Creeks, whose help was also strongly solicited, played an artful game between the English and the French, and gave the one or the other encouragement, according to the advantages they reaped from them. All possible preparations were made for supplying the army with provisions at different stages, and with such carts and horses as were thought necessary to the expedition.

As all white men in the province, of the military

age, were soldiers as well as citizens, and trained in some measure to the use of arms, it was no difficult matter to complete the provincial regiment. Their names being registered in the list of militia; on every emergency they were obliged to be ready for defence, not only against the incursions of Indians, but also against the insurrection of negroes; and although the same prompt obedience to orders could not be expected from them that is necessary in a regular army, yet the provincials had other advantages which compensated for that defect. They were better acquainted than strangers with the woods, and the nature of that country in which their military service was required. They were seasoned to the climate, and had learned from experience what clothes, meat, and drink were most proper to enable them to do their duty. In common occasions, when the militia was called out, the men received no pay, but when employed, as in this Cherokee war, for the public defence, they were allowed the same pay with the king's forces.

As soon as the Highlanders had recovered from their sickness, and were in a condition to take the field, Colonel Grant began his march for the Cherokee territories; and after being joined by the provincial regiment and Indian allies, he mustered in all about 2600 men. Having served some years in America, and been in several engagements with Indians, he was now no stranger to their methods of making war.

On the 27th of May, 1761, Colonel Grant arrived at Fort Prince George, and Attakullakulla having got information that he was advancing against his nation with a formidable army, hastened to his camp, to signify his earnest desire of peace. He told the colonel that he always had been, and ever would continue to be, a firm friend to the English; that the outrages of his countrymen covered him with shame, and filled his heart with grief; yet nevertheless he would gladly interpose in their behalf, in order to bring about an accommodation. Often, he said, had he been called an old woman by the mad young men of his nation, who delighted in war, and despised his counsels. Often had he endeavoured to get the hatchet buried, and the former good correspondence with the Carolinians established; but now he was determined to set out for the Cherokee towns, to persuade them to consult their safety, and speedily agree to terms of peace, and again and again begged the colonel to proceed no further until he returned.

Colonel Grant, however, gave him no encouragement to expect that his request could be granted; but, on the 7th of June, began his march from Fort Prince George, carrying with him provisions to the army for 30 days. A party of 90 Indians, and 30 woodenmen painted like Indians, under the command of Captain Quintine Kennedy, had orders to march in front and scour the woods. After them the light-infantry, and about 50 rangers, consisting in all of about 200 men, followed, by whose vigilance and activity the commander imagined that the main body of the army might be kept tolerably quiet and secure. For three days he made forced marches, in order to get over two narrow and dangerous defiles, which he accomplished without a shot from the enemy, but which might have cost him dear, had they been properly guarded and warmly disputed. On the day following he found suspicious ground on all hands, and therefore orders were given for the first time to load and prepare for action, and the guards to march slowly forward, doubling their vigilance and circumspection. As they frequently spied Indians around them, all were convinced that they should



that day have an engagement. At length, having advanced near to the place where Colonel Montgomery was attacked the year before, the Indian allies in the van-guard, about eight in the morning, observed a large body of Cherokees posted upon a hill on the right flank of the army, and gave the alarm. Immediately the savages, rushing down, began to fire on the advanced guard, which being supported, the enemy were repulsed, and recovered their heights. Under this hill the line was obliged to march a considerable way. On the left there was a river, from the opposite banks of which a large party of Indians fired briskly on the troops as they advanced. Colonel Grant ordered a party to march up the hill, and drive the enemy from the heights, while the line faced about, and gave their whole charge to the Indians who annoyed them from the side of the river. The engagement became general, and the savages seemed determined obstinately to dispute the lower grounds, while those on the hill were dislodged only to return with redoubled ardour to the charge. The situation of the troops was in several respects deplorable; fatigued by a tedious march, in rainy weather, surrounded with woods, so that they could not discern the enemy, galled by the scattered fire of savages, who when pressed always kept aloof, but rallied again and again, and returned to the ground. No sooner did the army gain an advantage over them in one quarter, than they appeared in another. While the attention of the commander was occupied in driving the enemy from their lurking-place on the river's side, the rear was attacked, and so vigorous an effort made for the flour and cattle, that he was obliged to order a party back for the relief of the rear-guard. From eight o'clock in the morning until eleven the savages continued to keep up an irregular and incessant fire, sometimes from one place, and sometimes from another, while the woods resounded with hideous shouts and yells, to intimidate the troops. At length the Cherokees gave way, and being pursued for some time, random shots continued till two o'clock, when they disappeared. What loss the enemy sustained in this action we have not been able to learn, but of Colonel Grant's army there were between 50 and 60 men killed and wounded; and it is probable the loss of the savages could not be much greater, and perhaps not so great, owing to their manner of fighting. Orders were given not to bury the slain, but to sink them in the river, to prevent their being dug up from their graves and scalped. To provide horses for those that were wounded, several bags of flour were thrown into the river. After which they proceeded to Etchoe, a pretty large Indian town, which they reached about midnight, and next day reduced to ashes. Every other town in the middle settlements, fourteen in number, shared the same fate; and their magazines and corn fields were likewise destroyed, and those miserable savages, with their families, were driven to seek for shelter and provisions among the lower mountains.

Colonel Grant continued 30 days in the heart of the Cherokee territories, and, upon his return to Fort Prince George, the feet and legs of many of his army were so torn and bruised, and their strength and spirits so much exhausted, that they were utterly unable to march further. He resolved therefore to encamp at that place, both to refresh his men, and wait the resolutions of the Cherokees, in consequence of the heavy chastisement which they had received. Besides the numberless advantages their country afforded for defence, it was supposed

that some French officers had been among them, and given them all the assistance in their power. It is true the savages supported their attack for some hours with considerable spirit; but being driven from their advantageous posts and thickets they were wholly disconcerted, and though the repulse was far from being decisive, yet after this engagement they returned no more to the attack.

Such engagements in Europe would be considered as trifling skirmishes, scarcely worthy of relation, but in America a great deal is often determined by them. It is no easy matter to describe the distress to which the savages were reduced by this severe correction; even in time of peace they are in a great measure destitute of that foresight, which provides for future events; but in time of war, when their villages are destroyed, and their fields laid desolate, they are reduced to extreme want. Being driven to the barren mountains, the hunters furnished with ammunition might indeed make some small provision for themselves; but women, children, and old men, must perish, being deprived of the means of subsistence.

A few days after Colonel Grant's arrival at Fort Prince George, Attakullakulla, attended by several chieftains, came to his camp, and expressed a desire of peace. Severely had they suffered for breaking their alliance with Britain; and convinced at last of the weakness and perfidy of the French, who were neither able to assist them in time of war, nor supply their wants in time of peace, they resolved to renounce all connexion with them for ever. Accordingly terms of peace were drawn up and proposed, which were no less honourable to Colonel Grant than advantageous to the province. The different articles being read and interpreted, Attakullakulla agreed to them all excepting one, by which it was demanded, "That four Cherokee Indians be delivered up to Colonel Grant at Fort Prince George, to be put to death in the front of his camp; or four green scalps be brought to him in the space of twelve nights." The warrior having no authority from his nation, declared he could not agree to this article, and therefore the Colonel sent him to Charlestown, to see whether the lieutenant-governor would consent to mitigate the rigour of it.

Accordingly Attakullakulla, and the other chieftains, being furnished with a safeguard, set out for Charlestown, to hold a conference with Mr. Bull, and a peace was formally ratified and confirmed by both parties.

Thus ended the Cherokee war, which was among the last humbling strokes given to the expiring power of France in North America, and Colonel Grant returned to Charlestown to wait further orders. But no sooner was peace concluded, and the province secured against external enemies, than an unhappy difference broke out between the two principal commanders of the regular and provincial forces. Colonel Grant, a native of Scotland, was naturally of a high spirit, to which he added that pride of rank which he held among those British soldiers who had carried their arms triumphant through the continent. During this expedition it is probable that he scorned to ask the advice of a provincial officer, whom he deemed an improper judge of military operations, and claimed the chief glory of having restored peace to the province. Colonel Middleton was equally warm and proud, and considering such neglect as an affront, resented it, and while some reflections were cast upon the provincial troops, being the chief in command, he thought himself

bound to stand forth as a champion for the honour of the province. This discontent, which appeared between the officers on their return to Charlestown, was encouraged and fomented by persons delighting in mischief, who, by malicious surmises and reports, helped to widen the difference. The dispute became serious, and was carried on for some time in the public papers by mutual charges of misconduct, and at length ended in a duel; which, however, happily terminated without bloodshed.

This year one of the most violent and dreadful hurricanes that had ever been known, passed Charlestown in the month of May. It appeared at first to the west of the town, like a large column of smoke, approaching fast in an irregular direction; and the vapour of which it was composed resembled clouds rolling one over another in violent tumult and agitation, assuming at one time a dark, at another a bright flaming colour. Its motion was exceedingly swift and crooked; and, as it approached, the inhabitants were greatly alarmed with an unusual sound, like the continual roaring of distant thunder, or the noise made by a stormy sea beating upon the shore, which brought numbers of people to witness the dreadful phenomenon. While it passed down Ashley river, such was its incredible velocity and force, that it ploughed the waters to the bottom, and laid the channel bare. The town narrowly and providentially escaped, but it threatened destruction to a fleet consisting of no less than 40 sail of loaded ships, lying at anchor in Rebellion Road, about four miles below the town, and waiting a fair wind to sail for England. When it reached the fleet, five vessels were sunk in an instant by it, and a British ship of war, the *Dolphin*, with eleven others, were dismantled. Such was the situation of the fleet, and so rapid was the motion of the whirlwind, that though the seamen observed it approaching, it was impossible to provide against it. In its oblique course it struck only a part of the fleet, and the damage, though computed at 20,000*l.* sterling, was by no means so great as might have been expected. Nor were many lives lost, for the channel of the river not being very deep, while the ships sat down in the mud, and were covered by the waves, the sailors saved themselves by running up the shrouds. The whirlwind passed the town a little before three o'clock, and before four the sky was so clear and serene, that it could scarcely have been believed that such a dreadful scene had been exhibited, had it not left many striking proofs behind it. Its route was not only marked in the woods, having levelled the loftiest trees, or swept them away before it like chaff, but its effects were visible in the fleet, by the number of vessels sunk and dismantled.

The climate of Georgia, like that of Carolina, is more mild and pleasant in the inland than maritime parts. Governor Ellis has left us the following account of the heat of the summer at Savanna. In the 7th of July, while he was writing in his piazza, which was open at each end, he says the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 102 in the shade. Twice had it risen to that height during the summer, several times to 100, and for many days together to 98; and in the night did not sink below 89. He thought it highly probable, that the inhabitants of Savanna breathed hotter air than any other people upon earth. The town being situated on a sandy eminence, the reflection from the dry sand, when there is little or no agitation in the air, greatly increases the heat; for by walking 100 yards from his house upon the sand, under his umbrella, with the

thermometer suspended by a thread to the height of his nostrils, the mercury rose to 105. The same thermometer he had with him in the equatorial parts of Africa, in Jamaica, and in the Leeward Islands; yet by his journals he found that it had never in any of these places risen so high. Its general station was between 79 and 86. He acknowledges, however, that he felt these degrees of heat in a moist air more disagreeable than at Savanna, when the thermometer stood at 81 in his cellar, at 102 in the story above it, and in the upper story of his house at 105. On the 10th of December the mercury was up at 86, on the 11th down as low as 38, on the same instrument. Such sudden and violent changes, especially when they happen frequently, must seriously injure the human constitution; yet he asserts that few people die at Savanna out of the ordinary course, though many were working in the open air, exposed to the sun during this extreme heat. As this governor was a man of sense and erudition, and no doubt made his observations with great accuracy, we shall not presume to call in question the facts he relates; but it is very unusual for the mercury to rise so high in the shade at Charlestown, and we believe it very seldom happens to do so in Georgia.

It may be added, that the situation of Savanna, surrounded with low and marshy lands, and liable to sudden and great changes in the weather, as in Carolina, is very bad; and the maritime parts of both provinces must be ranked among the most unhealthy climates in the world.

*The peace with France—Boundaries of East and West Florida—The southern provinces left secure—Encouragement given to reduced officers and soldiers—Georgia begins to flourish—Emigrations to Carolina—Regulations relative to the Indians—John Stuart, superintendant for Indian affairs—Decrease of Indians, and the causes of it—Population and trade of the province.*

The peace of Paris, though condemned by many unquestionably placed America in the most advantageous situation. As the war there arose from a contest about the limits of the British and French territories, by the seventh article of this treaty it was agreed, "That, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic majesty and those of his most Christian majesty in that part of the world should be fixed irrevocably, by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of the river and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea." And by the twentieth article, "His Catholic majesty ceded and guaranteed in full right to his Britannic majesty, Florida, with Fort Augustine and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possessed on the continent of North America, to the east or south-east of the river Mississippi, and in general every thing depending on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholic king and the crown of Spain have had till now over the said countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants." By these articles the southern provinces were rendered perfectly secure, and, considering the nature of the country, no frontiers could be more distinctly defined.

Great pains were taken to acquire an exact knowledge of the new acquisitions, which were divided into three separate independent governments, under officers who had distinguished themselves during the

war. The government of East Florida was bounded to the westward by the Gulf of Mexico and the river Apalachicola; to the north by a line drawn from that part of the above-mentioned river where the Catibouchée and Flint rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary's river, and by the course of the same river to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the east and south by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Florida, including all islands within six leagues of the sea-coast. The government of West Florida was bounded to the southward by the Gulf of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the sea-coast, from the river Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the westward by the said lake, the lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the north by a line drawn due east from that part of the river Mississippi which lies in 31 degrees of north latitude, to the river Apalachicola, or Catibouchée; and to the east by the said river. All the lands lying between the rivers Alatomaha and St. Mary's were annexed to the province of Georgia.

The possession of these two provinces of East and West Florida, though of themselves little better than an immense waste, was of great importance to the neighbouring provinces of Georgia and Carolina. It deprived the Spaniards of a strong hold from which they could send out an armed force and harass these provinces, and of an easy avenue through which they had often invaded them. It removed troublesome neighbours out of their way, who had often instigated the savages against them, and made Augustine an asylum for fugitive slaves. It opened some convenient ports for trade with Britain and the West Indies, and for annoying French and Spanish ships coming through the Gulf of Florida, in case of any future rupture. It formed a strong frontier to the British dominions in that quarter, and furnished an immense track of improvable land for reduced officers, soldiers, and others, to settle and cultivate.

Grants were made to officers and soldiers who had served during the late war, and orders were given to the governors on the continent, to grant, without fee or reward, 5000 acres to every field-officer who had served in America, 3000 to every captain, 2000 to every subaltern, 200 to every non-commissioned officer, and 50 to every private man; free of quit-rents for ten years, but subject, at the expiration of that term, to the same moderate quit-rents as the lands in the other provinces, and to the same conditions of cultivation and improvement. In the new colonies, for the encouragement of the people, they were to be allowed civil establishments, similar to those of the other royal governments on the continent, so soon as their circumstances would admit.

No province on the continent felt the happy effects of this public security sooner than the province of Georgia, which had long struggled under many difficulties, arising from the want of credit from friends, and the frequent molestations of enemies. During the late war the government had been given to James Wright, who governed the province with justice and equity; and discovered the excellence of its low lands and river swamps, by the proper management and cultivation of which he acquired in a few years a plentiful fortune. His example and success gave vigour to industry, and promoted a spirit of emulation among the planters for improvement. The rich lands were sought for with ardour, and the British merchants observing the province safe, and advancing to a hopeful and flourishing state, were no longer backward in extending credit to it, but supplied it with negroes, and

goods of British manufacture, with equal freedom as the other provinces on that continent. The trade of the province kept pace with its progress in cultivation. The rich swamps attracted the attention not only of strangers, but even of the planters of Carolina, who had been accustomed to treat their poor neighbours with the utmost contempt, several of whom sold their estates in that colony, and moved with their families and effects to Georgia. Many settlements were made by Carolinians about Sunbury, and upon the great river Alatomaha. The price of produce at Savanna arose as the quantity increased, a circumstance which contributed much to the improvement of the country. The planters situated on the opposite side of Savanna river found in the capital of Georgia a convenient and excellent market for their staple commodities. In short, from this period the rice, indigo and naval stores of Georgia arrived at the markets in Europe in equal excellence and perfection, and, in proportion to its strength, in equal quantities with those of its more powerful and opulent neighbours in Carolina. To form a judgment of the progress of the colony, we need only attend to its exports. In the year 1763, the exports of Georgia consisted of 7500 barrels of rice, 9633lbs. of indigo, 1250 bushels of Indian corn, which, together with deer and beaver-skins, naval stores, provisions, timber, &c. amounted to no more than 27,021l. sterling; but afterwards the colony thrived and increased in a manner so rapid, that, in the year 1773, it exported staple commodities to the value of 121,677l. sterling.

No less favourable were the blessings of peace and security to their neighbours of Carolina; for never did any country flourish and prosper in a more astonishing degree than this province did subsequently to the late mentioned war. The government had been given to Thomas Boone, who was not only a native of the province, but had a considerable estate in it, which naturally rendered him deeply interested in its prosperity. The assembly appropriated a large fund for bounties to foreign Protestants, and such industrious poor people of Britain and Ireland as should resort to the province within three years, and settle on the inland parts. Two townships, each containing 48,000 acres, were laid out; one on the river Savanna, called Mecklenburgh, and the other on the waters of Santee at Long Canes, called Londonderry; to be divided among emigrants, allowing 100 acres for every man, and 50 for every woman and child, that should come and settle in the back woods. The face of the country in those interior parts is variable and beautiful, and being composed of hills and valleys, rocks and rivers, there is not that stagnation in the air, which is so exceedingly injurious in the flat marshy parts of the province. In consequence of the encouragement offered, it was hoped that multitudes would resort to Carolina, and settle those extensive and fruitful territories in the back woods, by which means the frontiers of the province would be strengthened, its produce increased, and its trade enlarged.

Not long after this a remarkable circumstance occurred in Germany, by which Carolina received a great acquisition. One Stumpel, who had been an officer in the king of Prussia's service, being reduced at the peace, applied to the British ministry for a tract of land in America, and having got some encouragement returned to Germany, where, by deceitful promises, he seduced between 500 and 600 ignorant people from their native country. When these poor Palatines arrived in England, the officer

finding himself unable to perform his promises, fled, leaving them in a strange land, without money, without friends, exposed in the open fields, and ready to perish through want. While they were in this starving condition, and knew no person to whom they could apply for relief, a humane clergyman, who came from the same country, took compassion on them, and published their deplorable case in the newspapers. A bounty of 300*l.* was allowed them by government; tents were ordered from the Tower for the accommodation of such as had paid their passage and been permitted to come ashore; and money was sent for the relief of those that were confined on board. The liberal citizens of London formed a committee on purpose to raise money for the relief of these poor Palatines. A physician, a surgeon, and man-midwife, generously undertook to attend the sick gratis; and from different quarters benefactions were sent to the committee, and in a few days these unfortunate strangers, from the depth of indigence and distress, were raised to comfortable circumstances. The committee finding the money received more than sufficient to relieve their present distress, applied to the government for advice, which sensible that Carolina had not its proportion of white inhabitants, signified its desire of transporting them thither. Another motive for sending them to Carolina was the bounty allowed to foreign Protestants by the provincial assembly, so that when their source of relief from England should be exhausted, another would open after their arrival in that province, which would help them to surmount the difficulties attending the first state of cultivation. They were highly delighted at this arrangement; and two ships, of 200 tons each, were provided for their accommodation, with provisions of all kinds; and 150 stand of arms from the Tower, were given them for their defence after their arrival in America. Every thing being thus arranged for their embarkation, the Palatines broke up their camp in the fields behind Whitechapel, and proceeded to the ships attended by several of their benefactors; of whom they took their leave with songs of praise to God in their mouths and tears of gratitude.

In the month of April 1764, they arrived at Charlestown, and presented a letter from the lords commissioners for trade and plantations to Governor Boone, desiring that as many of them as were versed in the culture of silks and vines, should have settlements provided in the situations most proper for those purposes. Though their settlement met with some obstructions from a dispute subsisting at that time between the governor and assembly about certain privileges of the house; yet the latter could not help considering themselves as laid under the strongest obligations to make provision for so many useful settlers; and accordingly, in imitation of the noble example set before them in London, they voted 500*l.* sterling to be distributed among the Palatines, according to the directions of the lieutenant-governor, and their necessities. That they might be settled in a body, one of the two townships, called Londonderry, was allotted for them, and divided in the most equitable manner into small tracts, for the accommodation of each family. Captain Calhoun, with a detachment of the rangers, had orders to meet them by the way, and conduct them to the place where their town was to be built, and all possible assistance was given towards promoting their speedy and comfortable settlement.

Besides foreign Protestants, several persons from England and Scotland resorted to Carolina after the

peace. But of all other countries none has furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland. In the northern counties of that kingdom the spirit of emigration seized the people to such a degree, that it threatened almost a total depopulation. Such multitudes of husbandmen, labourers and manufacturers flocked over the Atlantic, that the landlords began to be alarmed, and to concert means for preventing the growing evil. Scarcely a ship sailed for any of the plantations that was not crowded with men, women and children. But the bounty allowed new settlers in Carolina proved a great encouragement, and induced numbers of these people, notwithstanding the unhealthiness of the climate, to resort to that province. The merchants finding this bounty equivalent to the expenses of the passage, from avaricious motives persuaded the people to embark for Carolina, and often crammed such numbers of them into their ships that they were in danger of being stifled during the passage, and sometimes were landed in such a starved and sickly condition, that numbers of them died before they left Charlestown. Many causes may be assigned for this spirit of emigration that prevailed so much in Ireland: but of all other causes oppression at home was the most powerful; which was of such a kind that many preferred the unwholesome climate of Carolina, to that of their mother-country. The success that attended some friends who had gone before them being also industriously published in Ireland, and with all the exaggerations of travellers, gave vigour to the spirit of adventure, and induced multitudes to follow their countrymen, and run all hazards abroad, rather than starve at home. Government connived at these emigrations, and every year brought fresh strength to Carolina, insomuch that the lands in Ireland were in danger of lying waste for want of labourers, and the manufactures of dwindling into nothing.

Nor were these the only sources from which Carolina, at this time, derived strength and an increase of population. For, notwithstanding the vast extent of territory which the provinces of Virginia and Pennsylvania contained, yet such was the nature of the country, that a scarcity of improvable lands began to be felt in these colonies, and poor people could not find spots in them unoccupied equal to their expectations. Most of the richest valleys in these more populous provinces lying to the east of the Alleghany mountains were either under patent or occupied, and, by the royal proclamation at the peace, no settlements were allowed to extend beyond the sources of the rivers which empty themselves into the Atlantic. In Carolina the case was different, for there large tracks of the best lands as yet lay waste, which proved a great temptation to the northern colonists to migrate to the south. Accordingly, about this time above 1000 families, with their effects, in the space of one year resorted to Carolina, driving their cattle, hogs and horses over land before them. Lands were allotted them on the frontiers, and most of them being only entitled to small tracts, such as one, two or 300 acres, the back settlements by this means soon became the most populous parts of the province. The frontiers were not only strengthened and secured by new settlers, but the old ones on the maritime parts began also to stretch backward and spread their branches, in consequence of which the demand for lands in the interior parts every year increased. The governor and council met once a-month for the purpose of granting lands and signing patents, and it is incre-

dible what numbers of people attended those meetings in order to obtain them; so that, from the time in which America was secured by the peace, Carolina made a most sudden rapid progress in population, wealth and trade.

In proportion as the province increased in the number of white inhabitants, its danger from the savage tribes grew less alarming. But to prevent any molestation from the Indians, and establish the peace of the colonies on the most lasting foundation, the English government, by royal proclamations after the peace, took care to fix the boundaries of their hunting-lands, in as clear a manner as the nature of the country would admit. No settlements were allowed to extend any further backward upon the Indian territories, than the sources of those great rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, and all British subjects who had settled beyond those limits were ordered to remove. In this restriction a distinction was evidently made between the rights of sovereignty and those of property; the governors being excluded from all manner of jurisdiction over those lands which were not specified within the limits of their respective provinces. All private subjects were prohibited from purchasing lands from Indians; but if the latter should at any time be inclined to dispose of their property, it must for the future be done to the king, by the general consent of their nation, and at a public assembly held by British governors for that purpose. All traders were obliged to take out licences from their respective governors for carrying on commerce with Indian nations.

Such regulations were in many respects useful and necessary; for the French and Spaniards being excluded, it only remained to guard the provinces against the danger arising from Indians. And as they were liable to much abuse and oppression from private traders, it was thought necessary that the office of a superintendant should be continued for the southern as well as the northern district of America. Accordingly this office was given to Captain John Stuart, who was in every respect well qualified for the trust. Attakullakulla had signified to the governor and council, after the Cherokee war, that the province would receive no molestation from Indians were this officer appointed to reside among them, and to advise and direct them. The assembly had not only thanked him for his good conduct and great perseverance at Fort Loudon, and rewarded him with 1500*l.* currency, but also recommended him to the governor as a person worthy of preferment in the service of the province. After his commission arrived from the king, the Carolinians rejoiced, and promised themselves for the future great tranquillity and happiness. Plans of lenity were likewise adopted by government with respect to those Indian tribes, and every possible precaution was taken to guard them against oppression, and prevent any rupture with them. Experience had shown that rigorous measures, such as humbling them by force of arms, were not only very expensive and bloody, but was repugnant to humanity, and seldom accompanied with any good effects.

It has been remarked, that the Indians who were at the time of its discovery a numerous and formidable people, have since that period been constantly decreasing. For this rapid depopulation many reasons have been assigned. It is well known that population every where keeps pace with the means of subsistence. The Indians being driven from their possessions near the sea as the settlements multiplied,

were robbed of many necessities of life, particularly of oysters, crabs, and fish, with which the maritime parts furnished them in great abundance, and on which they must have nearly subsisted, as is apparent from a view of their camps, still remaining near the sea-shore.

But famine and war, from which they suffered so much, were not the only causes of their rapid decay. The small-pox having broken out among them, proved exceedingly fatal, both on account of the contagious nature of the distemper, and their harsh and injudicious attempts to cure it by plunging themselves into cold rivers during its most violent stages. The pestilence also appeared among some nations, particularly among the Pemblicos in North Carolina, and almost swept away the whole tribe. The practice of entrapping them, which was encouraged by the first settlers in Carolina, and selling them for slaves to the West Indian planters, helped greatly to thin their nations. But of all other causes, the introduction of spirituous liquors among them, for which they discovered an amazing fondness, has proved the most destructive. Excess and intemperance not only undermined their constitution, but also created many quarrels, and subjected them to a numerous list of fatal diseases, to which in former times they were entire strangers. Besides those Europeans engaged in commercial business with them, generally speaking, have been so far from reforming them, by examples of virtue and purity of manners, that they rather corrupted their morals, and rendered them more treacherous, distrustful, base and debauched than they were before this intercourse commenced. In short, European avarice and ambition have not only debased the original nature and stern virtue of that savage race, so that those few Indians that now remain have lost in a great measure their primitive character; but European vice and European diseases, the consequences of vice, have reduced this unhappy people so much that many nations formerly populous are totally extinct.

The principal tribes around Carolina that remain are, the Cherokees, the Catahaws, the Creeks, the Chickesaws, and Choctaws, and a few others, that scarcely deserve to be mentioned. In 1765 the Cherokees, who inhabited the mountains to the north of Charlestown, could scarcely bring 2000 men to the field. The Catahaws had fifteen miles square allotted them for hunting-lands, about 200 miles north of Charlestown, with British settlements all around them; but they were so much reduced by a long war with the Five Nations, that they could not muster 150 warriors. The Creeks inhabit a fine country on the south-west, between 400 and 500 miles distant from Charlestown, and the number of both the upper and lower nations does not exceed 2000 gun-men. The Chickesaw towns lie about 600 miles due west from Charlestown, but the nation cannot send 300 warriors to the field, owing to the incessant wars which they have carried on against the French, by which their number has been greatly diminished. The Choctaws are at least 700 miles west-south-west from Charlestown, and had between 3,000 and 4,000 gun-men. It is the general opinion, however much humanity may deplore it, that the Red man must fall before the White; these wild, and, in many respects, noble savages seem, from their best characteristics, to be rendered incapable of assimilating to the intruders of their native soil. Their fierce disdain, and erroneous pride, gradually drives them further from the advances of civilization. Their means of subsistence lessen; they

are exasperated into hostilities; and thus they are gradually vanishing from the immense regions which they once solely possessed.

Having now brought the history of this State down to the period of the great war, we shall conclude our separate account of it with the following statement of its then existent state, as regards population and trade. In 1765 the number of white inhabitants in Charlestown amounted to between 5000 and 6000, and the number of negroes to between 7000 and 8000. With respect to the number of white inhabitants in the province we cannot be certain, but we may form some conjecture from the militia roll; for as all male persons, from sixteen to 60, are obliged by law to bear arms, and muster in the regiments, and as the whole militia formed a body of between 7000 and 8000, reckoning the fifth person fit for military duty, the whole inhabitants in the province might amount to near 40,000. But the number of negroes was not less than 80,000 or 90,000. As no exact register of the births and funerals had been kept at Charlestown for several years, we cannot ascertain the proportion between them. Previously, when bills of mortality were annually printed, the common computation was, that, while no contagious disorder prevailed in town, one out of 35 died yearly, or one out of each family in the space of seven years. However, the list of deaths is often increased by the sailors and transient persons that die in the town, and by malignant distempers imported into it.

The merchants in Carolina are a respectable body of men, industrious and indefatigable in business, free, open, and generous, in their manner of conducting it. The whole warehouses in Charlestown were like one common store, to which every trader had access for supplying his customers with those kinds of goods and manufactures which they wanted.

The merchants of England, after the peace with France, in 1763, observing the colonies perfectly secure, and depending on the strength of the British navy for the protection of trade, vied with each other for customers in America, and stretched their credit to its utmost extent for supplying the provinces. Hence every one of them were well furnished with all kinds of merchandise. And as the staples of Carolina were valuable, and in much demand, credit was extended to that province almost without limitation, and vast multitudes of negroes, and goods of all kinds, were yearly sent to it. In proportion as the merchants of Charlestown received credit from England, they were enabled to extend it to the planters in the country, who purchased slaves with great eagerness, and enlarged their culture. Though the number of planters had much increased, yet they bore no proportion to the vast extent of territory, and lands were still easily procured, either by patent or by purchase. According to the number of hands employed in labour, agriculture prospered, and trade was enlarged. An uncommon circumstance also attended this rapid progress, which was favourable to the planting interest, and proved an additional incentive to industry. The price of staple commodities arose as the quantity brought to market increased. In 1761 rice sold at 40s. per barrel, and indigo at two shillings per lb.; but in 1771 in so flourishing a state was commerce, that rice brought at market 3*l.* 10s. per barrel, and indigo three shillings per lb. At the same time the quantity increased so much, that the exports of Carolina amounted, upon an average, of three years after the peace of 1763, to 395,666*l.* 13s. 4d.; but in 1771, the exports in that year alone arose to a sum not less than 756,000*l.* sterling. But the imports must have been very great, as the province, notwithstanding this amazing increase, still remained in debt to the mother-country.

## LOUISIANA AND FLORIDA.

[ALTHOUGH these States were not incorporated with the United States until long after the revolutionary war, it will be necessary to give some historical account of them; as they were early peopled by Europeans, in this respect differing from the other States of Tennessee, Ohio, &c., which, until taken possession of by the States' Government, were only transiently occupied by wandering Indians.

Our notice of Florida can only be incidental, for its history contains little but what has already been narrated in the account of Carolina. In 1830 the population was only 34,723, of whom 15,510 were slaves.]

*Discovery—Vasquez's piratical visit—Expedition of Narvæz—also of Soto—Moscoso succeeds him—Adventures of Ribaut—Fort Carolina built—Further discoveries—Distress of the colony—Spaniards in Florida—Fort Carolina taken by them—Merciless contests between the French and Spaniards—Account of, and war with, the Indians—La Sale's progress, and death—Adventures of Joutel—Dis-*

*covery of the Mississippi—State of Louisiana—Adventures of St. Denys—Peace of 1763—Account of the Indians.*

Louisiana is chiefly that country lying upon the river Mississippi, which the French settled in the latter end of the 17th century; but it also comprises a part of Florida, of which the Spaniards pretend to be the first discoverers.

(A.D. 1512.) John Ponce de Leon, sailing from the island of Puerto Rico with three ships, on the 3rd of March, and steering north-west, made land on the 3rd of April following, in the latitude of 30 degrees and 8 minutes north. As the Spaniards of those days thought themselves sufficiently warranted, by the pope's grants, to take possession of the lands in America, he went through that ceremony, and named the country where he landed Florida, because he discovered it upon Easter-day, or what the Spaniards call Pasqua des Fiores. He then sailed towards the south, coasting along the shore, but could not, for some time, discover any of its natives; at



last, seeing some savages, he ventured to land, and they attempting to rob him of his boat, a skirmish ensued, in which two Spaniards were wounded. He afterwards, in going to water, made prisoner one of the natives, who served him as a guide and interpreter, and erected a cross, with an inscription, upon the banks of a river, which is from thence called Rio de la Cruz. All this while Ponce imagined Florida to be an island, and, in that persuasion, returned through the Lucaya islands to Porto Rico.

That Florida was discovered long before this, appears from Sebastian Cabot's own words in 1496. "But after certain days, I found that the land ran towards the north, which was to me a great displeasure. Nevertheless, sailing along by the coast, to see if I could find any gulf that turned, I found the land still continent to the 56th degree under our pole; and seeing that there the coast turned toward the east, despairing to find the passage, I turned back again, and sailed down by the coast of that land toward the equinoctial (ever with an intent to find the said passage to India), and came to that part of this firm land which is now called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence, and returned into England."

No further attempts seem to have been made after that of Leon for eight years by the Spaniards to pursue this discovery; and if we are to credit the French writers, their Canadians at that time actually traded with the savages of Florida. In the year 1520, Luke Vasquez of Aylon, with some associates, formed the inhuman project of stealing some natives from the neighbouring islands, to supply the scarcity of hands in working the Spanish mines. Fitting out two ships, he sailed from the harbour of Plata in Hispaniola to the Lucaya islands, and from thence proceeded to that part of Florida now called St. Helena, lying in the 32nd degree of north latitude. The natives, mistaking his ships for two monstrous fishes driving towards the shore, ran in crowds to view them; but, seeing them land, they were so struck with the clothing and appearance of the Spaniards, that they fled in the utmost consternation. Two of them, however, were taken prisoners, and the Spaniards carrying them on board, gave them food and drink, and sent them back on shore clothed in Spanish dresses. This insidious kindness had its desired effect with the unsuspecting savages. The king of the country admired the dresses, and the Spanish hospitality so much, that he sent 50 of his subjects to the ships with fruit and provisions; ordered his people to attend the Spaniards whenever they had a mind to visit the country; and made them rich presents of gold, plates of silver, and pearls. The Spaniards, having learned all they could concerning the country, watered, and re-victualled their ships, and invited a great number of the Indians on board, where they plied them with strong liquor, and weighing anchor, carried them off in a state of intoxication. This villany, however, had not all the success its perpetrators expected. Most of the unhappy savages either pined to death, or were wrecked in one of the ships that foundered at sea; and only a very few suffered a fate worse than death, that of being carried into Spanish slavery. This infamous treachery obtained to Vasquez from his Catholic Majesty, the reward of a discoverer of new lands. In 1524 he sent over more ships to Florida, and next year went thither in person with three vessels. No commodity in America was so precious as men: Vasquez lost 200 of his, who were landed, and cut off by the natives, and one of his

ships was wrecked near cape St. Helen. These losses, and his perceiving that the advantages arising from his discoveries were but inconsiderable, induced him to return to Hispaniola, where the disappointment is said to have broken his heart.

The next adventurer in the discovery of Florida was Pamphilo Narvaez, who obtained from Charles V. a grant of all the lands lying from the river Palms to the boundaries of Florida, a space of territory so indefinite, that it reached as far as the adventurers pleased to extend it on a map. In 1528 he sailed from Cuba with 400 foot, and twenty horse, and arrived at Florida on the 12th of April. His anchoring-place was so near the land, that he could discover the huts of the savages from his ships, and going on shore, he found a utensil made of gold, which they had left behind them in their flight; a circumstance from which he concluded that all their other utensils were of the same metal; and, landing his troops, he again took possession of the country for the king of Spain. The Indians seemed displeased at this ceremony; but such was the innate benevolence of the people, that many of them came and supplied him and his soldiers with maize. Proceeding up the country, he discovered four wooden boxes, containing bodies wrapped up in painted skins, and upon them lay some pieces of stuffs, both linen and woollen, with some gold, which increased his sanguine expectations as to the richness of the country. He ordered his troops to march by land, and his ships to attend him by sea, and the scene of his adventures seems to have lain towards the north coast of the gulf of Mexico. On the 1st of May he began his long, painful, and romantic march, against the remonstrances of his treasurer. The fatigues his men underwent were very great; but the few inhabitants they met with were humane and hospitable. An Indian prince, clothed in a stag's hide elegantly painted, with attendants, who blew horns, treated them in his towns with maize and venison.

Rude as those nations were, they knew that gold was the great motive of the Spanish invasions, and their constant custom was to shift, upon more distant nations, the crime of possessing that mischievous metal. The natives, where Narvaez landed, pretended they had it from the Apalaches, and their report engaged him in that laborious march. At last, on the 25th of June, he reached to the village of Apalache, which consisted of no more than 40 cottages; but those constructed with all the conveniences, and furnished with all the comforts of savage elegance, all which he plundered, many of the unsuspecting natives flying to their marshes, but their cazique, or prince, fell into his hands. Narvaez remained at Apalache 25 days, but could make no discoveries. After a march of nine days southwards, during which they were harassed by the savages, they came to Aute, a village situated in a country abounding with corn and all the necessaries of life. The opposition which those Indians made to their entering the town, brought on a sharp engagement, wherein several Spaniards were killed; but Narvaez at last made good his quarters, and became master of large quantities of maize, peas, gourds, and other vegetables. Notwithstanding this seasonable relief, his army was in so miserable a condition, and the country round was so unpromising, that he was forced to direct his march towards the sea, his ships being now the only refuge his soldiers could have to save them from perishing. It was with great difficulty they could provide a kind of boat to cross the rivers in their way. Their ropes

were made of horse-hair, and their sails of the soldiers' shirts, and the savages took advantage of their distress to cut off ten of their people. According to their computation, from the bay of Santa Cruz, where they landed, to the place of embarkation, they had marched above 800 miles. After they were embarked, they had numberless dangers and difficulties to encounter. They were embayed among shoals and currents, distressed for want of water, and never landed without being attacked by the natives; so that many of them were cut off by the Indians, who at last wounded the governor, and had almost destroyed the whole army. His treasurer, Cabeca de Vaca, was one of the few that escaped; and to him we owe the history of this expedition. When they were reduced to as much misery as human nature could sustain, they touched upon a part of the coast inhabited by people who were tender-hearted and humane. Those few who could land were hospitably relieved by the natives; the rest were obliged to devour one another. Of eighty, fifteen only remained alive; and four of them, after having endured inexpressible miseries, arrived at Mexico; but Narvaez himself was never heard of afterwards.

(A. D. 1539.) Notwithstanding the unfortunate events attending the above three expeditions to Florida, Ferdinand de Soto, who was governor of Cuba, received from Charles V. the title of marquis of Florida, or, more properly, of the lands he should conquer in that country. This adventurer was brave, enterprising, and persevering, from no principle but that of avarice. On the 12th of May, 1539, he embarked, on board nine ships, 350 horse, and 900 foot. This was the most formidable armament of Europeans that, till then, had appeared in North America; for his number of sailors was proportionable, and he carried with him all kinds of necessaries. On the 25th of the same month he came to anchor in the bay of Spiritu Sancto, and there disembarked, while the natives, at sight of his ships, gave alarms by fires all over the country. Moscoso, who seems to have been the first in command under Soto, drew up the army, and, without resistance, took possession of a small village, where was a temple, which served as a lodgment; and here the army was cantoned; but the Spaniards met with an irreparable loss by the desertion of two Floridan interpreters; and the country round was so marshy, that they could, at first, lay hold of none of the natives. Soto's soldiers at last took four of them, but they were rescued by their countrymen, who furiously attacked, and drove the Spanish detachment back to their head-quarters. Another party fell upon ten or twelve Indians, amongst whom was John Ortiz, a noble Spaniard, who could not be distinguished from a native of the country. He had served under Narvaez, and been taken prisoner, but his life was spared by the Floridans. He surrendered himself to his countrymen, and persuaded the Indians to go along with the detachment to the Spanish camp, where they were received with great exultation. Ortiz, it seems, owed his life to the interposition of a female, daughter of the chief by whom he was taken. Humanity alone was her motive, without any amorous inclination; for she advised Ortiz to fly to a neighbouring chief, who she knew would receive him favourably, and showed him in person part of his way. Mucoso (for that was the name of the chief) received him kindly, and favoured him with his particular protection above twelve years. When he heard of the landing of the Spaniards, he counselled him to join his countrymen, and gave

him, for that purpose, the escort which the Spaniards carried to their camp. Ortiz, being equipped as a Spanish officer of horse, informed Soto, that at the distance of 30 leagues, lay a plentiful country, governed by Paracoxi, one of the most powerful princes on that continent. Mucoso afterwards paid a friendly visit to the Spanish general, who made him a few presents, and dismissed him; then Soto dispatched Balthazar de Gallegos to reconnoitre the country of Paracoxi with about 30 men: that chief hearing of the Spaniards' approach, left his capital, but sent a deputation to know what they demanded, and whether he could be of service to them, but, at the same time, on pretence of an indisposition, declined paying the Spaniards a visit. Gallegos demanded of the messenger, whether any country thereabouts produced gold and silver, and they directed them to a province called Cale; upon which Gallegos put them in irons, that they might be useful in the march; but they found the town deserted. The army being at this time half-famished, were refreshed by the maize they found at Cale, the only commodity it produced. The natives, willing to get rid of their rapacious guests, directed the general to another plentiful province, called Palache; and thither he marched against the advice of all his officers, carrying along with him, prisoner, the cazique of Caliquien, a province through which he passed. The Indians several times applied with great humility for the deliverance of their chief, but that favour being denied them, Ortiz, who understood their language perfectly well, learned from a native, that the cazique's subjects and friends had assembled, to the number of 400 men, in a neighbouring wood, to deliver him by force. Nevertheless, they very civilly sent two messengers to intercede with the general for their cazique's deliverance; but knowing where the main body was posted, he ordered his soldiers to fall upon them, and 40 were put to the sword, while the rest, leaping into the water, were surrounded by the Spanish horse in such a manner, that all of them but twelve, who resolved to die rather than become slaves, were obliged to surrender. Their slavery was so dreadful, that they rose upon the Spaniards, and, though armed with clubs only, killed many of them; but at last they were subdued, bound to stakes, and shot by the Paracoxi Indians, many of whom attended the Spanish camp. Soto pursued his march to Palache, through various places and provinces, the names of which are now lost; all the way chaining together the miserable natives who fell into his hands, and forcing them to carry the baggage of his soldiers. Upon his arrival he quartered his army round the residence of that cazique, and was plentifully supplied with maize, beans, cucumbers, and a sort of wild plums, more delicious than any to be found in Europe. Palache, lying within ten leagues of the sea, Soto detached one of his officers, Maldonado, to reconnoitre, and to try whether he could discover any country producing gold, or a good harbour. Maldonado discovered an excellent harbour, and was sent by the general to the Havannah, to procure a supply of arms and utensils. A young Indian prisoner being brought before Soto, gave him an account, that far off towards the east, lay a province called Yupaha, which produced abundance of gold; and he described the manner of melting and refining it with so much accuracy, that the Spaniards thought it impossible they should be deceived. Leaving Palache, therefore, they began a most arduous, difficult, and dangerous march to Yupaha, in which most of their

Indian prisoners perished through fatigue. The first place they arrived at was Capachiqui, from whence they proceeded to Toalli, where they found the natives living in a convenient comfortable manner, far beyond all the Floridans they had seen. The next town in their route was Achesé, where Soto impudently pretended to the cazique, who hospitably came to visit him, that he was the son of the Sun, and set at liberty all the cazique's subjects whom he had taken prisoners. On the 24th of April, the army arrived at Altaraca; and from thence advanced to Ocuté, where the cazique sent 2000 men with presents to the general, and gave him 400 of his subjects for service. The Spaniards afterwards visited Cosaqui, and Patofa; the country all the way for 50 miles presenting a most beautiful appearance. The Patofans said they knew of no such country as Yupaha; but Soto still pursued his march to the eastward, though the Patofans directed him to a fertile province lying to the north-west. The march proved so tedious, that the general threatened to throw the young Indian who had deceived him to the dogs; but he was saved by the interposition of Ortiz. Soto, in vain, sent out parties to make discoveries, and his army must have perished for want of provisions, had it not been for some swine he had brought to Florida, and carried along with him, and which had multiplied extremely. At last Danhusco, one of his officers, who had been sent out on a reconnoitring party, returned with an account of his having discovered a town, at the distance of about 36 miles; a report which revived the spirits of the army; but they were obliged to dismiss the Patofans, who had served the Spaniards with great fidelity and affection. On the 26th of April the general took possession of this town, and understood that near it lay another nation, called Catifachiqui, which was governed by a woman. Soto sent his compliments to that princess, who returned her's by her sister; and soon after she herself appeared in a canoe, attended by many others, with all the state of her country. She was received with great solemnity by Soto, whom she presented with a fine pearl necklace, and supplied his army with provision. Her country was pleasant, and her people more civilized than Soto had met with in Florida, wearing clothes and drawers. Here the Spaniards found a very advantageous port for the ships from New Spain, Peru, St. Martha, and the main; and most of them wanted to settle on the spot; but gold being the sole view of the general, he rejected all their applications, and, pretending that Maldonado was to wait for them at Ochusé, prepared to set out for Catifachiqui.

The Spaniards had behaved with such rudeness and barbarity to the attendants of the female cazique, that she had formed a design of escaping from them, but was most infamously put under arrest by Soto, notwithstanding the generous manner in which she had received him, and obliged to attend his army on foot as a prisoner for seven days' march through a desert country, until they reached Chalagne. Thus basely betrayed into slavery, she discovered no sign of reluctance or discontent; but ordered her subjects to carry the Spanish baggage, and dissembled so well, that on their march to Xualla, she found means to escape, carrying off with her a casket of very valuable pearls. This elopement was a great mortification and disappointment to Soto, who intended to have kept her as a pledge for his own security, in traversing the extended dominions she possessed, many of the neighbouring caziques being her tribu-

ties. In the mean time, he sent a messenger to the cazique of Chiaha, desiring him to provide maize for his army, as he intended to reside for some days in his dominions. The country from Catifachiqui was beautiful and fertile, and naturally produced fruit as delicious as any to be found in the best European gardens. After five days' march, the army approached Chiaha, where the general met with a most hospitable reception from the cazique; the Spaniards here found lard made of bears' fat, and likewise honey, the first they had seen in Florida. This country presented them with the face of tranquillity; the people were generous and peaceable; and the soil so fertile, that the Spanish horses soon grew fat in grazing in the neighbouring meadows. In short, the situation of the Spaniards here, after the vast fatigue they had undergone, was so agreeable, that Soto did not resume his march for 30 days; he then demanded of the cazique 30 of his subjects to carry his baggage; and obtained his request, with some difficulty; for those princes are obliged on such occasions to consult their people.

Soto's appetite for gold and silver still prevailed; and the cazique of Acoste, who came to pay him his compliments, informed him, that the province of Chisca, towards the north, produced copper, with other metals of a more lively appearance. This information was sufficient to add wings to his expedition. On the 12th of July, he arrived at Acoste, where he was received with great hospitality by the cazique; but his soldiers beginning to ransack and plunder the town, the Indians fell upon them, and the general's person being in the hands of the savages, he must have lost his life, had he not, with great presence of mind, joined in chastising the pillagers. This act of justice reconciled the cazique to him so effectually, that he found means to draw him with some of his principal attendants to his camp, where he put them all under arrest; and declared that they should not regain their liberty till they should have furnished guides for his soldiers. Having complied with these terms, he was released; the Spaniards proceeded to Tali; and on the 16th of July arrived at Cosa, where the cazique of the place met them in great state, before they entered the town. He was clothed in a robe of martens'-skins; he wore on his head a feather diadem; and the litter on which he sat was carried on the shoulders of his nobles; his other subjects played round it with instruments of music. The reception the Spaniards met with in this delightful country, which was well peopled, well cultivated, and abounded with all the beauties of nature, was the most hospitable that can be conceived; for the inhabitants resigned even their own houses for the accommodation of the Spaniards. But when Soto, according to custom, put their cazique under arrest, the inhabitants fled to the woods, from whence they could not be drawn, but by the entreaties of the cazique himself, to carry the baggage of the Spaniards.

On the 20th of August, Soto continued his march to Tallimachuse, Itava, Ulliballi, Toasi, and Tallise, a large town lying in the midst of a well cultivated country; where he dismissed the cazique of Cosa, whom, till then, he had most ungratefully and ungenerously detained in captivity. From thence he marched to Tascaluca, the residence of a powerful prince, who reigned over well cultivated and populous countries. This cazique received Soto sitting in a balcony, with great state; but the Spaniard seating himself by him, whispered in his ear, that he was his prisoner, and he was obliged to attend him

accordingly, in his march to Piaché; but he found means to make his escape, and never more would maintain the least correspondence with the Spaniards, whom he very justly considered as a cruel, rapacious, and perfidious race. Soto now wanted to treat with this Indian whom he had so lately attempted to enslave; but his advances were treated with silent disdain. One of the savage chiefs being wantonly wounded by a Spaniard, the natives ran to arms, wounded and drove Soto out of their town, killed five of his attendants, and made prize of all his valuable baggage, with a great quantity of arms. Soto regaining his camp, charged the savages at the head of his cavalry, and drove them behind the palisade, and then, bringing all his army up, he attempted to storm the town. The savages had sent off their cazique, with the most valuable baggage they had taken from the Spaniards, to a place of safety, and resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity; but as they were, in a manner naked, the Spaniards forced their way into the town, and slaughtered the inhabitants to the number of 2500. Such are the infamous acts of inhumanity, that have marked the progress of the Spaniards in all their American conquests.

On the 18th of November, Soto resumed his march, and after various adventures, arrived at Chicocha, where he resolved to pass the winter; the country being pleasant and fertile. He was well received by the cazique; but in the course of the winter the Spaniards behaved so little to the satisfaction of the natives, that in March, when Soto was about to move his army, he could not obtain a supply of Indians for his service. At last, the natives rose, and attacked the Spaniards in the night, setting fire to the town where they were quartered. In all probability, the whole body would have been destroyed, had not the horses, breaking loose, intimidated the savages, who retired with precipitation after having burned the town and all the Spanish effects it contained. Twelve Spaniards were killed, many wounded or scorched by the flames; but 50 horses were burnt, together with 400 pigs, an animal which the Spaniards had imported into Florida, where it thrived prodigiously, and the Indians were so fond of its flesh, that many quarrels happened on that account between them and the Spaniards. The latter had now no shelter against the inclemency of the weather, till a soldier invented a robe, woven of dry grass, which served as a kind of clothing to the whole army. Had the Indians attacked them in this distress, they might have been ruined; but they delayed giving them any molestation till the 15th of March, when the Spaniards were so well provided to receive them, that they were repulsed with the loss of 40 men.

Soto then pursued his march; but was opposed at Alimama, by the Indians, who had intrenched themselves behind a palisade, and for some time fought them very bravely, till being obliged by the Spanish fire-arms to retire, they threw themselves into a river which they crossed by swimming. After a fatiguing march of seven days, the Spaniards surprised Quizquiz, and made the cazique's mother a prisoner. Soto intended to keep her as a pledge for her son's friendship, but offered to set her at liberty, provided the cazique would come to his camp. The savage refused to trust him, till his mother and all the other prisoners were delivered up, a condition with which Soto, whose army was upon the point of perishing, was obliged to comply. All that this compliance gained him, was liberty to proceed unmolested to

Rio Grande. Here he found a station that afforded maize, and wood for building boats, and he was visited in great state by the cazique of the place, who was very powerful, attended by 200 canoes. After some conference, the cazique made a seasonable present of fish, and a sort of cakes, of plum paste; but he could not be persuaded to land: and it was thought he would have attacked the Spaniards, had he found them off their guard. Our adventurers then crossed the river, which was the largest in Florida, but were all the while exposed to the arrows of the savages. Traversing the province of Quixo, they entered that of Pacha, and proceeded to Casqui, the cazique of which being at war with him of Pacaha, through whose territories Soto's march lay, entertained him and his attendants very hospitably. The arrogant Spaniard pretending to be son of the Sun, the cazique brought him two blind men to be cured, as a proof of his divine extraction, which however he could not authenticate in this manner. Here his army passing the river, upon a bridge most ingeniously constructed by the savages, and falling into the province of Pacaha, he was followed by the cazique of Casqui, and his army. The cazique of Pacaha, at first, stood upon the defensive in a little island, from whence being driven, a considerable booty fell into the hands of the Casquians, who, finding that the Spaniards were strongly inclined to claim it, separated from their army; a secession which obliged Soto to take the Pacahan cazique into his friendship, and, at last, to reconcile the two chiefs together. He remained 40 days in this station; but, not being able to discover any road to Chisca, the fancied land of gold and silver, he returned to Casqui, and, on the 4th of August, arrived at Quigate, the largest town the Spaniards had seen in Florida. Great part of it was burnt by way of precaution by Soto, and its cazique being made prisoner, he was by him directed to the province of Coligors to which they marched through a road so very marshy, that they were sometimes obliged to sleep in the water. Having travelled about 40 leagues in this uncomfortable manner, they proceeded to Paliseme, and from thence to Tafalicoya, where the cazique furnished them with a guide to Cayas, where the army remained a whole month. Here the natives manufactured salt, a commodity which the Spaniards had not before seen in Florida, and the grass fattened their horses to an amazing degree. Soto, as usual, made the cazique his prisoner, and demanded a guide to Tulla, which lay a day and a half's journey to the southward; but, he having been long at war with that people, no interpreter could be procured.

Nevertheless Soto set out with a party of horse and foot; but was soon obliged to return, the natives having fallen upon the army he had left. The people of Tulla at first made resistance, but Soto cut off the right hands and noses of six individuals, and sent them in that condition to their cazique, threatening that, unless he submitted, he would treat himself and all his subjects in the same manner. This menace had the desired effect; and amongst other presents he received, were a great many cow-skins covered with wool, as soft as that of sheep, which in that cold country was of infinite service to the Spaniards. Upon inquiry, he found that he was within 80 leagues of Autamqué; which was described as a plentiful populous country, situated near a great lake, which he thought might be an arm of the sea. There he resolved to establish his winter-quarters, in hopes of being able to open a commu-

nication with Cuba. This was the more necessary as he had now lost above 250 of his men; and consequently needed a reinforcement. Having marched through the towns of Annouxi and Catamaya, he arrived at Autiamqué, and fortified his camp with a wooden palisade. The caziques sent him presents, but would not visit him in person; and perceiving from Soto's evasive manner, that he intended to remain some time in his country, he attempted to force him away; but Soto kept his people so alert, that his camp was not to be surprised, and the Indians could not attack him in any other manner. While he lay in this situation, his army had great plenty of provisions, and particularly of fine large rabbits.

(A.D. 1542.) On the 6th of March, Soto marched from Autiamqué with his army, which was now reduced to 300 men, and 40 horses, several of them lame; amongst others, John Ortiz died at Autiamqué to the inexpressible loss of Soto; whose design was to reach Nilco, from whence he hoped to have a passage to the sea. After a fatiguing march, through a marshy country, he arrived at Tutelpina, and in three days advanced to Tianto, in the province of Nilco, which, excepting Palache and Cosa, appeared to be the most fertile and best peopled of any they had seen in Florida. He proceeded to Guachoya, the cazique of which fled at his approach; but, afterwards made apologies for his retreat, and directed him to the dominions of one Quigaltan, which lay three days' journey down the river on the opposite shore. The difficulties which occurred to the scouting parties, who were sent out to know whether Quigaltan's country lay near the sea, were so great that the vexation they occasioned threw Soto into a fever. Nevertheless, such was his pride and arrogance, that he sent a message to the cazique of Quigaltan commanding him to come and pay him homage in person. The cazique returned an answer full of scorn and indignation, setting the Spaniard at defiance. Soto exasperated at this affront, sent a detachment, which, in conjunction with the natives of Guachoya, committed a most horrible and unprovoked massacre upon the inhabitants of Nilco, while he himself, confined to his death-bed, piously poured out his soul in acknowledgments to God for having enabled him to shed such torrents of innocent blood, and in exhorting his followers to tread in his most Christian footsteps; for which purpose he nominated as his successor, his lieutenant-general, Lewis Moscoso d'Alvarado, to whom the Spaniards immediately swore obedience.

Moscoso took great care to conceal Soto's death from the savages, whom he endeavoured to persuade, that he was only gone to heaven for a short excursion according to custom; but they suspected the truth, and the cazique of Guachoya sent Moscoso two very handsome young Indians to accompany the general to the other world. Moscoso then deliberated about the course they were to pursue, whether to make the best of their way by land to the Spanish settlements, or endeavour to reach Cuba by sea: the former scheme was adopted; and on the 5th of June the Spaniards quitted Guachoya. After six days' march through a desert, they reached Chauguate, in which province they remained two days. On the 4th of July they arrived at Aguacay; from whence they proceeded to the province of Mayé, and thence to Naguata. Here they were attacked by the savages, out hunger and despair rendering them invincible, they forced their passage across a river, where the cazique's habitation lay, and entered a most plen-

tiful country. The cazique made his submission, throwing the blame of all that had happened upon his brother, who had been killed by the Spaniards in the attack, and he was taken into particular favour by Moscoso. The swelling of rivers, though no rain had fallen, detained him eight days in this province; but in three days more he reached Misobone, and Lacané, both of them lying in the midst of wild deserts. He advanced to Mondaca, proceeded to Soacatino, and penetrating through the province of Aays, where they were dreadfully harassed by the natives, reached Nagiscosa, after having sustained incredible hardships and fatigue. By this time they were become a band of wretched outcasts, and wandered they scarcely knew whither. Surrounded as they were by wilds and deserts they had no object on which they could exercise their courage, nor could they exert any virtue but patience. After consultation they resolved to return to Nilco, hoping from thence to effect a passage to Cuba. In measuring back the route they had followed, they were not a little surprised to see that the industry and activity of the savages had repaired all the horrible ravages which they themselves had committed. The town of Naguata, which they had destroyed, was rebuilt, and the natives were employed in a manufacture of earthen dishes, resembling those of Spain and Holland. Upon their arrival at Nilco, they found the inhabitants not yet recovered from the consternation into which the Spaniards had thrown them, and their country was void of all the means of subsistence. But in the neighbouring province of Minoya, they met with prodigious quantities of maize, and wood fit for ship-building. Through incredible industry and application, seven brigantines were built, and upon the sudden swelling of the waters at the increase of the moon, they were floated. On the 2nd of July, 1543, the Spaniards embarked, and sailed down the river amidst clouds of Indian arrows, which poured on every side, and killed a great many of their men. After a most uncomfortable passage of 52 days, the survivors arrived at Panico on the continent of Mexico on the 10th of September, 1543. Thus ended the expedition of Ferdinand de Soto and Moscoso, in disappointment, ruin, and disgrace; and it is a great misfortune to the interests of humanity that they ever met with better success in any of their American expeditions. We hear nothing more of Florida till the celebrated Admiral Coligny obtained permission of Charles IX. to transplant thither a colony of French huguenots, whom he was glad to be rid of.

This last circumstance suggested to the famous Admiral de Coligny the idea of transplanting to Florida a colony of French. Coligny committed the execution of this project to one Ribaut, a native of Dieppe, an experienced sailor, and a zealous religionist. On the 18th of February, 1562, Ribaut sailed from Dieppe, with two ships well equipped, the crews consisting of excellent sailors, with a body of land forces, amongst whom were several gentlemen-volunteers. To the first land which he discovered, which was woody, though low, he gave the name of Cape François. Turning to the right, he discovered the river Dauphin, without entering it; then sailed to the river May, so called from his entering it on the first day of that month. Here he was welcomed by great numbers of the natives, and he erected a kind of stone column, on which the arms of France were engraved. This ceremony being performed, he visited the cazique of the savages, and made him some presents. He afterwards steered for

the river Jourdain, which had been discovered by Vasquez, and coasted, still keeping sight of the land, all along the shore of what is now known as Carolina. Arriving at the river of St. Croix, he built a fort which he called Charles fort, in the midst of a most delightful country; the neighbouring rivers abounding with fish, and the savages being extremely friendly; but he could not prevail, with any of them to follow him to France, where he intended to present them to his court, and his patron, the admiral.

Ribaut, having made a settlement round his new-built fort, left one of his officers, named Albert, to command it, and he himself returned to Dieppe, where he arrived on the 20th of July. During his absence, Albert made excursions, in order to extend his discoveries, and visited several chiefs, whom they termed Paraousties: but he fell into the common fault of all adventurers. Instead of sowing grounds, and rearing stock for the subsistence of the colony, he roved about the country in quest of gold and silver mines. In a short time his provisions failed; his powder and ball were expended: the Indians could no longer supply his infant colony; his colony could no longer bear his tyranny; therefore they cut his throat, and chose for his successor one Barré, a prudent, moderate man; but Ribaut not returning according to his promise, the colony precariously depended upon the savages for subsistence, till they came to have nothing before their eyes but death by famine. In this extremity, there was scarce an artisan or sailor amongst them; but they made shift to build and rig out a vessel, by an effort of industry, the half of which, if exerted in cultivating their lands, would have enabled them to live comfortably. Putting to sea, in this ill-constructed vessel, they were driven about by the waves, till their water and provision being quite consumed, they killed and devoured a soldier called Luchan, who offered himself as a victim to appease their hunger: but before they had occasion to repeat the sacrifice, they were taken up by an English ship, on board of which was a Frenchman, who told them that the civil wars of France had prevented their being relieved.

When Charles IX. and Coligny were, to appearance, reconciled, that admiral strongly solicited reinforcements for his colony; and he obtained three ships well manned and victualled for succouring Charles fort, under the command of one René de Laudonnière, a good officer, who had before served in that country under Ribaut. He carried along with him a number of soldiers, amongst whom were incorporated several gentlemen-volunteers, who served at their own expense, with a body of excellent artisans, all of whom were Protestants. The king furnished Laudonnière with 50,000 crowns in ready money; and he sailed with his three ships from Havre de Grace, the 22nd of April, 1564. On the 22nd of June he arrived at Florida, where he landed, and where he was almost worshipped by one of the Floridan princes, whom the French writers name Paraousti Satoriova. This chief was excessively fond of the French, and brought to Laudonnière his two sons; the eldest of whom was a most amiable prince. At the same time he instructed him in the state of the country, of his friends, his enemies, and of every thing he had either to hope or fear. Laudonnière, without regarding Charles fort, fixed his residence on the banks of the river May, and engaged the paraousti to make an excursion with him up that river. Having proceeded a little way, he

ordered his tent to be pitched, and sent two of his officers Ottigny and D'Erlac to make discoveries higher up. In their journey they met with savages, entirely independent of Satoriova, who recovering from the fright into which the sight of the French had at first thrown them, brought them to a paraousti, said to be 250 years of age, who received them with great hospitality. As the finding mines of gold and silver was the great motive that brought the colonists to America, they applied themselves entirely to that object, without minding the culture of the lands, which were very fertile and inviting. Laudonnière was infected with the same infatuation, and became the dupe of the savage Satoriova. That sagacious American told him, that his own country afforded no silver, but that it was the product of a distant land, governed by one Timagoa, who was his mortal enemy. Laudonnière offered to assist him in subduing this enemy; and the paraousti concluded a treaty with him for that purpose.

Laudonnière either repented his having promised to engage in a war that might prove ruinous to an infant colony, or willing to find out the mines without the assistance of the savages, decamped, and without taking Satoriova along with him, sailed up another river, where he met with the paraousti of the province, his wife, and four daughters, and was hospitably entertained. Amongst other presents he received from this cazique, was one of a small silver bullet. This confirmed Laudonnière in his opinion, that there was precious metal in the neighbourhood. Assembling his people, it was unanimously agreed to settle near the mouth of the May, which would afford the shortest passage to the country of the mines. Next day their little squadron was ordered to repair to the mouth of that river; and, about two miles within land, fort Caroline was built, of a triangular form, strong enough to withstand any hostile attack of the Indians. According to Laudonnière's relation, Satoriova was so well pleased with the company of the French, that he ordered his people to assist in building the fort. Other relations say with greater probability, that all the friendship he showed them, proceeded entirely from his fear, and that he could not bear the thoughts of their making a settlement upon his territory. His dissimulation went so far that he not only furnished the French with abundance of provisions of every kind, but his subjects made them presents of gold, silver and pearls, which Laudonnière ordered to be deposited in one common stock.

As soon as fort Caroline was finished, he dispatched one of his vessels to France for recruits to his colony, and sent Ottigny to improve his discoveries in the country of Timagoa, particularly to learn where the mines lay. Ottigny was indefatigable in his researches, and one of his soldiers actually brought him some pounds of silver; but, in fact, the French were outwitted by the savages. They did not agree amongst themselves concerning the places where the mines were, though all of them pretended they were very distant, that they might remove the French further off. Sometimes they said that towards the Apalachian mountains there was found yellow iron, which the settlers immediately concluded to be gold, but in reality, it was only copper, though bits of gold were sometimes found washed down the banks of the rivers by torrents. In short, those Indians behaved so artfully, that they soon stripped the French of most of their merchandise, and paid them only in promises. At length Satoriova put Laudonnière in remembrance of his pro-



mise to be the friend of his friends, and the enemy of his enemies, and asked whether he was ready to accompany him in an expedition he was about to undertake against Timagoa. Laudonnière pretended that his presence was still necessary amongst the French; and that he had not made provision for so long an expedition; nor could he be ready to set out in less than two moons. This evasion was very disagreeable to Saturiova, whose army was assembled to the number of 500 men; but at that time he shewed no resentment. Before he set out, he performed a kind of baptismal ceremony amongst his followers, whom he sprinkled with water, and he himself continued for some time under strong agitations in prayer for victory over his enemies.

Then beginning his march, in two days he reached the borders of Timagoa's dominions. Here it was resolved that the army should separate, one half to proceed by land, and the other by water, towards the town which they were to attack, and matters were ordered so well, that both divisions arrived at the same instant. All who ventured to oppose them were put to the sword, and Saturiova returned with about 24 prisoners, women and children; thirteen of whom fell to his own share. Next day, Laudonnière sent his congratulations to him upon his victory, and begged him to send him two of his prisoners. His intention was to make a friend of Timagoa, by sending him back his prisoners without ransom; but Saturiova flatly refused to comply with his demand. The insolent Frenchman, upon this refusal, taking along with him 40 of his soldiers completely armed, thrust himself into Saturiova's cabin, and without paying him any civility, demanded to see his prisoners. At first Saturiova, who had added some reproaches to his denial of Laudonnière's request, pretended that the prisoners had, upon seeing the French, fled into the woods; but perceiving himself to be in danger, ordered them to appear, and Laudonnière committed them to the care of D'Erlac and Le Vasseur, to carry them to their own country, informing Saturiova at the same time, that he took this step in order to establish peace between him and Timagoa. The two deputies were strongly enjoined to gain over Timagoa, and to repair to the country of one Outina, a very powerful prince, and endeavour to form an alliance between him and the French colony.

On the 21st of August, the most dreadful hurricane happened that ever had been seen in those parts; attended with lightning, thunder, and earthquakes. The Indians ascribed it to the artillery of the Europeans, while the French imagined that the burning of the forests proceeded from the savages, who wanted to force them out of their country. One of Saturiova's vassals, who had refused to give up his prisoners to Laudonnière, now sent him a very humble message, requesting he would cause the storm to cease. The Frenchman answered that the storm was owing to the Indian's obstinacy, and threatened to burn him in his cabin if he did not instantly deliver up the prisoners. The savage punctually complied with this demand; but was so frightened, that he fled to a considerable distance, and it was two months before he appeared again in his own dominions.

On the 10th of September D'Erlac and Vasseur set out with the captives, under an escort of ten men and a serjeant; and having delivered up their charge to Timagoa, proceeded from Outina's residence, which lay at the distance of 127 miles from Fort Caroline. They were joyfully received by this

chief, who was preparing to set out on an expedition against a neighbouring prince, called Potanou. He invited D'Erlac to accompany him, and he consented to go with half his escort, sending the other half back to Fort Caroline for fresh instructions how to behave towards Outina. This paraousti began his march with a small army; but was terribly disconcerted, when he saw his enemy marching against him at the head of all his forces. He was, however, encouraged by D'Erlac, who, in the beginning of the fray, shot Potanou dead; upon which all his army lost heart, and took to their heels. They were pursued by Outina and D'Erlac, who made a great number of prisoners, and the paraousti nobly rewarded the Frenchman for his service. Upon their return, they found a boat from Laudonnière, which he had dispatched to recall D'Erlac to Fort Caroline, on account of some discontent which began to appear amongst the French adventurers.

The volunteers, who were gentlemen, complained that they were treated as hardly as the meanest artificians. Great dissatisfaction was occasioned by their want of a clergyman to perform divine service; but their greatest grievance was a dearth of provision, and a near prospect of famine. Their discontents arose to such a height, that at last a conspiracy was formed against the governor's life. Laudonnière behaved on this occasion with wonderful prudence and intrepidity. He hanged a fellow who had betrayed his confidence to the conspirators, and sent off to France in a ship that happened to be then in the river, some of the most dangerous amongst the mutineers. Perceiving that many malcontents still remained, he detached them under the conduct of one Roche Ferrière to complete the discovery of Outina's canton, and kept Outigny and D'Erlac about his own person, being assured of their fidelity. Of the two barks which he employed for bringing provisions to the colony, one was carried off by thirteen of his people, and the other by two carpenters, who never were heard of more. One Stephen, a Genevois, and two Frenchmen, called Des Fourmeaux and La Croix, seduced above 60 men into a scheme of cruising upon the Spaniards, and these were afterwards joined by a greater number. While Laudonnière was confined to his bed by sickness, the conspirators entered his cabin in arms, and conveyed him on board of a vessel lying in the river. They not only turned a deaf ear to all his remonstrances and entreaties, but also plundered him of his effects; and forced him, with a dagger at his throat, to sign a commission for their cruising upon the Spaniards in the gulf of Mexico. They then embarked on board the two new vessels, and set sail on the 8th of December, with intention to plunder Yaguana.

Before they left the river May, they disputed amongst themselves, and the two vessels separated, the one steering for the isle of Cuba, and the other, which was never heard of again, for the Lucayan islands. The former was commanded by D'Oranger, who took a Spanish brigantine, laden with wine and cassava; and then bore towards the western part of Hispaniola, where, in a harbour near Yaguana, they careened their prize, which was leaky. They afterwards steered to Baracoa, in the island of Cuba, where they made themselves masters of a caravel between 50 and 60 tons burthen; and holding towards Hispaniola, took, near Cape Tiberone, a patache richly laden, on board of which was the governor of Jamaica, then in possession of the Spaniards, and his two sons, whom they detained prisoners. With these they stood over to Jamaica;

but were outwitted by the governor, from whom they expected a large ransom. He pretended to write to his wife a letter, which he showed to D'Oranger, enjoining her to send by the bearer his own son, the sum which the pirates demanded for his ransom; but he slipped into the youth's hands another letter of very different contents. Next morning the pirates saw their two ships beset by three Spanish vessels of superior burthen, which took the largest, wherein were D'Oranger and the governor; but the other, on board of which were 25 men, slipped her cables, and bore away for the north coast of Cuba.

Trenchant, the pilot, who had been forced into the service, in concert with others of the crew, who did not relish this profession, conducted the ship by the Bahama islands, to the river May, in Florida. Laudonnière had timely notice of her arrival, and appearing at the head of 30 well-armed soldiers, made them all prisoners. Four of the most mutinous, comprehending the Genevois, Le Croix, and Des Fourneaux, were instantly condemned to be hanged; but Laudonnière, at the earnest request of his own men, permitted them to be shot to death.

Mean while La Roche Ferrière proceeded with success in his discoveries. He had visited the Indians lying near the Apalachian mountains; with whom he made alliances, which excited the jealousy of Outina. Then he returned to Laudonnière with abundance of fine presents from the new friends of the French, consisting of little plates of gold and silver, curious quivers, furs, arrows ornamented with gold, hangings made of beautiful feathers, hatchets, and other utensils. A paraousti, called Onathaca, having in his possession two Europeans, upon Laudonnière's promising to pay their ransom, they were sent to fort Caroline. They proved to be Spaniards, who had been long in slavery; and one of them had a piece of gold worth 25 crowns. They reported, that Onathaca reigned over the eastern part of Florida; but that towards the west reigned another prince called Callos, who was master of all the gold and silver mines that Florida contained; but that a great number of European vessels had been wrecked upon his coast, which was very dangerous for shipping. They affirmed that this savage prince had a ditch, six feet deep and three wide, filled with riches; that he detained in his town four or five European women of rank, with their children, who had been shipwrecked upon his coast fifteen years before; he persuaded his subjects the fertility of the earth was owing to him; for which reason they sacrificed to him every year about the time of harvest an unhappy captive. Finally, they counselled Laudonnière not to trust the Floridians, who were the most dangerous when they made the greatest expressions of friendship; and they offered, with 100 men, to put the French in possession of Callos, and to make many other discoveries.

The account given by the Spaniards of the riches of this country received some countenance from an affidavit, made by one Sagean before the regent of France, about the time he projected the Mississippi company, and which about 80 years ago was translated into English, and published.

Laudonnière, instead of espousing the interest of any particular paraousti, employed all his influence and address to reconcile the natives to each other, and formed alliances with many of their chiefs, to which he intended to have recourse in case of new disturbances amongst his colonists. He then applied himself to the storing his magazines, in giving employment to his people, and in dispatching Ottigny upon

new discoveries. That officer returned with an account of a great lake he had discovered, probably the same that was known to Ferdinand de Soto, in his journey to the Apalachian mountains; and it was pretended that the sands upon the borders of this lake were mingled with grains of silver. In returning to fort Caroline, he visited Outina, with whom, at his earnest request, he left some of his companions.

Outina finding himself involved in a fresh war with Patanou, desired of Laudonnière a small reinforcement of men, and Ottigny was sent to him with 30 auxiliaries, who no sooner arrived, than he took the field. Having marched two days, he was not a little disconcerted to learn that the enemy had prepared for his reception; and his juggler advised him to retire, assuring him, that Potanou was waiting for him at the head of 2000 men with cords to bind him and his subjects. This intelligence discouraged Outina, and he was upon the point of turning his back, when Ottigny made him ashamed of his cowardice. He accordingly continued to advance, and came up with Potanou, who, as the juggler had said, was at the head of 2000 men. Ottigny immediately attacked them, and his musketry made such havoc amongst their foremost ranks, that their whole army was in an instant put to flight. Immediately after this action, his French auxiliary left him twelve of his men, and made the best of his way with the rest back to fort Caroline. There he found Laudonnière and the colony in the utmost distress, in consequence of having been disappointed of the reinforcements and provisions they expected from France. The barbarians saw the difficulties they were under, and having now abated in their passion for European trinkets, they forced the French to pay exorbitantly for every thing they sold, and when they had nothing more to dispose of, they withdrew to a distance. To complete the misfortunes of the colony, the fish in the river disappeared, as the game did from the woods and mountains; so that they were obliged at first to feed upon acorns, and then upon wild roots and herbs, which they found in the fields. This extremity of misery was attended by insults on the part of the barbarians, who robbed and murdered one of the settlers. Laudonnière, weak as he was, gave orders to set fire to the village where this savage lived; but the assassins and all the inhabitants fled to their fastnesses, where they were secure.

The colony being now reduced to a state of despair, and its best and bravest members carried off by diseases, the survivors pressed Laudonnière to arrest Outina, and force him to furnish them with some means of subsistence. Laudonnière held out a long time against this proposal; but he was at last obliged to give way to famine. Outina was made a prisoner, but all his subjects took arms for his rescue, and the unhappy settlers found themselves plunged in a war, which they were in no condition to support. A negotiation succeeded, and Outina bought his liberty for a trifle, which was paid in provisions; but they were retaken by his subjects, before they reached fort Caroline, and two Frenchmen were killed, and about twenty wounded in this encounter. After all, it was owing to the courage and authority of Ottigny and D'Erlach, that Laudonnière regained fort Caroline. He afterwards received a supply of millet by a French ship; and then formed the resolution of returning to Old France, when he discovered four vessels in the offing. He and his people at first believed them to be

French, and their joy was excessive. But he soon perceived them to be English. They were commanded by Captain John Hawkins, and were obliged to put into the river to water; but not before the captain had asked the French commandant's leave for that purpose. This generous Englishman understanding to what a miserable condition the French were reduced, relieved them with great humanity. He came on shore unattended and unarmed. Laudonnière treated him with some wild fowl, which he happened to have by him, and Hawkins furnished bread and wine, which neither the French commandant, nor any of his people had tasted of for six or seven months before. The savages, imagining the English and French to be but one nation, soon became more tractable towards the colony, and brought provisions from all quarters. Hawkins furnished them with every thing they stood in need of; and offered to carry them to France; but they unaccountably refused his kindness, though their own ship was in no condition to bear the sea. At last, Laudonnière purchased one of his vessels, the settlers loudly declaring, that they were determined to leave a country where the prospect of famine was every moment before their eyes. This spirit of despair arose from the bad principles upon which these colonists had started. They had no idea of the habits of industry, and had formed to themselves the hopes of becoming rich all at once, by dropping into mines of gold and silver, the searching after which cost them more time and labour than the clearing, improving, and sowing the grounds could possibly have done, by which they might have lived with comfort and in plenty.

Hawkins leaving one of his ships with Laudonnière, took leave of him, and, by the 15th of August, the settlers were ready to sail, but the wind did not prove fair till the 25th. As they were weighing anchor several ships came in view, and Laudonnière sent out a boat to speak with them; but to his great surprise, it did not return, upon which, he shut himself up in his fort, where he was determined to stand upon his defence. Next morning he perceived seven chaloupes full of armed people proceeding up the river, in profound silence, till they came opposite to the fort, from whence some muskets were discharged, but at too great a distance to do any execution. The garrison at last threatened to fire upon them with cannon; and then they understood that the ships were under the command of Ribaut. Upon his landing he very fairly laid before Laudonnière all that had been said to his disadvantage to ruin him both with the king, and his patron, the Admiral Coligni. The chief heads of the accusation imported that he had behaved in a tyrannical and rebellious manner; and that there was no other way of preserving any interest in that country, but by obliging him to resign the command. In consequence of this representation, the French king had sent Ribaut with these seven ships, on board of which were many Catholics; and their passage had been long and tedious; Ribaut having spent some time after he came upon the coast, in treating with the savages. Laudonnière soon convinced this officer of his innocence so thoroughly, that he pressed him to retain his command, and offered to settle himself elsewhere. Laudonnière persisted in his resolution to vindicate his conduct at court in person, and then Ribaut put into his hands a letter from Admiral Coligni, desiring him to return to France, that he might advise with the king and his ministry concerning the good of the colony. While

Laudonnière was preparing to depart, the savages resorted to Ribaut in great numbers with presents, amongst which was a large piece of golden ore, which they said they had from a mine in the Appalachian mountains, and they offered to conduct him to the place. Ribaut, probably, by this time, was tired of mine-hunting, and applied himself to repairing the fort; but perceived that there was not water enough upon the bar of the river to carry his four largest ships over it, and therefore he was obliged to let them remain in the road.

Matters were in this situation on the 4th of September, 1565, when six Spanish ships cast anchor in the same road near the four French vessels. Those Spaniards were commanded by Don Pedro Menendez de Arilez, a wild, fanatic devotee, in whose heart the fury of bigoted zeal had stifled every sentiment of humanity. Philip II. gave him the command of a fleet and army, with very full powers to drive the huguenots out of Florida, and to settle it with good Catholics. He likewise bestowed upon him the title of hereditary adelantado of Florida, with considerable appointments. The king furnished only one ship, the St. Pelagio, of 1000 tons burthen, with about 300 soldiers, and 100 mariners; but the whole of his armament consisted of above 2600 men. On the 29th of June it left Cales; and it was so rudely treated on the voyage by the weather, that several of his ships parted from him, so that when he landed at Porto Rico, on the 9th of August, he had not with him above the third part of his force. His soldiers were without experience; but he could depend upon his officers, who, like himself, were all of them bigots, and considered the expedition they were engaged in as a holy war; it being given out in Spain, not without some appearance of truth, that it was secretly encouraged by the French king himself in hatred to the huguenots.

Menendez, notwithstanding the diminution of his force, bore away for Florida, which he discovered the 28th of August, and, coming upon that coast, understood, with a good deal of difficulty, from some Indians, that he was about twenty leagues to the northward of the French settlement. At the same time, he gave the name of St. Augustine to the river Dauphin, which he discovered on that saint's day. Approaching the four French ships that lay in the road of fort Caroline, he hailed Ribaut, assuring him that he had nothing to apprehend, but all of a sudden, he bore up to his ships, and they had but just time to cut their cables, and to make off. The Spanish historian says, the French fired in the night upon Menendez, who, in the morning, declared who he was, and demanded of the French to know whether they were Huguenots or Catholics. Being answered that they were Protestants, he told them he had strict charge from his master to put every man of them to death, which he would most punctually execute; but that, if any Catholics were amongst them, he would give them quarter: then proceeding to attack the French ships, they gave him the slip and escaped. Returning to the mouth of the May, he saw the smaller French ships drawn up under the fort, and the beach lined with soldiers; upon which he bore away for the river of St. Augustine. Meanwhile, the four French ships returned to their anchoring place, and Cossel, who commanded them, informed Ribaut of what had happened. The latter immediately called a council of war, where the general opinion was, that they ought to complete the works of Fort Caroline; and that a strong detachment should pass by land to fall

upon the Spaniards, as they were disembarking. Ribaut, upon this occasion, produced a letter from Coligni, advising him of Menendez' expedition, and enjoining him to suffer the Spaniards to undertake nothing prejudicial to the crown of France in Florida, and gave his opinion for attacking the Spaniards by sea. All the council opposed this resolution, on account of the approaching hurricanes; but Ribaut persisted in it so obstinately, that he obliged Laudonnière, to whom he had intrusted the charge of fort Caroline, to give him the greatest part of his garrison, and almost all his provisions, and then he went on board of one of the four French ships in quest of the Spaniards. Laudonnière was left in the fort, with about 50 men, besides women and children; but he himself was confined to his bed, and the rest of his garrison was so sickly, that not above twenty of them were in a condition to do service.

In the mean time, Menendez had planned out his new fort of St. Augustine; and understanding about the 10th of September, that he was about to be attacked by the French under Ribaut, he prepared to stand on the defensive within the bar of the river. It is probable, however, that he must have been taken or destroyed, had not, at the very moment of the charge a most dreadful hurricane arisen, which drove Ribaut and his ships to sea. Menendez then called a council of war, and declaring that the late hurricane was a divine judgment upon the heretics, proposed that they should directly attack fort Caroline by land, and give no quarter to any one of the garrison. The council having assented to this proposal, he put himself at the head of 500 men, and began his march, leaving the charge of his new town to his brother, and of his navy and artillery to his vice-admiral. It was with great difficulty he could prevent his troops from mutinying, in the course of a severe march across a wild country, under the inconvenience of excessive rain; but he persisted with great obstinacy till they arrived, when the whole army was in so distressed a condition, that the officers upbraided him with leading them like so many beasts to be slaughtered. Menendez bore these reproaches with invincible patience; and, pretending that he had divine assurances of success, instantly marched towards the place, which was easily surprised, the garrison having retired to rest, little imagining, in so dreadful a night, that their enemies were so near. At first, they butchered all the sick, the women and children, who fell into their hands, and Laudonnière, after having made a very brave resistance, was obliged to retire to the woods. The Spaniards being now masters of the place, Menendez published an order, that all the women, and the children under fifteen years of age, should receive quarter; but all the others were put to the sword.

The three French ships were still in the river, and the adelantado summoned the crews to surrender, offering to suffer them to transport themselves in any one of their ships they should choose; but he threatened, at the same time, if they did not comply, to put them all to the sword. This summons was rejected by young Ribaut; and the Spaniards beginning to play upon the ships from the fort, they were obliged to retire beyond cannon-shot. Laudonnière, who had been joined by about a dozen of his garrison, suffered inexpressible miseries in the woods; but, at last, he gained the French ships in the river, and proposed to young Ribaut that he should go in search of his father. Ribaut, whose conduct on this occasion was greatly blamed, an-

swered that he was determined to sail directly for France, a declaration which provoked Laudonnière so much, that he went on board another ship: as one of their vessels was destitute of men, Laudonnière ordered her to be sunk that she might not fall into the hands of the enemy, then he set sail for Europe, and was driven by stress of weather in England, where he was long detained by sickness. and when he went to his own country, notwithstanding all his services, he met with a cold reception from the French king, who was then more embroiled than ever with Coligni. Laudonnière, before his departure, had not been able to persuade all the French to follow him. Some of them fled to the savages, and others surrendered to the Spaniards, who chained them together; and all of them were hanged upon a tree, on which was fixed an inscription to this effect: "These persons are not treated in this manner, because they are Frenchmen, but because they are heretics, and enemies of God." This was the fate of all the French who were taken in the fort, or surrendered voluntarily, or were given up by the Indians among whom they had fled for shelter. About twenty more, who still remained in the woods, were pursued and shot like so many wild beasts by the Spaniards. This was an exploit in the true Spanish style, inspired by superstition and executed by cruelty. No man of sentiment will be able to read it without horror and indignation. Fort Caroline now lost its name, being changed by Menendez into that of St. Mattheo, on whose day it was reduced.

This brutal zealot having laid out ground for a church, and appointed Gonzalo de Villareal to be governor of St. Mattheo, with a garrison of 300 men, returned with 30 soldiers to St. Augustine, which he was afraid might be visited by Ribaut, who still kept the sea. He was received in vast triumph by the garrison; and notwithstanding his barbarities, he is still extolled by his countrymen, as a perfect hero, statesman, and Christian. He had, upon his arrival in Florida, taken some French prisoners, whom he sent on board the St. Pelagius to be carried to Hispaniola. In the voyage, the prisoners mastered the Spanish crew, put the officers to death, and carried the galleon to Denmark. The hurricane which had driven Ribaut from his intended attack of the Spaniards, carried him into the straits of Bahama, where all his ships were wrecked on the rocks. The crews and soldiers saved themselves, and arrived on the coast without arms or provisions. As they were entirely unacquainted with the country, and had only the sun and stars to direct them in their return to fort Caroline, their miseries were inexpressible. At last, they discovered an empty sloop that was driving along, and Ribaut gave the command of it to Vasseur, with orders to look into the river May. Vasseur immediately returned with an account, that he saw the Spanish colours flying on the fort. Upon this report, it was agreed that two of the French officers should repair to the fort, and learn what terms they were to expect from the Spanish commandant. They were accordingly carried before him, and he told them, that Laudonnière and his garrison had been sent in a good ship to France; and that, if Ribaut and his party would surrender, he would grant them the same terms. Upon the return of the two officers, the French were divided in their opinions, and being sensible how meritorious the Spaniards held it not to keep any faith with heretics, they sent one of their officers back, and he obtained an oath from the command

ant, who proved to be Menendez himself, that, if the French would surrender, they should be furnished with a good ship, and every thing necessary, to carry them to France. They were obliged to trust to this solemn engagement, and chaloupes were sent to carry them across the river, when they were immediately bound with cords. Ribaut and Ottigny endeavoured to expostulate with the Spaniards, but could not obtain a sight of the commandant. A Spanish soldier coming up, gravely asked Ribaut, whether he did not expect that the French soldiers under him were to obey his orders? "Without doubt," answered Ribaut. "Then," replied the soldier, "you are not to be surprised, if I obey my general's order likewise." So saying, he plunged a dagger into Ribaut's heart. Ottigny shared the same fate, and in an instant the throats of all the French were cut, excepting those of some workmen, who were employed upon the fortifications at St. Augustine.

Such is the relation the French have given us of this horrible massacre. The Spanish accounts lay the scene of it at St. Augustine; and tell us, that Menendez never promised or swore to show them any mercy, and rejected the offer of a large ransom. That the French were divided into two parties; the first was of 200, whom he brought across the river in boats; and, finding that eight of them were Catholics, he spared them, but gave orders that the rest should be instantly put to the sword. Next day, the other party of the French, consisting of 350 souls, being discovered upon a raft, Menendez informed the officer, who came to treat with him, how he had served his countrymen; and even carried him to the place where their dead bodies lay. Two hundred threw themselves on shore, but the other 150, with Ribaut at their head, surrendered, and were all put to death, excepting four Catholics. Menendez, understanding that the 200 French, who had fled, had begun to build a fort far up the river, surprised them with a party of Spaniards on the 1st of November: upon their flying to a neighbouring mountain, he invited them to surrender, upon promise of pardon, and of being treated as his own soldiers. They submitted accordingly, and he punctually performed his engagements; but we are told, at the same time, that many of them turned Roman Catholics.

Whatever partiality Charlevoix may show in favour of this Spanish relation, it carries upon its face the most palpable marks of forgery. Is it to be imagined, that a brave man, like Ribaut, at the head of a force, equal, at least, to that of his enemies, with arms in their hands, would have tamely given up their throats to be cut, after having been refused quarter; and after having seen how punctually cruel the Spaniards had been to their companions? He and his companions in martyrdom must have been the worst of fools and enthusiasts, to have gone to death so tamely; and to have discovered (as the Spanish writer said they did) that they had 100,000 crowns in their possession, which they offered for their ransom.

Upon the whole, Menendez seems to have acted in concert with the court of France, who considered the Huguenots of Florida as the very worst of rebels and traitors, though they had been settled under the charter, and by the authority of the French king, Charles IX.; who acted in the same manner towards his Protestant subjects in France, as Menendez did by those of Florida. All Europe was amazed, that, in whatever light he might view the Floridan Huguenots, he did not resent the insult done to his

own dignity; and all that has been said in vindication of his tameness, is, that his connexions at that time did not admit of his coming to a rupture with Spain. The cause of his slaughtered subjects was avenged, however, in a very extraordinary manner by a Catholic gentleman, the chevalier de Gourgues, a soldier of fortune, of a good family in Gascony. He had served with reputation against the Spaniards in Italy; and being taken prisoner, was chained to a galley, and obliged to work as a slave. This galley was taken by the Turks, and afterwards retaken by the Maltese, by which means de Gourgues recovered his liberty. He afterwards made some voyages to Africa, Brazil, and other places; and, upon his return to France, he was looked upon to be one of the ablest navigators in Europe. This adventurer hearing of the massacre of his countrymen in Florida, immediately laid a plan for revenging their deaths, and for driving their murderers out of that fine country.

For this purpose, he converted all he had into ready money, and likewise took up large sums upon credit. With these funds, he built three frigates, on board of which he put 150 soldiers and volunteers, most of them gentlemen, and 80 sailors. His ships drew very little water, and were constructed so, that they could be worked in a calm by oars; and by that means enter the mouths of rivers.

With this armament, he sailed from France, in the month of August, 1568. He had, hitherto, kept his main intention a secret from all the world; and had obtained from M. de Montluc, the French king's lieutenant in Gascony, a commission for going to the coast of Africa, upon a slaving voyage. Having traded, or pretended to trade, there for some time, he, all of a sudden, bore away for the coast of America. He first fell in with the little Antilles islands, and beat up to Porto Rico, and from thence to the small island of Mona, where he is said to have victualled and watered. He was afterwards obliged to put into St. Nicholas harbour, on the east side of Hispaniola, by a storm, which damaged great part of his bread; but the Spaniards refused to supply him with any more. Sailing from thence, he met with another storm; and it was with great difficulty, that he reached Cape St. Antony, on the west of Cuba. Here, for the first time, he opened his real intention to his company; and painted the cruelty of the Spaniards towards his countrymen in so affecting a manner that they entered into his measures with a degree of enthusiasm. Sailing through the straits of Bahama, he came upon the coast of Florida, where the Spaniards thought themselves so secure against any attack, that they took his ships for those of their own countrymen, and saluted them accordingly. They were duly answered by De Gourgues, who next night entered the river Tacatacouron, called by the French the Seine, fifteen miles from the river May.

The Spaniards, by this time, had rendered themselves so odious to the natives, that, taking de Gourgues' squadron to be Spanish, they prepared to oppose his landing. But De Gourgues, suspecting their mistake, immediately sent ashore his trumpeter, who, having served under Laudonnière, was master of their language, and knew Sauriova, whom he met by accident, along with the paraousti of the country. The trumpeter informed them, that the French were come back to renew their alliance with them; and, next day, Sauriova had an interview in person with De Gourgues, who found him exasperated as much as he could wish against the Spa

maids. He complained of their pride and cruelty; and offered, if the French would attack them, to support him with all his force, and that of his allies and dependents. De Gourgues pretended, at first, that he had not come with any intention to make war, but to pay them a friendly visit, and to renew the former leagues between the French and them; and that he intended, if he found they suffered any grievances from the Spaniards, to return to France, and bring to their assistance a larger force. He added, however, that he had now changed his resolution, and was ready to second them with the few soldiers he had on board his ships. His answer won Saturiova's heart; and, amongst other presents he made De Gourgues, he put into his hands Peter de Bray, a young Frenchman, whom he had preserved from the fury of the Spaniards, and treated as his own son. All the parasties, who were either allies or vassals of Saturiova, being assembled, to deliberate concerning their future operations, it was resolved, that D'Estampes, a Frenchman, and Olacatora, a brave Indian, nephew to Saturiova, should reconnoitre fort St. Mattheo. They returned in three days, with an account that the Spaniards had built two additional forts, one on each side of the river; that all three were in good condition, and garrisoned by 400 men; but that they lived in perfect security.

From this report, De Gourgues concluded he had no chance for success but from secrecy and surprise; and ordered a general rendezvous of all his allies upon the river Somme, called by the savages Suraba. They attended punctually; and after having entered into solemn engagements never to abandon the French, set out on their march; but such heavy rains had fallen, that their expedition was in danger of being defeated. At last, a savage undertook to conduct them by a safe way, though somewhat round about. He kept his promise, but with great difficulty; and in the morning, De Gourgues found himself so near the fort, that he could reconnoitre it at leisure. At first, he was a little startled at seeing the people in motion; but he afterwards understood that this hurry was occasioned by their being busied in repairing a fountain. About ten o'clock the French passed the river; and so thorough was the hatred of the savages towards the Spaniards, that the latter, till the very moment of the attack, knew nothing of their being in Florida; an uncommon instance of secrecy in those barbarians. De Gourgues divided his little army into two parties, giving the command of one to his Lieutenant Casenove, and himself marching at the head of the other. He had advanced so near the platform of the fort, that a Spanish engineer discovered him, and fired two culverins upon his party. This alarm might have been fatal to the French, had not the brave Olacatora, creeping near the platform, mounted it at once, and laid the Spanish engineer dead with his lance. So daring an action discouraged the Spaniards so much, that they forthwith abandoned the fort; and happened to take the way by which the other division of the French, under Casenove, was advancing. Thus, being put between two fires, all the garrison, consisting of 60 people, were cut in pieces, excepting a few, who were taken and reserved to be hanged.

Mean while, the second fort was incessantly firing upon the French; but De Gourgues drawing out the artillery of the first Fort, played upon the Spaniard so effectually, and the savages seconded him so vigorously, that the Spaniards betook themselves to

the woods, where all of them were taken prisoners, or put to death. The main fort of Caroline remained still to be reduced. This being a matter of some difficulty, De Gourgues obliged an old Spanish sercant, who was his prisoner, to give him information as to the strength of the place; and he quickly perceived, that he had no means of succeeding against it but by a scalade. The two following days were passed in preparatives for that purpose; during which time, De Gourgues planted such a number of Indians around the fort, that it was impossible for the Spaniards to come at any knowledge of his real strength. A Spaniard, however, disguising himself like an Indian, mingled with the besiegers, but was discovered by Olacatora, and, upon examination, proved to be a spy. He was destined to the gallows: but great part of the success of De Gourgues was owing to the information which this man communicated. When every thing was ready for the attack, De Gourgues made such dispositions of his Indians as rendered it extremely difficult for any of the Spaniards to escape, when the fort should be taken. He then advanced to the attack, under the direction of the Spanish sercant and the spy, who led him to the top of a little hill, from whence he had a full view of the strength and weakness of the fort. His intention was to have delayed the attack till the next morning; but the besieged made a sally with fourteen musketeers, who, by the disposition De Gourgues had made, were completely surrounded, and every man of them put to death, though they fought very bravely. This slaughter being made under the eye of the besieged, they lost all heart; and, without minding any orders, ran out of the fort towards the woods, where the savages in ambush gave them no quarter. They then endeavoured to escape another way; but were met full in the front by De Gourgues, who laid most of them dead on the spot. To complete his revenge, he saved the rest from the hands of the savages, that he might resign them to those of the executioner. He then reproached them with their cruelty, their perfidy, and violated faith; and ordered every one of them to be hanged upon a tree, on which was the following inscription, in imitation of that of Menendez: "I do not hang these people as Spaniards, nor as the spawn of infidels; but as traitors, robbers, and murderers." Nothing but the detestable example of the like cruelty, set by the Spaniards themselves, could have excused this barbarity; which indeed has been variously censured. Indeed, if it had been retaliated upon the very individuals who had given the provocation, it was certainly an act of eternal justice, though unformal and unauthorized; for it is certain, that De Gourgues was not legally entitled to sail upon the coast of Florida, far less to make such reprisals. It must, however, be acknowledged, that he undertook this expedition from very disinterested motives; for, before he entered upon it, he knew that he had neither men to keep the forts, nor money to pay his men, and that it was impossible to procure them subsistence, even for money.

De Gourgues, satisfied with the glory of revenging the massacre of his countrymen upon a barbarous enemy, prepared to return to Europe, having demolished the three forts, and shipped their artillery on board his vessels. The savages seemed to be sorry to part with him, but he knew he could not depend upon their friendship; and they loaded him with the most extravagant praises for an action, which was so much in their own manner, but far exceeded their abilities to have performed. On the



3rd of May he set sail from Florida; and, on the 6th of June, arrived at Rochelle, having suffered a great deal on his voyage by storm and famine; but all the loss otherwise, consisted only of a few soldiers, and five volunteers. Before his arrival in France, the court of Spain had received intelligence of his expedition, and fitted out a squadron to intercept him, from which he very narrowly escaped. Upon his landing, his old friend, the Marshal De Montluc, highly extolled his valour and conduct, and advised him to go to court. It happened, fortunately for him, that the Protestant party was then so powerful in France, that the government durst not provoke it, by inflicting upon him any unseasonable severity; and the French, in general, Catholics as well as Protestants, applauded what he had done. On the other hand, the friendship of Spain happened, at this time, to be necessary to the French king, and the Catholic part of his government; and a sum had been set upon De Gourgues's head at the court of Madrid, as a pirate and a murderer. When he repaired to court, he was very ill received, and had secret intimations given him to withdraw, to avoid the fury of the queen-mother, and the Spanish faction, who had pressed the king to consent that he should be tried. De Gourgues, therefore, was obliged to fly to Rouen, where he was concealed by the president, De Marigny; and so reduced, at that time, were his circumstances, that he owed his daily subsistence to that magistrate's generosity. This persecution served only to increase his fame; which, at last, made such an impression upon the French king, that he restored him to his favour. His countrymen pretend, but we cannot say upon what authority, that Queen Elizabeth offered him a considerable post in her service, which he declined. We much question the truth of this report, as he always professed himself a strict Roman Catholic. It is certain, however, that Don Antonio offered him the command of the fleet he was then fitting out, to recover the crown of Portugal from Philip II. of Spain. But while De Gourgues was going to take possession of that honourable commission he fell sick, and died at Tours.

The Spaniards, by the evacuation of De Gourgues, for some years, had no competitors in Florida, and applied themselves to the fortifying and improving their new settlement at St. Augustine. As to that at St. Mattheo, it was suffered to go to decay; and afterwards subsisted under the name of St. Juan, the name which the Spaniards had given the river on which it stands. Upon Queen Elizabeth's going to war with the Spaniards, she was advised to attack them in America. In consequence of this scheme, some private adventurers in England, in 1585, fitted out a fleet, consisting of twenty sail of ships and pinnaces, with the number of 2300 sailors and landmen on board. The admiral in chief of this fleet was the famous Sir Francis Drake; his vice-admiral was Martin Frobisher; Francis Knolles was his rear-admiral; and Lieutenant-general Carlisle commanded the land forces. He attacked Fort St. Mattheo, which being very weak, was abandoned by the Spaniards; and Drake found in it fourteen pieces of brass cannon, with about 20000*l.* in money. These seem to have been all the fruits of this attempt upon Florida.

But we must now turn our attention to that part of it, particularly distinguished by the name of Louisiana, lying on the river Mississippi, the mouth and navigation of which the French pretend to have discovered.

In the year 1684, when La Sale was at the French court, on the subject of his discoveries, he not only won the esteem of de Seignelay, the minister, but brought him to agree, that he should prosecute his discoveries, and attempt to enter the mouth of the Mississippi by sea, in order to form a settlement. All the winter was spent in making preparations for his expedition. By his commission, he was to command all the French and savages that lay between fort Lewis, which he had already built upon the river Illinois, to that part of Florida called New Biscay; and the French commodore, who was to carry him to America, was enjoined to give him all the assistance in his power.

Four vessels were built at Rochfort; on board of which were embarked 100 soldiers, a Canadian family, 30 volunteers, some of whom were gentlemen, a few ladies, and workmen. Three ecclesiastics, with four others, amongst whom was Father Zenobe, composed the rest of the company, together with a citizen of Rouen, one Joutel, who was a man of some capacity, and intended as a kind of an assistant to La Sale. The ships destined for this discovery were the Joli, of 40 guns, commanded by M. de Beaujeu; another vessel, of six guns, which the French king made a present of to La Sale; the Amiable, a merchant ship of about 300 tons burden, which carried La Sale's baggage and implements; and a ketch, of 30 guns, freighted with ammunition and merchandise. This little squadron had scarce cleared the land, when the main-mast of the Joli broke, and all the four ships returned to Rochelle; from whence they again set sail on the 1st of August, and on the 16th day were in sight of the Madeiras. By this time, La Sale and Beaujeu had quarrelled. The latter proposed to put into Madeira, to take in water and provisions; but as the success of the expedition depended on its being kept a secret from the Spaniards, La Sale resolutely opposed their stopping; and this circumstance increased their animosity. When they arrived in Hispaniola, Beaujeu came to anchor at Petit Guaves, on the west end of the island, though La Sale had business of great importance, trusted to him by the minister, with M. de Cussi, the French governor, who lived on the north side; so that Cussi, with two other French officers, was obliged to repair to Petit Guaves, where he found La Sale greatly indisposed, chiefly through vexation, two Spanish perugas having taken his ketch off the island. The growing discontents between La Sale and Beaujeu made all the adventurers despair of success in their undertaking; but, at last, La Sale recovered; and, having dispatched his business at Petit Guaves, set sail from thence the 25th of November, more embroiled than ever with Beaujeu. About the 12th of December, they entered the gulf of Mexico; but were obliged, by contrary winds, to lie by till the 18th. On the 28th, La Sale discovered the continent of Florida; and, having been informed that the currents in the gulf set strongly in for the east, he did not doubt that the mouth of the Mississippi lay a great way to the west: upon which he bore westward. The 10th of January, 1685, he was near the object of his search, without knowing it, and passed it, without sending any of his people ashore. Some days after, beginning to be sensible of his mistake, he wanted to return; but Beaujeu refused to obey him, and La Sale acquiesced, though he had been extremely obstinate in all their differences of minor consequence. Still holding to the west, they at last arrived, without knowing where they

were, at the bay of St. Bernard, 100 leagues to the west of the mouth of the Mississippi. Here La Sale discovered a river, which he mistook for the Mississippi; and here he resolved to land his people. On the 20th of February he sent orders to the commander of the *Amiable*, the merchant ship, to lighten her, that she might sail up the river, and ordered one *Le Belle* to command her; but the captain of the vessel refused to receive him. Meanwhile, some of La Sale's company, who had landed, were carried off by the savages; and as he himself was running to disengage them, the *Amiable* was run ashore, designedly, as it was thought, by the commander. The crew was saved, and some part of the cargo; the whole of which might have been retrieved, had not the vessel's long boat been destroyed on purpose. Next morning the *Amiable* bulged; so that no more was got on shore than 30 casks of wine and brandy, and some barrels of flour, and salted meat. A bundle of blankets, and several other things, being driven from the wreck to the shore, were seized by the savages; and re-demanded by La Sale and his people with so much roughness, that the Indians resolved to be revenged, and refused to give up their prey. La Sale seized their canoes, which they had left ashore; an outrage by which they were greatly exasperated. Advancing in the night to his camp, they killed some of his men, and wounded others, amongst whom was Moranger, his own nephew.

It appears, from all accounts, that La Sale was obstinate, proud, and passionate, to the last degree; qualities but ill suited to such an undertaking. Beaujeu, who considered his station of commander of a royal ship, as superior to that of La Sale, to whose orders he was subjected, could not bear with his peevish tyrannical humour, and took all opportunities to thwart him in his projects. All the sensible and independent part of the adventurers, some of whom had risked large sums in the undertaking, were disgusted for the same reason. They complained, that all their hardships were owing to La Sale's headstrong humour, in his disdaining to advise with any one; and some of the most considerable amongst them proposed returning to France with M. Beaujeu, who was making ready for his voyage. La Sale applied to him for the cannon and bullets, which he had on board; but Beaujeu answered, the season was so far advanced, that he could not spare time, as they were in the bottom of the hold, for putting them ashore. This was not the only mortification La Sale met with at this time; for though the captain of the *Amiable* was convicted of running his vessel ashore with design, yet Beaujeu received him and his crew on board; and, setting sail, he left La Sale with no more than ten field-pieces ashore, and almost quite destitute of balls and ammunition. These untowardly circumstances were far from daunting La Sale. He set about erecting a store-house, which he intrenched and fortified as well as he could; and Beaujeu having sailed about the middle of March, a fort was begun, though Hennepin says, that it was almost finished before he sailed. While it was building, La Sale gave the charge of it to Joutel, and left about 120 persons with him; and, with the remainder, which did not exceed 50, he proceeded in his own frigate up the stream, still of opinion that it either was the Mississippi, or a branch of that river. He had not made great progress, when, hearing some discharges made by Joutel against the savages, who were molesting the store-house, or fort as it is called, he returned with five or six of his company, and in-

formed Joutel, that, having found a most commodious situation, he had begun to build a fort further up the river. He then took leave of Joutel, and returned to his newly-founded fort, where he soon perceived that the savages had robbed his workmen of their tools and utensils; and that even when they were supplied by others, they knew not how to use them; so that the work went on very heavily. In the beginning of June, La Sale sent an order to his nephew Moranger, to bring all the people from the old to the new fort, excepting 30, who were to be left with Joutel and the store-keeper. Scarce was the main body gone, when two ruffians entered into a conspiracy to murder these two officers, and desert with their spoils. This plot was discovered by a third soldier, whom the conspirators wanted to make an accomplice; and Joutel put them both in irons. On the 14th of July a fresh order came from La Sale, for Joutel entirely to abandon the first fort, and to repair to him with all his people; which he accordingly obeyed; but found La Sale, and his new settlement, in a wretched condition. The fort was but little advanced; for scarce any part of it, except a small magazine, was covered over head. They had planted and sowed, but little came up; and even that little had been destroyed by the wild animals. Several of the most considerable adventurers were dead, and maladies were every day increasing amongst the living. All these mortifying circumstances greatly affected La Sale; but he dissembled his chagrin, and continued to behave with incredible spirit and industry. No sooner were all his people re-united, than he set them the example, by working at the fort with his own hands, which would have had an excellent effect by raising an emulation amongst the men, had he not destroyed it by his excessive cruelty and severity. He gave them no respite from labour; he could not bestow on any one a civil expression; he punished every fault with the utmost rigour; and misery, which commonly renders other men sociable, seemed only to exasperate him into inhumanity. At the same time, despair and want of wholesome food threw his men into a kind of languor, which carried off numbers. To crown those misfortunes, the imprudence of some of his people had rendered the inhabitants of the place irreconcilable enemies to the new settlement.

The natives were called Clamcoets, a cruel, perfidious people, but remarkable for covering their revenge and deceit under the appearances of buffoonery and gaiety. They had strong liquors of their own making, and were extremely addicted to drinking. Both men and women went almost naked; and they had other barbarous customs peculiar to themselves.

These savages, notwithstanding their degradation, have all the advantages of climate and soil. The river, on which the new fort was built, was called that of Cows, from the great number of those animals found on its borders; which abounded likewise with deer and kids. Smaller game swarms all over the country, and the rivers and lakes abound with fish. Their plains, though level, are extensive, but beautifully diversified with wood and water; but to counterbalance these blessings of nature, their rivers are pestered with sharks, and their plains with rattlesnakes. Their woods are full of most of the trees known in Europe, and many to which we are strangers. They are fruitful in vines, which bear both black and white grapes. Nuts of various kinds, and some of them very large, mulberries, figs, and bananas, grow every where; and a fruit which the

Spaniards call Tsonnos, of the figure of an egg, but delicious and refreshing, is peculiar to this country. Notwithstanding the soil is extremely fertile, it seldom rains in this country; and the natives are furnished with plenty of salt, which the sun makes on the sea-shore, and the banks of the lakes. The people who lay next to the Clamcoets, but further up the country, were little known to Europeans; but were said to be pretty much of the same disposition, and to live in the same manner with their neighbours.

About 100 leagues towards the north live the Cenis, or Assinais, a more humanized people. They settle in communities, cultivate the earth, raise maize, beans, citrons, water-melons, and various other vegetables, together with tobacco, and breed great numbers of horses to bring home what they kill in their hunting. The Cenis make war very differently from all the other American savages; for they take the field on horseback, armed with bows and quivers full of arrows, and bucklers made of a bull's hide, which they hang on the left arm. Their bridles are made of horse-hair, as are their stirrup straps; the stirrups themselves being composed of boards, and their saddles of folded deer-skin. If a prisoner can find means to escape, so as to enter one of their cabins, he is free, and becomes one of the nation, otherwise they put him to a most excruciating death, and afterwards his body is roasted and eaten. The Cenis, according to Joutel, could not send to the field above 100 men capable of bearing arms. Their cabins are round, in the form of a hay-rick; but commonly very large, some of them being 60 feet in diameter; and each family has a piece of ground lying round its habitation. Besides their dwelling-places, they have other cabins curiously constructed, that serve for their public meetings. Their furniture consists of hides and skins well-dressed, mats, and earthenware, besides wicker-baskets for holding their pulse and fruits, and their beds are made of woven canes, raised three feet from the ground, spread with skins handsomely dressed. When seed-time comes, the men and women labour equally, but in separate bodies. Their tools are of wood, with which they just remove the surface of the earth; but the women have all the labour of the harvest. Their habit is much like that of the Clamcoets, and though they seem to have no notion of religious worship, yet certain faint ideas of a Deity are discernible in some of their ceremonies.

At last La Sale finished his fort, which he called St. Lewis, and he gave the same name to the bay of St. Bernard, into which he still believed the Mississippi discharged itself, and therefore he resolved to make an accurate survey of it in his frigate. He covered the roof of his fort with green turf, to prevent its being set on fire by the arrows, which the savages used to discharge with lighted matches tied to them. It happened luckily for La Sale and his adventurers, that those barbarians were cowardly to a ridiculous degree; and two or three Frenchmen often put as many dozens of them to flight, but they never failed to destroy the French, when they could do it by stealth. La Sale finding he could not reclaim, endeavoured to subdue them, and he had many skirmishes with them, in which he was always conqueror; yet he never could bring them to give him information concerning the country, or lend him their peruaguas, which were so necessary for him in his intended voyage. So far, however, he prevailed, that, being intimidated, they removed to

a convenient distance from the fort, and gave the new settlers time for cultivating their lands, and raising their stock. These measures they took with amazing success, and even found time to build canoes, which proved of the greatest utility to the undertaking. At last, in the month of October, La Sale, with the bulk of his people, went on board his frigate, leaving Joutel, with 34 persons under his command, at fort Lewis, and strictly enjoining him, that he should admit none of those who attended him into the fort, without a particular order signed by himself. About the middle of January, (A.D. 1686,) Duhaut, one of the adventurers, whose younger brother, Dominique, had been left in the fort, came back to it alone in a canoe, and Joutel thought he had so little to apprehend from him, that he received him into the fort without a particular order for admission from La Sale. This man reported that La Sale's pilot had orders to sound the mouth of the river, but that going ashore with five men, they were all murdered, while they were asleep, by the savages; and La Sale next morning found the remains of their bodies, which had been devoured by the wild beasts. Although the death of this pilot was an irreparable loss to La Sale, he ordered the frigate to advance up the bay, while he himself crossed it with two canoes, then proceeded by land, attended by about twenty persons, till he reached the banks of a fine river, where Duhaut pretended he accidentally lost them, and that in searching for them, he was insensibly carried back to fort Lewis. About the middle of March, La Sale returned in a very miserable condition with his brother M. Cavalier, an ecclesiastic, who had attended him, and five or six persons. The rest of his attendants, amongst whom was his youngest nephew, a youth about fifteen years of age, whose name was likewise Cavalier, he had detached in search of his frigate, on board of which were his linen, baggage, and most valuable effects.

To keep up the spirits of his people, he pretended to be wonderfully pleased with the discoveries he had made, and seemed even to forgive Duhaut for returning to the fort without his leave. Next morning young Cavalier and the rest of his companions returned, but brought no accounts of the frigate, to the great mortification of La Sale, who had proposed first to send it to the French American islands for supplies, and then to have coasted all the gulf of Mexico in prosecuting his discoveries.

About the beginning of May, a few days after La Sale himself had set out in quest of the frigate, an account arrived of its being wrecked on the opposite side of the bay. The crew, who had reached the shore, set about building a raft; but it was so badly executed, that all those who ventured on it were drowned. The survivors made another with better success, on which they put all they could save out of the wreck, and they happily passed on it into the river on the opposite side of the bay, where it was useless, because it could not carry them up to the fort; nor durst they travel by land for fear of the savages. At last, meeting with an old canoe, they refitted it as well as they could, and it brought them to fort Lewis.

La Sale had then been two months gone, and it is not at all to be wondered at, if the settlement he left behind him was full of discontent and murmurings at what they suffered from his unaccountable conduct. Many of them, who could not remain shut up in the walls of the fort, were murdered by the savages, as they went hunting. The more sedentary, being the

most valuable part of the settlement, were carried off by diseases; and many of them ventured even to throw themselves upon the barbarians, who gave them liberty to live in the Indian manner, while those who remained entered into a conspiracy, at the head of which was Duhaut, whose younger brother was with La Sale. Joutel, the commandant of the fort, gaining a knowledge of these cabals, acted with so much prudence and resolution, that he kept the conspirators in awe till the return of La Sale, which was about the month of August. During this last ramble, he had visited the country of the Cenis, with whom he made an alliance, and they furnished him with five horses laden with provisions, but he had learned nothing of the main object of his search; and of twenty men he carried out with him, he brought no more than eight back. Amongst the missing was Duhaut's brother; but La Sale pretended that he had given him, and several others, leave to return to the fort. These new losses augmented the discontent of the settlers, whom La Sale's presence, however, overawed; and as the Clamcoets had begun to renew their incursions, he communicated to Joutel a design he had formed of transferring his settlement to the country of the Illinois, with which he was well acquainted. In the mean time he declared he would undertake a third journey to visit that people.

As he was preparing to set out, he was attacked by a fever, which confined him to the end of December, when being recovered, he renewed his preparations for his journey; and having given Joutel leave to attend him, he nominated another in his room to command the fort, the works of which had of late been much strengthened, and it was stored with a sufficiency of provisions for all who were to be left in it, who did not exceed twenty persons, seven of whom were women. About the beginning of January 1687, he set out, attended by sixteen men, including his brother Cavalier, and his two nephews, Father Anastase, Joutel, and Duhaut; the rest of his company we shall have often occasion to mention. For the convenience of travelling, La Sale ordered the five horses, which he had brought from the Cenis, to be loaded with provisions. This third ramble seems to have been dictated by necessity; for, in fact, he could remain no longer amongst the Clamcoets, and he missed the end he had proposed, which he pretended to be the discovery of the Mississippi, but which in fact was to render himself master of the Spanish mine of St. Barbe; a more romantic enterprise than the other. Having travelled a little way he met with some bodies of savages, whom he knew so well how to humour, that they parted in an amicable manner. He then crossed many rivers, but they increased so fast, and were sometimes so swollen by rains, that he resolved to build a large canoe for crossing them, to be carried over land upon poles; and this proved of singular use. The countries through which he passed were extremely pleasant, and some of them populous. Three great villages particularly are named, Taraba, Tyakapon, and Palonna. The course by which he travelled was north-east; and at last he arrived at the country of the Palaquessens, who, he was told, were in alliance with the Spaniards. Amongst his attendants was one Hiens, whose true name was James, an English soldier, one Larcheveque, and a surgeon called Liotot. As it was impossible for our travellers to carry with them a sufficiency of provision to maintain them during the whole journey, they had recourse to hunting, the country through which they

travelled being full of excellent game, and they divided themselves into small parties for that purpose. Moranget, La Sale's valet, and one Nika, an Indian but a most admirable hunter, formed one of those parties, and, as is reported, fell in with Duhaut, Hiens, and Liotot. A quarrel ensued, in which Moranget is said to have abused Duhaut, whose younger brother was suspected to have been put to death by La Sale's own hand. It is probable that the tyranny and insolence of La Sale determined those men to dispatch him; but that they did not think themselves safe without first murdering Moranget, the valet, and the hunter; a scheme which they accordingly executed, when they were asleep, in a most inhuman manner, Larcheveque and the pilot Tessier being their accomplices. Despair, rage, and misery prompted them to cross a river which lay between them and La Sale, to murder him likewise; but they were detained two days by the swelling of the waters. By this time La Sale became excessively uneasy, because Moranget and his two servants had not returned, and resolved to go in quest of them, taking with him Father Anastase and an Indian, and recommending the care of his little encampment to Joutel. Having travelled a little way, he fired his gun at some eagles that were hovering in the air, which in those parts is a sure sign of carrion being near, and the discharge informed the assassins where he was. Two of them, Duhaut and Larcheveque, passed the river; and the former concealing himself behind the bushes, instantly shot La Sale dead. Father Anastase expected the same fate, but was informed by the assassins that he was safe. Charlevoix and Hennepin have bestowed great encomiums upon La Sale's vast abilities, perseverance, spirit, and courage. But, admitting all they say to be true, every man of sense who reads his history must consider him as no better than a madman, with lucid intervals. The manner of his death was, however, deplorable, and perhaps a loss to the public. That he had made great discoveries of nations lying upon the Mississippi can scarcely be doubted; but his austere reserved humour, joined to his pride and ambition (which seem to have been unbounded), prevented his opening himself to any confidant on that subject. The French court, long after his death, availed itself even of the manner of it, by pretending, in their memorials, that his discoveries comprehended the whole extent of the country to the Mississippi, and even to the west of that river.

Cavalier was informed of his brother's death by Father Anastase and the assassins, who, after the murder of La Sale, returned to the encampment, and assured both him and Joutel that they had nothing to fear; which is a further proof, that personal resentment alone prompted the murders that had been committed. Duhaut, however, took possession of the command instead of Joutel, and he and Larcheveque shared betwixt them La Sale's effects, which they say amounted in money, plate, and merchandise, to 50,000 franks. Next day, which was the 21st of May, the assassins, with the other French, were prevented by the badness of the weather from going to a village of the Cenis for provisions; and they could not set out till the 29th, when they met three savages on horseback, one of them habited like a Spaniard, but the other two stark naked. From them Joutel understood, that some Spaniards lived not far off. The savage in the Spanish dress informed him, that he had lately been amongst these Spaniards, and, to confirm what he said, he pro-

duced a printed paper of indulgences from the Holy See to the New Mexican missionaries. This man remained with the French all night, and next morning led them to the village, where they were hospitably received by the elders, who presented them with pipes of tobacco, and here they met with a Frenchman, who lived with the savages, and could not be distinguished from one of them, and who had deserted from La Sale during his first voyage. Through his interest they were entertained with all the luxury of the Indians, and exchanged some trinkets for provisions; but the village not containing a sufficiency for the French, Joutel remained in it to complete their cargo, while his companions returned to their encampment. His chief motive for staying was, that he might have an opportunity of conversing with two other French deserters, who, as he understood, were in those parts, and who, he thought, could give him some light with regard to the Mississippi river, and the route they were to take towards the Illinois. Joutel had the good fortune to meet with one of those deserters, who was quite naked, painted, and marked like a savage; nor were his manners different, for he was in all respects a complete barbarian. He could give no information as to the Mississippi, other than that there was a great river at the distance of 40 leagues northward; and Joutel took it for granted that this must be the Mississippi. Being extremely desirous to get rid of the company of the murderers, he engaged the savage Frenchman to go in search of another French deserter, who lived in the same manner amongst the Ceniz, and to accompany him in his journey towards the river. The man soon found out, and brought his companion, who was not quite so barbarously dressed as his countryman. He confirmed all the other had said with regard to the great river, which he informed him lay to the north-east; he added, that Europeans were often seen near it; and those two deserters, who were called Ruter and Grollet, offered to accompany him thither. Joutel, with joy, accepted of their attendance; then leaving him for that time, in two days they brought a horse to carry their provisions on the road, and thus they rejoined their companions on the 10th of April.

While Joutel was absent, La Sale's murderers had conspired amongst themselves to return to fort St. Lewis, where they were to build a bark to carry them to the French American islands. Their companions, who were innocent of the murder, prepared, at the same time, to set out for the country of the Illinois. Cavalier, La Sale's brother, was at the head of the innocent party; and, understanding that Duhaut and his companions were preparing to set out for the Ceniz country, where they were to purchase horses to carry them to fort St. Lewis, he begged of them some powder and shot, and a few hatchets. He pretended, that he and his companions being too much fatigued to proceed, were determined to stop at the first village of the Ceniz; and he offered to give them a draught for the value of all he received at Duhaut's own price. After some consultation with his companions, Duhaut told Cavalier that he and his friends were welcome to half the merchandise that was in the storehouse; and that if he and his companions should not succeed in building a vessel at fort St. Lewis, they would return to Cavalier's party, and all of them should share the same fortune. Some days after this agreement the assassins split amongst themselves; Duhaut was for returning to Cavalier, and

going with him to the country of the Illinois, while the others insisted upon returning to fort St. Lewis, or on having their dividends of La Sale's effects. The dispute growing hot, Hiens shot Duhaut through the head, and Ruter slew Liotot, the surgeon; and thus the murderers of La Sale and Moranget were justly punished by one another's hands. According to Hennepin, Hiens had taken the part of the deceased, La Sale, and now pretended that he killed Duhaut because he was his murderer. Joutel, who was by this time returned, and an eye-witness to the tragical scene, seems to confirm the innocence of Hiens, for he told him he had nothing to fear. Joutel was then at great pains to inform the savages who attended him, and who beheld what had happened with marks of horror, that the two wretches who had been killed, deserved their fate, because they had been guilty of murdering their officer, and plundering his effects. Larcheveque was abroad, hunting, during this scene of murder, and Hiens declared he would serve him upon his return, as he had done Duhaut, but was dissuaded from it by the elder Cavalier, and Father Anastase, while Joutel went and acquainted Larcheveque of his danger, and, upon his arrival at his encampment, Hiens and he were made friends. They then consulted what they were to do next, when Hiens said, that having promised the Ceniz to assist them in their next campaign, he was resolved to be as good as his word; and that if the company would attend him thither, they might then determine what they had to do. As Hiens and his confederates still remained masters of the company's effects, they were obliged to acquiesce in his proposal. Upon their arrival at the Ceniz village, Hiens took the field with the savages, and six Frenchmen, all on horseback, while the rest of the French remained in the village. In a few days, the women of the village, bedaubed with earth, entering their cabins early in the morning, danced round them for three hours. The dance being ended, the master of the cabin presented each of the ladies with a piece of their country tobacco, which has a smaller leaf than that raised in the French plantations.

The occasion of this festivity was a complete victory, which had been gained by the Ceniz over their enemies the Cannohatinos, a fierce people, who, according to Father Hennepin, always boil in caldrons, and eat their prisoners. Hearing of the French and their fire-arms, and that they were on the side of the Ceniz, they durst not stand a charge, but fled; and the Ceniz, in the pursuit, killed about 48 men and women. They returned in triumph with the scalps of the dead to their village, where they immediately put all their prisoners to death, excepting two boys and two women. One of the women was scalped, and dispatched, with a charge of powder and shot, to her countrymen, to inform them, that the Ceniz intended, in a short time, to pay them another visit. The other was conveyed to a lone place, where she was tortured to death by a number of her own sex, armed with sharp-pointed stakes; then her body was cut in pieces, and given for food to their slaves. Next day was dedicated to rejoicings. The cabin of their chief was cleaned out, and spread with mats, upon which their elders and the French were seated; and the company was harangued by the village orator, upon the glorious victory they had obtained, chiefly by means of the strangers. His speech being finished, a woman appeared, with a large reed or cane in her hand; she was followed by the warriors, each preceded by

his wives, carrying the scalps of the enemies they had killed, and every warrior having in his hand a bow and two arrows. The procession was closed by the two young prisoners, one of whom, being wounded, was on horseback.

Each warrior, as he passed by the orator, presented him with the scalps, which he took out of his wife's hand. The orator received them, and having turned round to each quarter of the world, laid them on the ground. This ceremony being ended, sagamet (the common food of the Indians, made of maize or Indian corn,) was served up in large platters; but before any of the company touched it, the orator filled out some into a capacious dish, and placed it by way of offering before the scalps; then he lighted a pipe of tobacco, and perfumed it with its smoke. Besides the sagamet, the tongues of their enemies, who had been killed, composed part of the banquet; and the two young prisoners were obliged to eat slices of the flesh of the woman who had been sacrificed to the fury of her sex. The like ceremonies were performed in other cabins; and the festival was concluded with singing and dancing. After this solemnity, the French resumed their consultations upon the course they were to hold. Hiens said, he neither could agree to the journey to the Illinois, nor would he be publicly executed in France. The innocent part of the company made no reply to this declaration, but persisted in their resolution of travelling towards the Illinois country. The savages did all they could to persuade them to remain where they were, by painting in frightful colours the length, the difficulties, and dangers of the journey they were about to undertake; but, finding they were determined in their resolution, they readily gave them two of their best guides. Hiens, who was still in possession of La Sale's effects, and wore his scarlet clothes laced with gold, a circumstance of no mean importance amongst the barbarians, offered to accommodate Cavalier and his party with whatever was in his power; but he forced him, at the same time, to give him under his hand a Latin attestation of his being entirely innocent of his brother La Sale's death.

The number of the party which travelled to the Illinois country were seven; the two Cavaliers, uncle and nephew, Father Anastase, Joutel, one Marle, a young Parisian called Bartholemy, and Tessier the pilot. Larcheveque, Munier, and Ruter, had promised to accompany them; but the libertine habits they had contracted detained them amongst the Cenis. According to Hennepin, in all the countries through which they passed, the inhabitants entertained them with complaints of the cruelties of the Spaniards, against whom they said twenty of their nations were confederated, and the nation of the Nasonis were extremely importunate with the French, because of their fire-arms, to join in the association; but this they declined. Their guides led them northwards and north-east, through the most delightful countries in the universe, inhabited by different nations. They crossed four great rivers, passed through the country of the Nabiri, or Neansi, and entered that to the Cadodacchos. The inhabitants of this nation met them a league from the village, received them with the calumet, or pipe of peace, entertained them with tobacco, and led their horses in triumph to their habitation. These people lived so far within the country, that they had never before seen a European; and they called the French spirits come from the other world. When our adventurers arrived at the village, where they found

all the inhabitants assembled, the women washed their heads and feet with warm water, and the rest of the night, as well as day, passed in rejoicings. The Cadodacchos seemed to have some notion of a deity, by the worship they paid to the sun; two figures of which luminary were painted on their ceremonial habits. On the 24th of June, Marle, one of the Frenchmen, in bathing himself, was sucked into a whirlpool, and drowned. His body being afterwards found, was carried to the house of the chief, where his wife wrapped it decently up in a handsome mat; and the young men having dug a grave, it was interred by Father Anastase with all the ceremonies of the Romish religion, to the great admiration of the savages.

It was the beginning of July before they left this hospitable people, and proceeded to the territories of the Natches, the most gentle of all the savages of the American continent. They worshipped fire, which they never suffered to be extinguished; and it is probable, from some traditions they had amongst themselves, that their forefathers came from a country on the borders of Peru. These, and all the other nations they passed through, received the French with the most unbounded hospitality. The further they advanced northward, they found the greater plenty of beavers and otters. At last they reached the Ouidiches, where they met with three warriors of two nations, called the Cabinnio and the Mentous, who dwelt 25 leagues further east-north-east, and had seen some Frenchmen. They offered to conduct them to their countrymen; and this offer was accepted. In their journey they passed several rivers and brooks, and were still treated with the same affection and hospitality. Some of those tribes mentioned a captain with one hand (De Tonti), who informed them that a greater captain than he, meaning La Sale, would soon visit their country. On the 20th of July they arrived amongst the Akansas, where they met with two of their countrymen, Delounay and Couture, a carpenter, who had been sent by De Tonti into those parts to meet La Sale; but despairing of his return, they had settled among the Indians. These people turned their own families out of their cabins, that they might accommodate the strangers, and called them envoys from the sun, who came to defend them from their enemies with thunderbolts, meaning their muskets, weapons which they had never seen before. Upon their departure, the savages would have loaded their horses with otter and beaver skins, which they had in such plenty, as to be thought of no value; but the French declined the present, and travelled for some days along the beautiful banks of the Akansa, being visited by deputies from all the neighbouring countries. When they drew near the place where they were told the two Frenchmen lived, they fired their guns; upon which their countrymen appeared. After some conversation, Couture charged them not to mention the death of La Sale in public, because his very name had kept all the neighbouring savages in awe, and had supplied them with canoes, guides, and every thing they wanted.

Cavalier persuaded Couture to intimate to the heads of the savages, that La Sale had made a fine settlement upon the gulf of Mexico; that they were then travelling to Canada; that they would soon return with a good number of French to make a settlement in their country, in order to defend them from their enemies, to make them happy by the fruits of an established commerce; and that they hoped at the same time to obtain from them the same assist-



ance and marks of friendship they had experienced from the nations through which they had travelled. The Akansas omitted no circumstance of honour or accommodation for the entertainment of their guests, and assembled together, that they might consult upon their proposals. Some difficulty was raised with regard to guides; for, amongst them, all were equally reckoned children of the public; but even that difficulty was got over by promises and presents, to which the most generous of the savages are not insensible, though we must do them the justice to say, that all goes into the public stock; so that private avarice amongst them in fact, becomes a public virtue. The young Parisian not being able to travel any further, remained amongst the Akansas, while the others, attended for some time by Couture, proceeded on their journey. On the 27th of July, 1687, they embarked on board a peragua, rowed by four savages, one from each nation they were then treating with, the better to express their friendship with the French. Falling down the river Akansa they reached, the same day, the village of Toriman, where they had the first view of the Mississippi, which they crossed on the 29th; in the evening they reached the village of Kappas. On the 3d of September they entered the river of the Illinois, at a place 100 leagues distant from fort Creveccur; and on the 14th arrived at fort St. Lewis, where an officer, one Bellefontaine, commanded in the absence of Tonti, who was then serving in Canada under Denonville in his expedition against the Tsonnonthouans. There being questioned about La Sale, they pretended they had left him about 40 leagues on the other side of the Ceniz's country, fearing, that if the savages in the neighbourhood should hear of his death, they would find it impossible to procure accommodations for their journey to Canada, which was extremely hazardous on account of the war then raging with the Iroquois. It happened that Tonti's commissary, De Boiscondet, was setting out at the same time for Canada, and all of them embarked together: but the severity of the weather obliged them to put back to the fort, and extinguished all hope of reaching France that year, or sending from thence any succours to their friends, whom they had left at the Louisianian fort of St. Lewis near the bay of St. Bernard.

On the 27th of October, De Tonti arriving at the fort, Cavalier informed him of his brother's death, from whom he had received a letter of credit for 4000 francs or value, which Tonti immediately paid him in furs. It was the 21st of March, before they again set out; and, on the 10th of May, they arrived at Michillimakinac, from whence they repaired to Montreal. There they pretended to Denonville and Champigny the intendant, that they were obliged to sail directly for France, that they might from thence send supplies to La Sale, and the governor and intendant believed their assertions. But we can by no means see the use or expediency of this imposition, as they had already acquainted several of the French officers with La Sale's death. They made the best of their way to Rochelle, and Charlevoix often saw, and conversed with Joutel. When they arrived at Paris, and began to solicit for supplies for the settlement at St. Bernard's Bay, it was judged too late to risk any; and that apprehension proved too true. No sooner were the Clamcoets informed of La Sale's death, and the dispersion of his company, than they surprised the inhabitants of St. Lewis's fall, and murdered all of them, excepting three sons of one Talon, Eustace

De Breman, and an Italian, all of whom they carried to their village. This Italian, who had performed by land this stupendous journey between Canada and St. Bernard's Bay to join La Sale, to whom he certainly would have been of infinite service, saved himself by a very extraordinary stratagem. When they were about to kill him, he told them they did him injustice, because he carried them all in his heart; and that if they would spare him till next morning, he would convince them that what he had said was true. The strangeness of the proposal, and the air of confidence with which the Italian spoke, startled the barbarians, who, without hesitation, granted his request. Next morning, when the trial came on, he boldly advanced towards the savages, and opening his breast, to which he had neatly fixed a small looking-glass, in which each of them saw himself, they were so amazed that they spared his life.

(A.D. 1688.) By this time, the Spaniards of New Mexico hearing of La Sale's expedition, were so much alarmed, that they sent 500 men into the country of the Ceniz, where they made Larcheveque and Grollet prisoners. Some time after this event, another body of 200 Spaniards arrived at the same place, having upon their march seized Munier and Peter Talon, the brother of those we have mentioned above. The design of the Spaniards was to have settled two Franciscan missionaries amongst those savages; and understanding that Talon and his companions were perfectly well acquainted with the language of the natives, they treated them with great civility, that they might induce them to remain with the missionaries. Talon informed them that he had three brothers and a sister in slavery amongst the Clamcoets, and the Spaniards immediately sent a detachment to find them out. It was with great difficulty that this detachment brought off two of Talon's brothers, their sister, and the Italian, the barbarians having conceived a great affection for them all. Next year, a detachment of 250 Spaniards came to the village of the Clamcoets, where the third brother of the Talons remained still in servitude, as did the Italian. Both of them were seized and conducted to St. Louis du Potosi, a city of New Mexico. From thence they were carried to Mexico itself, where they were admitted into the service of the viceroy. As to Larcheveque and Grollet, they were sent to Old Spain, and from thence back to Mexico, probably to work in the mines: and a similar fate seems to have attended Eustace De Breman. Their examples furnish us with a strong proof of the unrelenting jealousy of the Spanish government with regard to its possessions in America. The clemency shown towards the Talons and Eustace De Breman, was probably owing to their youth and inexperience, which rendered them less obnoxious to the Spaniards. It is plain, however, that none of them were suffered to return to France, for fear of their giving information of the mines, commerce, and country. Eight years after this transaction, the three brothers, the Talons being grown up, were sent to serve on board the Spanish vice-admiral's ship, which, being taken by a French ship, they obtained their liberty, and returned to France, where they related the above particulars, which otherwise never could have been known. As to the youngest brother of all, and his sister, they were carried to Old Spain by the viceroy when he was relieved from his government.

Thus ended the mighty projects of the French court under the direction of M. De La Sale, to ob-

tain a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, which might overawe both the English and the Spaniards in America; for both of them were then at war with France. The reader has been sufficiently informed of La Sale's character, and his adventures. His reserved severe temper, and his numerous ramblings, called voyages and discoveries, together with his sudden and tragical death, left his countrymen impressed with notions that he had discovered mines and countries richer than those of Peru and Mexico; and that a little spirit and perseverance alone were wanting to make the French rival the Spaniards in riches upon the continent of America. The truth is, La Sale's real object was to get possession of the mines of St. Barbe; and yet we know of no regular plan, and no feasible attempt he made to become master of them. It is possible, that the perpetual wars in which his court was engaged in Europe, prevented it from sending the necessary assistance for his undertaking to St. Domingo, from whence he seems to have expected them; but had they arrived, his romantic, disagreeable humour rendered him the most unfit man in the world for carrying on a regular plan of operations. After his death his court resumed his chimerical projects, and entered into intrigues with a Spaniard, the *Condé De Pinalossa*, for realizing them; but this bubble likewise burst, and the accession of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain united the interests of that monarch with those of France.

Notwithstanding all we have said of La Sale's chimerical projects, it is certain that his voyages and intercourse with the Indians on the Mississippi, made the French better acquainted with that country than they had ever been before; and it was he that distinguished it by the name of Louisiana, which it still retains. After the death of La Sale, his projects appeared for some time to have been dropt by the French ministry; but Iberville, after his successful expedition to Hudson's Bay, revived them, by undertaking to Pontchartrain the discovery of the mouth of the river Mississippi, where he proposed to build a fort and make a settlement. His known capacity, both as a seaman and officer, and the reputation he had acquired in both services by his prudence and address, prevailed with the minister to order two ships on this expedition, La François and La Renommée to be commanded by the Marquis De Chateaumorand, and M. D'Iberville. Setting sail on the 17th of October, 1698, they cast anchor at Cape François in St. Domingo. From thence they proceeded to Leogane, where they had a conference with the famous M. Ducasse, then governor of St. Domingo, who made a most favourable report to the minister of Iberville's great abilities for carrying into execution what he had undertaken. On the last day of the year the two captains proceeded on their voyage; and on the 27th of January, 1699, they discovered Florida. Sending an officer ashore for wood and water, they understood that they were opposite to Pensacola Bay, upon which 300 Spaniards had been settled for some time, in order to be beforehand with the French, whom they expected in those parts. Lescalette, the French officer, who had been sent ashore, entered the harbour of Pensacola, and demanded permission of the governor to take in wood and water. The governor understanding from whom he came, sent his major with his compliments to the two French captains (for France and Spain were then at peace by the treaty of Ryswick) with a letter, importing that his most Christian majesty's two ships were welcome

to take in wood and water, and to come as near as they pleased to the shore, but that he was expressly ordered to admit no foreign ship into the harbour; yet, that he would send his pilot to conduct them into the bay, if they should be forced to take shelter through bad weather. On the 31st the two French captains, upon reflection, not thinking proper to force an entry into the harbour, stood out from the bay into which they had been driven by stress of weather; and Iberville, who was foremost, anchored at the south-east point of the river Mobile, famous for the bloody victory which the Spanish General Fernando De Soto obtained there over the savages. On the 2nd of July, he went ashore on an island about four leagues in circumference, with a tolerable good harbour, when clear of the sands, which sometimes choke it after tempestuous weather. He gave this island the name of Massacre, on account of the skulls and bones of about 60 people, who had been newly devoured, and were scattered along the shore; but this term was afterwards changed for that of the isle of Dauphin. From this isle Iberville passed to the main land, where he discovered the river Pascagoulas, on which he met with a great number of savages. All these discoveries, however, together with that he afterwards made of the mouth of the Mississippi, were far from being new, either to the English or the Spaniards; but they served to the French as pretexts for arrogating to themselves the property of the country. The informations which Iberville received of the Pascagoulas left him no room to doubt, that he would soon discover the mouth of the Mississippi, which the savages called Malbouchia, and the Spaniards La Palisade, on account of the vast number of trees which are carried down by the force of the tide, and stick in the mud at the mouth of the river. On the 2nd of March he entered it, and being well satisfied as to the reality of his discovery, he communicated it to Chateaumorand, who was sailing gently after him, and who, according to orders, immediately returned in the François to St. Domingo. Iberville, when he made the discovery, was attended by his ensign De Sauvole, his brother De Bienville, and about 48 men on board of twenty small sloops. The further he proceeded up the river, the more he found fault with the informations that had been given him concerning it by De Tonti and Hennipin; but this circumstance, which is related by Charlevoix, who had in his hands Iberville's letters to the minister on that head, is of no great weight, as it was natural for Iberville to be fond of having the honour to be the first discoverer. When he arrived at the villages of Bayagoulas, he went ashore, and the chief of the savages there conducted him to a temple of a most curious construction. The roof was adorned with the figures of many animals, and, amongst others, of a red cock. The entrance was by a kind of portico, which was eight feet broad and eleven long, supported by two large pillars, fastened to a beam running across the roof of the portico. Both sides of the entrance were adorned with the figures of bears, wolves, and several birds, and at the head of them all was a chouchouacha, or opossum. The door of this temple was but three feet high, and two broad, and the savage chief ordering it to be opened, introduced Iberville. The inside was formed like other cabins in the manner of a cupola, about 30 feet in diameter. In the middle of it stood two fagots of dried wood, which were placed on end, and burning, and filled the temple with smoke. A scaffold was raised from the floor, heaped with a great

many bundles of the skins of kids, bears, and bullocks, which had been sacrificed to Chouchouacha, whose figure was represented in several parts of the temple in black and red, and was the deity of Bayagoulas. The village itself consisted of 700 cabins, each containing a family, but without any other daylight than what came in at the door, and a hole about two feet in diameter in the middle of the room or roof.

From thence Iberville proceeded to the Oumas, where he was received with great affection by the inhabitants. Though he met at Bayagoulas with some evidences of De Tonti's having been there, yet he began to entertain some suspicions as to the identity of the Mississippi, on account of its appearance, which was very different from the description given of it by De Tonti. At last a letter, presented to De Bienville by a savage chief, removed his uncertainty. It was written by the Chevalier De Tonti, and directed to La Sale, who is there styled governor of Louisiana; dated from the village of Quinipissas (the same as Bayagoulas), the 20th of April, 1695. In this letter Tonti informs La Sale, that having found the standard with the French arms, which he had erected, thrown down by the violence of the tide, he had set up another about seven leagues from the sea, and had there left a letter in a tree. He says that all the nations through which he passed, sung him the calumet, and that they were much afraid of the French, ever since La Sale had left that village. "I shall conclude," continues he, "in acquainting you with the very great trouble it gives me, that we are obliged to return with the misfortune of not having met with you after two canoes had skirted the coast of Mexico for 30 leagues, and those of Florida for 25."

D'Iberville, being now satisfied of his having entered the real river, returned to the bay of Biloxi, situated between the mouths of the Mississippi and the Mobile, where he built a fort three leagues from the river Pascagoulas, of which he made a Sauvole commandant, and De Bienville lieutenant; then he sailed back to France, where he entirely satisfied that court as to the reality of his discovery; but remained there a very short time, and on the 8th of January, 1700, he was again at Biloxi. He there understood, that, during the preceding September, an English vessel of twelve guns had entered the mouth of the Mississippi, and was met by De Bienville, as he was sailing to take soundings 25 leagues from the sea. De Bienville acquainted the English commander that he had no business there, and advised him to be gone, otherwise he would employ force to drive him away. The Englishman pleaded pre-occupancy on the part of his countrymen, who, he said, had a better right to that river than the French; but finding it to no purpose to discuss the matter further at that time, he retired, threatening to return with force. Iberville, at the same time, understood, that other English from Carolina were amongst the Chicachas, where they traded in furs and slaves; and where, he pretended, they had instigated the Tonicas to massacre an ecclesiastic. This incident, with the declarations of the English, that they had discovered the mouth of the Mississippi 50 years before, determined Iberville to renew the possession, which had been taken formerly by M. De La Sale, of that river, and the lands about it, as if that empty ceremony could defeat a prior possession, which most undoubtedly was in the English. At the same time Iberville erected on the bank of the river another little fort mounting four

pieces of cannon, and gave the government of it to his brother Bienville; but this fort, which stood towards the east of the river's mouth, was soon abandoned. While Iberville was busied in giving directions about it, De Tonti arrived with about twenty Canadians, who had been settled amongst the Illinois. By this time a pamphlet had been published upon the discovery of Louisiana, and the Mississippi, under Tonti's name; but when Iberville, who found great fault with it, mentioned it to Tonti, he disowned it, and threw the blame of its publication upon a Parisian, who had undertaken it for lucrative views. Charlevoix, therefore, casts the blame of the English endeavouring to disturb the settlement upon Hennepin; whose book was published long before this time. But there can be no doubt, that this river, and the adjacent country was known long before to the English, under the name of Carolina, and that it was comprehended in a grant made by King Charles I. on the 30th of October, in the fifth year of his reign, to Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general.

It is therefore idle, and contradictory to a thousand evidences, to suppose the English to have had no information of this country but from Hennepin, whose first discoveries were made at the expense of the French king. Callières, in his letters to Pontchartrain affects to be of that opinion; but the facts, with many others too tedious to introduce here in favour of the English, are so evident, it would be superfluous to insist upon them. King William himself was so much convinced of the right his subjects had to this country, that about the year 1698 he had some thoughts of planting it with a colony of French Protestants. It happened, however, unfortunately for the English claims, that the people of New York likewise advanced a title to Louisiana: and twenty of them actually set out from thence to treat with the Illinois, on pretence that it had been ceded to them by the Iroquois, who had conquered it by force of arms. Be this as it will, it is certain, that three ships were sent from England to take possession of the Mississippi at the same time the New York people were treating with the Illinois, in the month of October 1698. These vessels stopt at Carolina; but two of them proceeded to the gulf of Mexico, and holding always towards the east, the smaller ship actually entered the Mississippi, and was that which had been met with by Bienville, while the other sailed westward to the province of Panuco in New Spain, there to concert measures for driving the French from the Mississippi.

It must be confessed that the interest of the Spaniards and the French, with regard to this new settlement, were, at this time, strangely entangled. The Spaniards disliked the neighbourhood of the French on the gulf of Mexico; but they could get rid of them only by the English, whose neighbourhood was still more formidable. King William on the other hand, who, on all occasions, was, perhaps, too tender of the interest of Spain in America, had the settlement of the French Protestants on the Mississippi greatly at heart. But though the Spaniards would willingly have joined him in driving away the French, they could not bear the thoughts of the English succeeding them, or rather the French under the English protection. King William became sensible of this objection, and gradually retracted his intentions as to the French Protestant establishment. Great numbers of the latter had, by this time, transported themselves to Carolina, where their presence was not very agreeable to the colony;

but they had heard so much of the beauty and fertility of the new settlement, that finding themselves in danger of being disappointed, they privately applied to the French king for leave to settle there under his protection, where they promised to live as loyal subjects, and, undertook without asking for any thing more than liberty of conscience, to repair thither in such numbers, as soon to render Louisiana a great and flourishing province.

None but a thorough bigot, like Lewis XIV., could have rejected a proposal so evidently for the interest of his crown and people. But the Jesuits urged the impiety of suffering heretics to enjoy liberty of conscience; and this was the sole reason why their proposal was rejected, though it was supported by the ablest ministers he had, who were not under the same delusion. On the defeat of this application, the Spaniards, rather than call in English to their assistance, very politely took measures for rendering the French weary of their new settlement. All the trade the latter carried on was between the bay of Pensacola and the east side of the Mississippi, where all the coast, as well as the isle of Dauphin, was barren sand; and upon the river Mobile, which was of very little consequence. Iberville has been blamed for not having forced a trade at this time: but it was not in his power; and had his force been triple what it was, he could not possibly have got the better of that innate aversion, which the Spaniards had ever expressed for all who pretended to interfere with them in America. Iberville, having finished his fort upon the Mississippi, sailed up that river as far as the country of the Natches, where he had intended to build a town under the name of Rosalia. It was probably on this occasion that he took an Englishman, whom he sent prisoner to Quebec, for trading with the natives; and, indeed, it appears as if the chief design of his voyage had been to clear the country of Englishmen, for we know of nothing he did till he returned back to the bay of Biloxi, where he had established the head-quarters of his new colony. Charlevoix, on this occasion, notwithstanding his prepossession in favour of Iberville, seems to think that he was out-witted by the Spaniards, who, without opposing him, confined him to a very insignificant compass of trade.

It appears very plain, that the court of France itself, rather than Iberville, was out-witted by the Spaniards. At this time, the connexions between it and that of Madrid were very strong, on account of the Spanish succession; so that it was easy for the Spaniards, by their agents, to put the French ministry upon a wrong scent, in this new establishment. D'Iberville's instructions from his court ran in the following strain: "One of the great objects presented to the king, when he engaged in the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi, was the advantage arising from the wool of the beeves of that country; for which reason it is proper to tame those animals, to shut them up in parks, and to send them young to France. Though the pearls presented to his majesty are neither of a good water nor shape, yet the search for them must be continued, because more valuable ones may be discovered; and his majesty desires that M. Iberville will bring along with him as many as he can find; that he will make sure of the places most proper for that fishery, and that it be performed in his own presence." As to the pearl-fishing, it was soon known to be good for nothing; and, notwithstanding all the precautions taken by Iberville, Old France never

reaped any benefit from the wool, or, what is more extraordinary, from the hides of the buffaloes or beeves. Nevertheless, Louisiana is undoubtedly one of the finest countries in America, and the most capable of being improved for the purposes both of culture and commerce. The Spaniards knew the nature of it, and took care to misrepresent it to the French; and Iberville was too little acquainted with it to be able to rectify the notions of his court.

After his return to the bay of Biloxi, which Charlevoix thinks was the worst-judged station on all that coast, to be the head-quarters of the colony, the Chevalier de Surgères demanded liberty of the governor of Pensacola to enter that port. The Spaniard, in pursuance, no doubt, of his orders to admit as few French as possible, replied, that he was commanded not to suffer the English, or any trading company, to settle in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi, and that he was instructed to give admittance to the French king's ships; but he insisted upon Surgères producing sufficient evidences to him, that he was in the service of his most Christian majesty, and not of any of his subjects. When Iberville gave an account of this interview to Pontchartrain, he told him, that they who understood American affairs best, were of opinion that the settlement of Louisiana never could succeed, unless every merchant of France had a liberty of trading to it. But while the French king continued to be beset by Jesuits and bigots, more care was taken for the propagation of popery than of commerce. Iberville had been obliged to introduce into the new colony two or three Jesuits; but their admission being prohibited, unless they complied with certain terms, by the bishop of Canada, who claimed Louisiana as part of his diocese, they were ordered by their superiors to withdraw, and not to co-operate with the other French missionaries sent by the bishop.

This is a fresh proof of the ambition and avarice of the Jesuit superiors, as they could have no other reason for not co-operating with the other missionaries, but the fear lest their practices should be seen through, as they pretended that their aim, the conversion of the savages, was the same. The Jesuits, however, still kept up their interest amongst the Illinois, where they exercised their missions, exclusive of all other ecclesiastics. They boasted, that they had rendered the Illinois from being the most worthless and irreclaimable of all the New France savages, the most tractable, docile, and the most attached to the interests of France of any but the Abenaguais. By this time, the sieur Jachereau, a Canadian gentleman, had begun a settlement at the entry of the river Ouabache, the most convenient of any for the French in North America; because it discharges itself into the Mississippi, and forms the safest, as well as shortest, communication between Canada and Louisiana. Here a good number of the Mascoutin savages were settled; and one of the Jesuit missionaries of the Illinois repaired thither to convert them. His success, however, was very indifferent: he found them entirely under the influence of their jugglers, and devoted to the worship of their manitous. A manitou, be it understood, is any object, either animate or inanimate, from a mountain and a bull to a mouse, and a bit of red cloth, that these whimsical savages worship as tutelary deities.

A severe epidemical distemper, which swept off great numbers of the savages in the settlement, was of no service to the Jesuit, further than by giving

him an opportunity of besprinkling the dying wretches with water, which the Jesuits called converting and baptizing. The survivors redoubled their devotions to the manitous; but they came at last to be of opinion, that the manitous of the Christians were more powerful than their own; and one of their chiefs, making choice of the Jesuit missionary himself for his manitou, went to the Christian quarter, and implored the forgiveness of his sins. The Jesuit promised to do all he could for him and his countrymen; but all was in vain, for the disease continued to spread, till it swept off half the settlement; and Jachereau was obliged to give over all further thoughts of his project.

(A.D. 1700.) The public of France were still in expectation that Louisiana contained mines; and this was owing to some discoveries, lately said to have been made by La Sale and Tonti. The French, before that notion prevailed, were as indifferent about the country of Louisiana as the Spaniards had been, who neglected it, because they thought it contained no mines; so ignorant were both those people of the true principles of national prosperity. In April 1700, when Iberville returned to France, all the buildings the French had in Louisiana consisted of a few straggling houses, belonging to some French Canadians, who had been settled amongst the Illinois; the fort at the mouth of the Mississippi; and another, which was their head-quarters, on the bay of Biloxi, where De Sauvole commanded. Iberville had left the care of the fort, at the mouth of the Mississippi, to his brother Bienville, Jachereau, and the sieur De St. Denys, his wife's uncle, who was a man of enterprise, understood many of the savage idioms, and seemed to inherit all the spirit of La Sale. About this time, one Le Sueur, another relation of Iberville, discovered, in the country of the Sieux, a copper-mine, which, by Iberville's orders, he went to take possession of; but, though it was only the end of September when he set out, he found the weather so severe, that he was obliged to winter in a fort, which he built upon the banks of a river that falls into that of St. Peter. Their provisions falling short, they were obliged to hunt buffaloes; and, after they were killed, for want of salt, they hung up pieces of their flesh in the air, where it was soon tainted. This food was at first so unwholesome that it threw them into fluxes and fevers; but, by degrees, in six weeks, they were so well reconciled to it, that their appetites returned, and increased even to voracity; so that there was not a sick person amongst them, and all of them grew fat and fleshy. They remained here till the beginning of April, during a most severe winter; and arriving at the mine, worked it to such purpose, that in 22 days, they dug from it above 30,000lbs. weight of real copper, of which they sent about 4000lbs. weight to France. This mine lay at the opening of a mountain, ten leagues long, on the side of a river, where not a tree grows, and which is continually exposed to tempests, and thunder-showers. Notwithstanding those promising appearances, Le Sueur was soon obliged to give over his undertaking. Next year, Iberville returned, for a third time, to Louisiana, and begun a settlement upon the Mobile, of which Bienville was commandant; and he abandoned the post at Biloxi, carrying to the new settlement all its inhabitants.

In this languishing state were the affairs of Louisiana, during the remainder of the year 1702. In vain did Iberville go back to France this year, for the fourth time. The people, being as yet in no

expectation of mines equal to those of Peru and Mexico, looked coldly upon his project; but he acquired some patrons at court, whom he convinced of its utility; so that, upon his return to America, he was enabled to build magazines on the isle of Dauphin, as being far more convenient than the fort at Mobile was for landing goods from France. A fort was built there with additional storehouses; and, at last, it became the head-quarters of the colony. All this while, no trade was carried on for the profit, no lands were cleared for the subsistence of the inhabitants, who enjoyed only the small spot on which they dwelt. They subsisted upon precarious supplies from France; but the Apalache savages, fortunately for them, preferred their neighbourhood to that of the Spaniards, and cultivated some lands upon the Mobile, which contributed greatly to their subsistence. No care, however, was taken to associate them with the colony, or to convert them to Christianity. Matters still continued in this languid state, owing undoubtedly to the distresses of France in Europe, till the year 1708, when M. Diron D'Artaguet arrived in quality of regulating commissary. His first care was the cultivation of the lands upon the Mobile, which rescued the settlers from the necessity of associating themselves with the savages in their hunting, when any accident retarded their supplies from France. The cares of this magistrate did not succeed. The lands upon the Mobile were unfavourable for grain; and the little which they produced was apt to be damaged by storms, which rendered it musty. To compensate for this inconvenience, the settlers applied themselves to the cultivation of tobacco, which, upon the Mobile, was found to be superior to that of Virginia.

However inconsiderable this colony was, the rest of Europe, at this time, conceived the highest ideas of it; and perceiving it to be supported by the French, amidst all their distresses in Europe, many believed that the profits of it enabled them to carry on the war; so that an English privateer invaded the isle of Dauphin, and, as D'Artaguet pretended, committed great cruelties upon the inhabitants, to oblige them to discover where they had concealed their riches. The damage they sustained on this occasion, amounted to above 4000 franks. D'Artaguet, whose chief business in Louisiana was to inform himself of the nature of the country, and the situation of the settlement, upon his return to France, gave the court great lights as to both; and notwithstanding the distresses of the kingdom, a resolution was taken to improve the settlement of Louisiana into a colony; a measure that, in other countries, has always required the most prosperous state to effect. A proud court, through all its poverty, preserves its forms and titles. De Muys, the Canadian officer, was named governor of Louisiana; and, upon his death, the title devolved to La Motte Cadillac. The sieur Crozat, by this time, had obtained his most Christian majesty's letters patent, for the exclusive privilege of the commerce of Louisiana for sixteen years, and the perpetual property, for him and his heirs, of all its mines and minerals; on condition of his sending, by every ship of his that arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi, six girls or boys for planting the colony. At the same time, to give it the greater credit with the public, the sieur Duclos was appointed regulating commissary; and the governor and he were placed at the head of a superior council, whose powers were to last for three years, and who were to be judges in all affairs civil and criminal. La Motte Cadillac had been recommended by Crozat

for governor on account of his being so well acquainted with the Indians, the Illinois in particular, from whom great things were expected for the interest of the colony, particularly in the discovery of mines, which, after the most sanguine expectations had been raised, not only in America, but all over Europe, came to nothing. The other great object which Crozat, who associated Cadillac in his patent, had in view, was a trade with New Mexico. It is true, that by this time, Spanish America was in the hands of the house of Bourbon; but the Spaniards understood their own interest too well to forego its great palladium, by suffering any foreign nation to interfere in their commerce. When Cadillac came to the isle of Dauphin, he sent a ship commanded by Jonquaire to trade at Vera Cruz, where the governor furnished him with some provisions, but, without suffering him to sell his cargo, obliged him instantly to depart. Crozat was as unsuccessful afterwards in attempting to carry on a trade by land.

The sieur St. Denys was employed in this commerce, and furnished with 10,000 franks worth of merchandise, in order to deal with the Natchitoches, a people who lived upon the Red River. By means of Penicaut, a ship-carpenter, who understood their language, and had accompanied Le Sueur to the copper-mines, some of them had been prevailed upon to settle amongst the Colapissas, a race of savages in the neighbourhood of the Mobile. It was natural for St. Denys, when going to the country of the Natchitoches, to carry along with him those who had been settled amongst the Colapissas; and they were so very fond of attending him to their mother-country, that they set out on their march without taking leave of their hospitable landlords, the Colapissas. The latter were so affronted at this neglect, that they ran to arms, pursued their guests, killed seventeen of them and brought back prisoners a number of their women. Those who escaped joined St. Denys at Biloxi; and in passing by the village of the Tonicas, he engaged the head man of it, with fifteen of his best hunters, to attend him upon his journey. Arriving at the township of the Natchitoches, which lies in an isle of the Red River, about 40 miles above the place where it discharges itself into the Mississippi, he built some houses for the French he intended to leave there; and, prevailing with some savages to associate themselves with the Natchitoches, he gave them all kinds of utensils proper for agriculture, and seed-corn to sow. He then left the Red River, which was navigable no higher, attended with twelve French and some savages, and, travelling west, arrived at the country of the Ceniz; but he could find none of them who had the least idea of a European, excepting the Spaniards, whose manner and appearance are the same with their own. They furnished guides to St. Denys, who travelled to the south-west 50 leagues before he reached the first Spanish settlement, which was a fort situated on a large river, called the North Garrison. He and his attendants were very courteously received by Don Pedro De Vilescas, who accommodated them all with lodgings; and, in a few days, St. Denys opened the purport of his journey, which was to establish a trade between the Spaniards and Louisiana, assuring Don Pedro, that the terms should be of his own making. Don Pedro directly dispatched an express to his superior, the governor of Caouis, which lay at the distance of 60 leagues. This governor sent 25 horsemen, who, next year, conducted St. Denys, and his surgeon Jalot, first to Caouis, from whence

he wrote to the attendants he had left at the North Garrison, ordering them to return to Natchitoches. St. Denys then travelled 150 miles before he reached Mexico, where, without any examination, he was instantly committed to prison by the viceroy, where he lay for three months, when he was released at the intercession of some officers, who knew his family and connexions with the governor of Louisiana. Upon his deliverance, the viceroy of Mexico conceived so high an opinion of his abilities, that he did all he could to engage him in the service of Spain; but, though poor, he was proof against all his tempting offers. According to St. Denys's own report, the viceroy made him first a present of 300 dollars, and offered to second him in his courtship of Donna Maria, daughter to Don Pedro De Vilescas, with whom he was in love; but finding him immovable, even by this temptation, his excellency made him a second present of 1000 piastres, to defray, as he said, the expenses of his nuptials; but told him he had nothing to hope for with regard to the trade proposed between Louisiana and Mexico. Next day, the viceroy gave him a fine horse, and appointed him a convoy to Caouis, which he reached. Here he found Don Pedro in great perplexity about four townships of savages, who supplied his garrison with necessities, but were ready to depart from it, on account of the insults they had suffered from the Spaniards. St. Denys undertook to bring them back, though they were already upon their journey, and acted with so much address, that he returned with them to their ancient habitations.

This important service immediately made St. Denys the husband of his mistress, and after six months' cohabitation, he set out along with the uncle of his wife, whom he left with child, on his return to the Mobile. Cadillac, by this time, had dispatched the sieur De La Loire with some merchandise to make a settlement amongst the Natches. Here he found some English traders from Carolina, who, according to Charlevoix, had not only spirited up a war amongst the savages, but had entered into practices against the interest of the French. La Loire therefore arrested the English officer, who remained alone amongst the Natches, and sent him prisoner to the Mobile, where Bienville, who commanded in the absence of Cadillac, treated him for three days with great civility, and then set him at liberty. The officer, on his return, took Pensacola in his way, where he likewise met with a favourable reception from the governor; but travelling afterwards towards Carolina, by the Alabamons, he fell in with a hunting party of the Tomez, who murdered him; so inveterate had the French practices, at that time, rendered all the savages towards the English. The latter had a storehouse in a village of the Choctaws, which those barbarians plundered, after having murdered the people. This cruelty was a kind of watchword for the Alibamons, and the neighbouring savages, to confederate against the English, and they made an irruption into Carolina, from whence they carried off a great number of prisoners. France at this time was at peace with Great Britain, and her governors, therefore, durst not avow the infamous practices made use of to excite those violences. The prisoners were carried to the Mobile, where, under the stale pretext of redeeming them, the French commandant gave them an intimation of what they were to expect, if they should continue to trade with the natives; and after this caution they were dismissed. Cadillac was at this time amongst the Illinois, and upon his return to the Mobile, it was



given out, that he had discovered a silver mine in that country; a report which had a most wonderful effect all over Europe, and was undoubtedly encouraged for the purposes that were hatching in the French councils. Upon his return to the Mobile, he was waited upon by a savage deputy of great credit and authority on the part of several Indian nations round, particularly of the Alibamons, who, till that time, had always been declared enemies of the French, but now offered, at their own expense, to build in their village a fort for their service. This offer was accepted of, the fort was built, and a garrison placed in it under the command of M. De La Tour.

La Loire was all this while continuing his negotiations with the Natches, but soon discovered amongst them symptoms extremely unfavourable to the French interest. Four Frenchmen had been murdered, while they were travelling in their country, and La Loire with his brother were threatened with the same fate. The elder La Loire had set out for the country of the Illinois, attended by some of those savages, one of whom put him upon his guard. From the romantic manner in which the French have related this conspiracy of the Natches, the truth of it appears doubtful. They tell us, that the elder La Loire, being thus cautioned, examined the savages, who were with him, separately, and that all of them confessed that they had an intention to murder him at a certain place. Upon this information, La Loire, who suspected that the conspiracy was general amongst all the Natches, returned to advertise his brother of his danger. The difficulty was how to get access to him, but this Penicaut undertook to remove. When the company reached the landing-place of the Natches, Penicaut went ashore, but told La Loire, that, if he did not see him by midnight, he might conclude him dead, and that he must pursue his voyage. Penicaut then, armed only with his fusil, made the best of his way towards young Loire's habitation; and the latter, being advertised by some Natches of his approach, came out to meet him, and asked him news of his brother. Penicaut pretended that he was fallen ill; but afterwards desired him to send for the chief Natche, to whom he told, that six out of the eight Natches who had attended him, and La Loire, being sick, they had been obliged to put back to the landing-place, and he begged that, early next morning, the chief would send 30 of his savages to unload the grand canoe, and carry the merchandise to the storehouse; a request which the chief accordingly promised should be complied with; expressing, at the same time, the great apprehensions he had been under, lest the elder La Loire should have fallen into the hands of the Yasous, a perfidious people, who were enemies to the French. Penicaut, without making any answer, expressed his satisfaction with the chief's behaviour; but, on his departure, let La Loire into the real secret of his journey, and showed him that he had not a single moment to lose in making his escape. Three of the natives slept in his room, but the exigency being pressing, they opened the door while the savages were asleep, and made the best of their way to the landing-place, where they met with the elder La Loire, and, having made handsome presents to the eight Natches, they discharged them, and proceeded on their voyage.

The first place they stopt at was a township belonging to the Tonicas, where they found three Natches. These had been dispatched by their grand

chief, who, finding himself outwitted, had sent them to persuade the chief of the Tonicas to murder all the French who should fall into his hands. This chief, who was a friend to the French, was so much offended by the inhumanity of this proposal, that he would have put the messengers to death, had he not been dissuaded from it by a messenger residing in his village. Upon the arrival of the two La Loires at Mobile, and relating their story to Cadillac, the latter immediately raised a party of 100 men, who set out to chastise the Natches. In their voyage, perceiving a pocket hanging on a tree, they searched, and found in it a letter from the Tonica missionary, informing them of a French trader who had been robbed and murdered by the Natches. This letter cured Bienville, who commanded the party, of some doubts as to the reality of La Loire's danger. But not conceiving himself strong enough to proceed against the Natches, he stopt in the bay of the Tonicas, where he built a fort, and dispatched from thence an officer with twenty men to the grand chief of the Natches, desiring an interview with him at the fort. The officer returned, and said that the chief was following him; but this report proved not to be true, for, without leaving his village, he only sent some of his subaltern chiefs, with about 25 men. Bienville received them with great state; but, upon their entering the fort, he demanded satisfaction for the death of five Frenchmen, who had been murdered by their nation, and that their murderers should be delivered up. The savages pleaded that their grand chief alone could give him the satisfaction he required; and some of them offered to wait upon him for that purpose, while the rest of them were to remain prisoners in the fort, till the chief's answer should arrive. This proposal was accepted, and, in a short time, messengers returned with the head of a man, whom the grand chief had put to death, but who was innocent of the murders. Bienville expressed some resentment at this attempt to impose upon him, and demanded that the real murderer should be produced, and particularly a chief, whom he named. The messengers replied, that the said chief was the nephew of the Sun, the bravest of all their countrymen, who would rather see their village destroyed than give him up. They added, that the four murderers were amongst the prisoners, whom they had left behind in the fort, and that they might inflict upon them what punishment he should think proper. Bienville immediately ordered them to appear, and, though they denied the fact, the brains of all of them were beaten out with clubs upon the spot. Amongst them was a chief so obnoxious for his cruelties, that his death had been long wished for by the neighbouring nations.

After this catastrophe, the French, at the Tonica fort, reflecting that it was in the power of the Natches to interrupt all communication by water between the Mobile and the Illinois country, resolved to avail themselves of the panic struck into the Natches by the late executions, and proposed to them the following terms of peace. That they should build, at their own expense, upon a certain spot to be pointed out to them in their largest township, a fort and storehouses, with proper accommodations for a French garrison and a commissary; that they should restore all the effects they had taken from the French, and indemnify them for all the other losses they had suffered in their country; and that the nephew of their grand chief, of whom the French complained, should not stir out of the village on pain of having

his brains beat out. The deputies approved of those articles which were read to them, and De Pailloux, a French officer, was dispatched with twenty men to get them ratified by the grand chief of the Natches. He entered their village with drums beating and colours flying, and was received with great cordiality by all the inhabitants, who were friends to the French. Being introduced to the cabin of the Sun, where the grand Natche resided, the latter approved of the terms, and said that he only waited for M. De Bienville's orders to set about the construction of the fort. Bienville being apprised of this undertaking, immediately set out from the Tonica village, at the head of 50 men, and was received by the Sun, or grand chief of the Natches, with great ceremony. The spot on which the fort was to be erected was immediately marked out, and De Pailloux was appointed to superintend the building. It was completely finished in six weeks, and Bienville, who had returned to the Tonica village, set out from thence, and took possession of it under the name of Fort Rosalie. The Natches appearing to be quite reconciled to the French, Bienville passed all the year 1714 at this fort; and, upon his return to the Mobile, he left De Pailloux to command it, and one Du Tisé for his lieutenant.

La Motte Cadillac concluded, from the answer sent him by St. Denys from the viceroy of New Spain, that it was in vain to hope to open a trade between Mexico and Louisiana; but, to prevent any interruption from the Spaniards, he charged Du Tisé to build a fort in the isle of the Natchitoches. Scarcely was it finished, when Du Tisé was informed that the Spaniards had made a settlement among the Assinais or Cenis, which they were endeavouring to extend to the Mississippi; and this intelligence determined Cadillac to reinforce the garrison of the Natchitoches fort: but all the precautions of this governor were in vain, as the whole establishment of the colony was founded upon wrong principles, which were equally prejudicial to the patentee as to the province. In the year 1712, no more than 24 French families were settled in Louisiana; one half of whom were traders or workmen, who did not attempt the clearing or cultivating the lands. All the commerce of the province was then carried on about the Mobile, and the isle of Dauphin, and consisted only in timber, or what is called lumber and peltries. The Canadian rangers trafficked with the savages, by exchanging French commodities for their furs and slaves, by whom we are to understand their prisoners made in war, both which they sold to the French inhabitants of Louisiana. The latter disposed of the peltries, either to French ships, or to the Spaniards of Pensacola, but employed the slaves in clearing their lands or in saving deals, which they sent sometimes to Pensacola, but oftener to the French islands; from whence they returned with sugars, tobacco, cacao, and French commodities. They likewise carried to Pensacola, where the Spaniards were too idle and too lazy to cultivate the grounds, or to practise the habits of industry, pulse of all kinds, maize, wild fowl, and other fruits of their own labour, all which were paid for in ready money, which enabled the Louisianians to live comfortably, though not in affluence. They were not insensible that their country was proper for producing tobacco, indigo, and silk; but they had not hands for rearing them, and not a person of the colony knew in what manner they were to be cultivated.

It is word, Crozat managed matters so impru-

dently, that Louisiana produced nothing to him but care and vexation. He made complaints and remonstrances to the French ministry, and these being neglected, he fairly surrendered his patent to his most Christian majesty. This surrender gave birth to the famous Mississippi scheme, projected by Mr. Law, a native of North Britain, the history of which does not fall within the plan of this work. The river Mississippi was now the boundary of the English territories on that side of America; and the other French settlements were given up to the Spaniards, by an express convention betwixt the courts of Versailles and Madrid.

Although it is anticipating our history, it may be as well to mention here, that the portion of this region, left by the treaty of 1763 to Spain, was again restored by treaty to France in 1800, and was purchased by the United States, for 15,000,000 dollars, in 1803. Florida was obtained by the United States in 1821.

Of the various tribes of Indians once inhabiting this extensive region, but few now remain. The Natches were once the most powerful of these savage races; but are now nearly exterminated. In the year 1720, they were situated upon the little river which bears their name; and their chief village, which was the residence of their grand "Sun," lay upon the river, within a mile of the demolished fort of Rosalie. Amongst the Natches lived a foreign nation, called the Grigras, so named by the French, from their frequent repetition of the letter R, and likewise the remains of the Thieux, once a powerful people, but almost exterminated by the Chicacaws, with whom they were perpetually at war. According to tradition the Natches were formerly by far the most powerful people in all North America, acknowledged by all the other nations of it, as their superiors and directors. They occupied all the territory from Manchac, within 50 leagues of the sea, to the river Ouabache, an immense tract of country, part of that river lying about 460 leagues from the sea; they had no fewer than 500 Suns, or princes, each of whom was despotic. A grand Sun never died but he was attended to his tomb by great numbers of his subjects, who were murdered, and the same funeral rites were paid upon the decease, even of a common Sun, or the son of the great Sun. Such was the infatuation of the people, that they sought death on those occasions, as the sure means of eternal happiness. This barbarous fanaticism, had there been no other cause, was sufficient to have thinned the most populous nation; but the calamity was increased by war. Their chiefs being independent, often quarrelled, and their power was so absolute, that a word or a sign was sufficient to doom any number of their subjects to death, which was instantly inflicted by their *allouez*, or guards. But the most extraordinary circumstance of this remarkable people, was, that fundamentally their government was female.

The grand chief of the Natches, says Du Pratz, bears the name of Sun, and, as among the Hurons, the son of his nearest female relation always succeeds him. This person has the quality of woman-chief, and great honours are paid her, though she seldom meddles in affairs of government. She has, as well as the chief himself, the power of life and death, and it is a usual thing for them to order their guards, whom they call *allouez*, to dispatch any one who has the misfortune to be obnoxious to either. Go rid me of this dog, say they; and they are instantly obeyed. Their subjects and even their chiefs

of their villages, never come into their presence without saluting them thrice, and raising a cry, or rather a sort of howling. They do the same thing when they withdraw, and always retire going backwards. When they meet them they stop, and howl till they are past. They are likewise obliged to carry them the best of their harvest, and what they acquire by their hunting and fishing. In fine, not even their nearest relations, and those who compose their nobility, when they have the honour to eat with them, have a right to drink out of the same cup, or put their hands into the same dish.

Every morning, at sun-rise, the grand chief stands at the door of his cabin, turns his face towards the east, and howls thrice, prostrating himself to the ground at the same time. A calumet is afterwards brought him, which is never used but upon this occasion; he smokes, and blows the tobacco first towards the sun, and then towards the other three quarters of the world. He acknowledges no master but the sun, from whom he pretends he derives his origin. He exercises an absolute power over his subjects, whose lives and goods are entirely at his disposal, and they can demand no payment for any labour he requires of them.

When the grand chief, or the woman-chief, dies, all the allouez are obliged to follow them to the other world, nor are they the only persons who have this honour which is greatly coveted. The death of a chief has been sometimes known to cost the lives of above 100 persons, and there are few Natches of any note, who die without being attended to the country of souls, by some of their relations, friends, or servants.

Garcilasso de la Vega, the Spanish historian, mentions the Natches as being in his time (though then they were greatly reduced) a very powerful nation. In the beginning of the last century they could have brought 5000 or 6000 warriors into the field; but before their destruction by the French, they, the Grisgras and the Thieux, we are told by Du Pratz, could not muster above 1200. Notwithstanding the barbarous, stupid attachment of those people to their chiefs, it is certain that many of their Suns were endowed with principles of moderation and humanity. Some of these withdrew from their community, and are now to be found dispersed through different parts of America; but are easily known to be the offspring of Natches, by their preserving the eternal fire, and other customs peculiar to their nation.

We can only enumerate a few of the names of the other tribes.

To the north of the Natches, on the east of the Mississippi, existed the river and country of the Yasous. Adjacent to them were the Corons, Chactchi-Oumas, Oufe-Oumas, and the Tapoussas; all of them inconsiderable tribes, who after the extermination of the Natches, united themselves under the Chicachas. Northwards of the river Ouahacke, were the Illinois, on the banks of the river which carries their name. They were distinguished into the Tamaroas, the Caskaquias, the Caouquias, the Pimiteoas, and several other tribes. Near the Tamaroa village was a settlement of French Canadians, and one of the most considerable amongst all the savage nations. In general the Illinois were always attached to the French, who protected them against the Sioux, the Iroquois, and their other enemies; and, though far from being destitute of courage, they were very peaceably disposed. To the north of the Illinois were the Renards, whom the French

were at war with for 40 years. Between the Renards and the fall of St. Anthony, there was a space of almost 300 miles, uninhabited by any nation; but beyond that were the Sioux, a people very little known in Europe; but who were dispersed amongst a vast number of villages both towards the east and the west of Mississippi.

The inhabitants on the west of that river remained a long time unsubdued, and unconnected, apparently, with any other people. The first were the Tchaouachas and the Ouachas, different tribes of the same nation. The Tchitimachas were of the Natches nation, and formerly a considerable people, inhabiting the borders of the lakes towards the north of the Tchaouachas. They are described as extremely pacific, and so contented with their own condition, that rather than have their tranquillity broken, they abandoned all the advantages they could have expected from the protection of the French. One of them happened to kill a French missionary, for which the French made war upon them; but at last, upon the Tchitimachas sending to them the head of the murderer, they obtained peace. On the sea-side, towards the west, were the Atac-Asas, or the Man-eaters, so called from their being said to be cannibals.

The Bayoue-Ogouas inhabited a country which bore their name, and were a mixed people. The Oqué Loussas were only known to the French, even by name, and were so termed from their living on the borders of two lakes, the waters of which are black, through the great number of leaves that lodge in them. Between the Oqué Loussas and the Red river, no people were to be found; but above the fall of that river, there was a small nation called the Avoysels, remarkable for selling to the French, who were settled in Louisiana, horses, bullocks, and cows. Those cattle were purchased from the Spaniards of New Mexico, and they multiplied prodigiously in the hands of the French Louisianians. About 50 leagues up the Red river lived the Natchicoches, who were always averse to the Spaniards, but friendly to the French. They consisted of about 200 families, dispersed up and down the river. About 100 leagues above the mouth of the Red river was the once great nation of the Cadouaquioux, which branched out into a vast number of tribes. This nation, as well as the Natchicoches, had a particular language, or dialect of their own; and yet, in all their villages, people were found, who spoke the Chicacha language, which they call their common tongue. Upon the Black river were the Ouachitas, who are now but few in number, having been mostly destroyed by the Chicachas. The Arkansas inhabit the borders of a river that bears their name. They are a very brave people, and excellent hunters. The Chicachas had often tried their valour, but were always worsted, especially after the Kappas, part of the Illinois, and the Mitchigamias joined them. They are all now blended into one nation; a kind of coalition which often happens among the American savages. If a weak people should be at war with another, and double their force, the former needs but to take refuge under a third, with whom the more powerful nation is at peace, and if they adopt them, they are safe. Near the Osage river there is still a considerable nation called the Osages, said to have been formerly numerous. The Missouri give name to the great river so called; and the French once had a post amongst them, which was commanded by the Chevalier de Bourmont. This gentleman, after having

restored a good understanding amongst all the neighbouring savages, who before were perpetually destroying one another, happened to leave the garrison; and soon after it was destroyed by the natives so completely, that not a Frenchman was left alive to give the least account of the catastrophe. It is surmised that the Spaniards had projected this massacre, in order to settle themselves among the Missouris. Their real design was to exterminate the Missouris likewise; but, finding this impracticable, they gained over, by the force of presents, the Osages, whom they endeavoured to employ in the destruction of the Missouris. With this view, they formed at Santa Fé a kind of caravan, or rather an ark, consisting of men, women, and soldiers. Their purser was a Jacobin, and their commander-in-chief an engineer; but his colony was furnished with cattle, and beasts of carriage of all kinds. Unfortunately for them, they knew so little of the place of their destination, that, instead of the country of the Osages, they landed in that of the Missouris, and their interpreter, not doubting their being amongst the Osages, told them they came to make an alliance with them, in order to exterminate the Missouris. The grand chief of the Missouris, to whom this discourse was addressed, far from undeceiving the Spaniards, seemed to welcome them, and to promise himself and his nation vast benefits from their hopeful intention. He dissembled so well, that he persuaded his guests to remain with him for some days, till he could assemble his warriors, and consult with his elders. The Spaniards fixed a day for their departure to take possession of their new conquest; but, the night before, the Missouris cut the throats of them all, excepting the Jacobin, whom they perceived to be a man of prayer, and no warrior. Him they kept for some months prisoner, and diverted themselves by making him in fair weather ride on horseback; but in this amusement they outwitted themselves, for the Jacobin one day mounted his horse, and got clear off. After his flight, the Missouris carried the ornaments of the Jacobin's chapel, which he had brought along with him, to sell in the French Illinois, and each as they entered that country, was fantastically adorned with some piece of plate or vestment belonging to the altar; but all of them arrived in solemn procession, singing the calumet, and performing the dance of peace. Boisi-briand was then commandant of the Illinois post, and, hearing of the procession, he was at first much scandalized, as fearing, that the savages had slaughtered and robbed some French settlement; but, understanding how matters went, he was greatly pleased, and gave the savages merchandise for the furniture of the chapel, which he sent to Bienville, the then French governor of Louisiana.

The most considerable nations inhabiting the banks of the Missouri river, besides the Missouris themselves, are the Canchez, the Outhouez, and the Osages, the White and the Black Panis, the Panimahas, the Aiaouis, and the Padoucas, which last are the most numerous of them, the others being but inconsiderable. To the north of all these, lie the Sioux, who are wandering savages, inhabiting both sides of the Mississippi.

There is great reason to believe that all the nations of Louisiana were originally the same people, and that they extended to Florida likewise. Besides the Natches, the Pachca Ogoulas, preserved the sacred fire, and their languages are, for the most part, radically the same, though disguised by different articulations. Nevertheless, their intercourse

in some places with the Europeans, their mixture with the savages of Canada, Sioux, New Spain, and the Apalaches, have introduced into Louisiana a vast confluence of different people and tribes; some of whom are very inconsiderable, diminishing even to single families, so that every separate nation has some rite, custom, or character, peculiar to itself. To specify all these particulars, is not the province of general history.

These Indians are, for the most part, very well made; their height is seldom under five feet six inches; but they often are much taller. The men are much handsomer than the women, who are of a smaller size, but none of either sex degenerating into dwarfs. Du Pratz says, that the French Creoles of Louisiana, by which is meant children born in a distant country, but of parents of the same nation, are remarkably large, well made, and vigorous, and that those qualities amongst the native Louisianians in general are chiefly owing to the manner in which the females treat their children in their infancy. As soon as a female savage is brought to bed, she goes to the water-side, where she washes herself and her child; then she returns home, and lays the infant all along in a cradle of a very curious construction, made of canes, so light that it does not weigh above two pounds. She places this cradle upon her bed, but without rocking it from side to side, and the child is swaddled up so as to leave the motion of its lungs and belly always free; but its head is bound to a little pillow, stuffed with hair, but not raised above the rest of its bed, a circumstance which renders all these natives flat-headed. When born, they are white. Their skin, when they are very young, is rubbed over with oil, and other materials, which give them a copper colour, their hide being in a manner enamelled with them by the heat of the sun. This unction renders their joints more supple and flexible, and prevents the flies from tormenting them. The boys about twelve years of age are taught to shoot with a bow, at a mark, and rewarded according to their proficiency. The paternal authority is greatly venerated amongst them. The oldest of every family is, by all his descendants, who are sometimes very numerous, termed their father, and his word is their law. Unless they are cut off in war, or by colds, or the small-pox, these savages live to a great age, insomuch that they often are unable to stir, merely through natural decay.

The fathers educate the boys, as the mothers train up the girls; but the latter toil the most. The men are chiefly occupied in hunting or fishing, in cutting wood, or preparing land; and those exercises being over, they divert themselves with others less laborious; but the women, besides the care of their young infants, have all the maize to prepare for the family, fire-wood to provide, and a vast number of utensils to make, such as earthenware, mats, and many other particulars. Children of both sexes, when about ten or twelve years of age, are accustomed to carry burthens, which are gradually increased as they grow up, so that they are sometimes capable of bearing a great weight. The savages of Louisiana, however, are very cautious of overstraining the strength of their children, and they seldom suffer them to marry before they are 25 years of age. The care and wisdom with which, in other respects, parents train up their youth, is very surprising, and the judgment with which they moderate their exercises, such as running, leaping, swimming, and shooting, lest they should hurt their tender constitutions, so as to render them less active

and vigorous in their manhood. On the other hand, they are equally careful to keep them in exercise, as the want of it may be prejudicial to their health. From their tenderest years they bathe every morning, winter as well as summer, and both sexes learn to swim even from their infancy, under the inspection of their elders and mothers.

As they have no knowledge of letters, they take great care to preserve and communicate their traditions pure and unmixed. Most part of the Natches, though they had a peculiar dialect of their own, spoke the general tongue. According to Du Pratz, their nobility had one language, and their common people another; and the manner in which the men speak, is full, sonorous, and grave.

All the Indian nations of Louisiana have an idea of a supreme Being, whom they call the Grand Spirit, by way of excellence, and whose perfections are as much superior to all other beings, as the fire of the sun is to elementary fire. The Natches believed in an omnipotent God, the Maker of all things, either visible or invisible, and that he was so good, that he could do no evil to any one, even if he were so inclined. That though he created all things by his will, yet he had under him spirits of an inferior order, who, by his power, formed the beauties of the universe; but, that man was the work of the Creator's own hands. Those spirits are termed free servants or agents; but at the same time they are submissive as slaves. They are constantly in the presence of God, and prompt to execute his will. The air, according to them, is full of other spirits of more mischievous dispositions, and these have a chief, who was so malignant, that God Almighty was obliged to confine him, and, ever since, those aerial spirits do not commit so much mischief as they did before, especially if they are entreated to be favourable. For this reason the Indians always invoke them when they want either rain or fair weather. Their fasts are very long, and the grand Sun himself has been known, for nine days successively, to abstain from women, and from all kind of food, excepting a little maize and water. They believe that God first formed a little man of clay, and breathed upon his work, and that he then walked about, grew up, and became a perfect man; but the "ancient word" is silent as to the formation of the woman. We cannot enter into a more minute detail of their religious opinions; concerning which the reader may consult Du Pratz' history of Louisiana.

The grand Sun's power was despotism itself.

Though he was the uncontrolled master of the lives and properties of his subjects, yet he was free from the evils attending arbitrary government in other countries, being under no apprehensions of treason against his person, or insurrections against his state. On his pronouncing sentence of death, the criminal, though he could make his escape, never attempted it, but quietly submits to his fate. There were political as well as religious feasts: the last in honour of the great spirit, to thank him for his benefits, and the first for the convenience of the sovereign, who on those occasions gathered in his revenues; for he was so completely absolute as to have no stated income; therefore every one contributed to it, as their inclination or abilities permitted, and no further questions were asked. Their year consisted of thirteen moons, and at the end of every moon a feast was made, which took the name from the chief fruits of the ground, which the preceding moon afforded, or the game that was then in season. The first feast of the year, which was that of the kids, was very grand. On this occasion they performed a kind of drama, founded on one of the chief events of their history. The most solemn, however, of all their feasts was the seventh, which is termed that of the maize or corn.

The ceremonies of these savages in some points, is the reverse of that of the Europeans, all priority and preference being given to the men, and the women being considered as only household drudges. The females, however, in the more early parts of their lives, are not without their privileges. As soon as the two sexes are judged by their parents to be of proper years, the men and women mix together, without the ceremony of marriage; but after they are married all amours are dropt on both sides. Though the husbands have a power of divorce, yet examples of that kind are very seldom known amongst the Natches, and never but when the woman is of an intolerable disposition. The women, owing to their vile practice, never have children before marriages, and the bridegroom values himself upon the wealth his bride has acquired in the course of her amours; for it seems the females there are far from being void of mercenary views, and take care always to make a previous bargain with their lovers.

[We shall henceforward give a collective account of the various States, having, in pursuance of our plan, now brought their separate histories down to the commencement of "The War of the Independence."]

## THE WAR OF THE INDEPENDENCE.

*Taxation of the colonies—Stamp act proposed—Conduct of the colonies—Stamp act passed—Congress at New York—Stamp act repealed—Colonies taxed by duties—Associate to resist oppression.*

WHEN the dominion of France, in America, was relinquished, it occasioned universal joy throughout the colonies. They forgot their sufferings and distress in the fair prospect which peace afforded. But these prospects were of short duration. The peace of Paris formed a new era in the views and conduct of Great Britain, towards her colonies in America. In the previous contest, England had added extensive territories to her empire; but she had also added 320 millions to the amount of her debt. To find the means of defraying the annual charges of this debt, and her other increased expenditures, was the first and most difficult task of her legislature. Among other expedients, the British ministry conceived the idea of taxing the American colonies.

The origin of the dispute concerning taxation may be traced to the commencement of the war with France. At that important crisis, when the congress at Albany was convoked to concert measures for common safety, the British ministry proposed, as has been stated, that the governors of the colonies, with their council, should assemble, and concert measures for general defence; and draw on the treasury of Great Britain for the sums that should be wanted: but that the treasury should be reimbursed by a tax on the colonies, to be laid by the British parliament. The provincial assemblies rejected their plan, and the question was smothered amidst the tumults of war. But peace was no sooner concluded, than it was revived. The British parliament resumed the scheme of taxing the colonies, and justified the measure, by declaring the money to be thus raised, should be appropriated to defray the expenses incurred in their defence.

Hitherto, when money was wanted from the colonies, the parliament of England had been content to ask for it by a formal requisition upon the colonial legislatures; and they had supplied it with a willing hand. But now it was thought that a shorter method of obtaining it might be resorted to with better effect; and in 1764, Mr. Grenville, in the British parliament, proposed a measure, the avowed object of which was to raise a revenue in America, the entire produce of which was to go into the exchequer of Great Britain. Early in this year, the minister proposed several resolutions, as a sort of prelude to this grand scheme; laying additional duties upon imports into the colonies from foreign countries; on clayed sugar, indigo, coffee, &c.

These resolutions were passed by parliament, without much debate or notice; and though they awakened some fears among the reflecting politicians of America, they were quietly acquiesced in, as a commercial regulation of Great Britain.

Among the resolutions reported by Mr. Grenville, was one imposing "certain stamp duties on the

colonies:" but he declared to the house, his desire that it should not be acted upon until the next session of parliament. It was foreseen that the law would be disregarded, if extraordinary measures were not adopted to enforce it; and provision made that penalties for violating it, and all other revenue laws, might be recovered in the admiralty courts. The judges of these courts were dependent solely on the king, and decided the causes brought before them without the intervention of a jury.

The colonial agents in London sent copies of the resolutions to their respective colonies. As soon as the intelligence of these proceedings reached America, they were considered as the commencement of a system of oppression, which if not vigorously resisted, would eventually deprive them of the liberty of British subjects. The general court of Massachusetts, at their session in June, took this law into consideration. The house of representatives sent instructions to their agent in England, in which they denied the right of parliament to impose duties and taxes upon those who were not represented in the house of Commons; and directed him to remonstrate against the duties imposed, and the stamp act in contemplation. They acquainted the other colonies with the instructions they had given to their agent, and desired their concurrence. When their communication was received in the house of burghes in Virginia, a committee was immediately appointed to prepare an address to the king, and two houses of parliament, expressing their sense of the consequences of such a measure to the colonies. Every argument which ingenuity could furnish, or interest could enforce, was employed, in order to prevent the passage of the obnoxious statutes; but all without effect. Associations were formed in all the provinces, in order to diminish the use of British manufactures; a step which, besides its immediate effects, rendered the merchants of England a party against the ministry, and increased the opposition with which those in power were obliged to contend.

In March 1765, Mr. Grenville, not deterred by an opposition which he had expected, brought into parliament a bill for imposing duties in America. The friends of the administration employed much able reasoning in support of the bill. Among those who distinguished themselves by the ability and eloquence with which they advocated the cause of the colonies, was Colonel Barré. He stated with a manly freedom, that the same spirit which had actuated the people at first, still continued with them. He insinuated, in a way that could not be mistaken, what would be the effect of the measure which England was about to adopt. He declared that he spoke from a particular acquaintance with the character of the Americans, and expressed his belief, that while they were zealous of their rights, they were loyal to their king; and, finally, he entreated the ministry to pause before they ordained that the privileges of Englishmen were to be invaded or destroyed



Colonel Barré, immediately rising, indignantly and eloquently exclaimed: "Children planted by your care! No. Your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the most terrible, that ever inhabited any part of God's earth. And yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, when they compared them with those they suffered in their own country, from men who should have been their friends.

"They nourished by your indulgence! No. They grew by your neglect. When you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, who were deputies of some deputy sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; whose behaviour, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of justice in their own.

"They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence. They have exerted their valour, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country which, while its frontier was drenched in blood, has yielded all its little savings to your emolument. Believe me, and remember I this day told you so, the same spirit which actuated that people at first, still continues with them; but prudence forbids me to explain myself further.

"God knows I do not at this time speak from party heat. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience, any one here may be, I claim to know more of America, having been conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and will vindicate them if they should be violated. But the subject is delicate; I will say no more."

Eloquence and argument, however, availed nothing. The bill almost unanimously passed in parliament; and received the sanction of the crown. The night after its passage, Dr. Franklin, then in England as agent for Pennsylvania, wrote to Charles Thompson, his friend, in America—"The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy." "Be assured," said Mr. Thompson in reply, "we shall light up torches of quite another sort;"—thus predicting the commotions which followed. The act provided that all contracts and legal processes should be written on stamped paper, which was to be furnished by agents of the British government, at exorbitant prices.

On the arrival of the news of the stamp act in America, a general indignation spread throughout the colonies; and spirited resolutions were passed. In these resolutions Virginia led the way. On the meeting of the house of burgesses, Patrick Henry, a young, but distinguished member, proposed five resolutions; the four first asserted the various rights and privileges claimed by the colonists; and the fifth boldly and explicitly denied the right of parliament to tax America. These he defended by strong reason and irresistible eloquence, and they were adopted by a majority of one. The next day, in his absence, the fifth was rescinded; but this with the rest

had gone forth to the world. They formed the first public opposition to the stamp act, and to the schemes of taxing America by the British parliament. Nearly at the same time, and before the proceedings of Virginia were known in Massachusetts, her general court had also adopted measures to produce a combined opposition. Letters were addressed to the other assemblies, proposing a congress of deputies from each colony, to consult on the common interest. The knowledge of what had been done in Virginia aroused the most violent feelings. The resolutions which at first were circulated cautiously, were at length openly published in newspapers; and one general feeling of indignation pervaded all classes of society.

On the first Tuesday of October 1765, the day appointed for the meeting of the proposed congress, the delegates assembled at New York, where were present members from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. A committee from six of the provinces drew up a declaration of their rights and grievances. They declared themselves entitled to all the rights and liberties of natural born subjects of Great Britain: among the most essential of which, were the exclusive right to tax themselves, and the privilege of trial by jury. The first of these they regarded as infringed by the stamp act; the last, by the extension of the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty. The congress also agreed upon a petition to the king, and a memorial to both houses of parliament. The colonies not represented forwarded to England similar petitions.

The 1st of November, the important day when the stamp act was to take effect, at length approached. Combinations were every where formed to prevent its execution. The violence of the populace could with difficulty be restrained. In some places the day was ushered in with the tolling of bells, as for a funeral procession. The act which was the object of their aversion, was hawked in the streets with a death's head attached to it. It was styled the "Folly of England, and the ruin of America." The stamps were destroyed wherever they could be found by the enraged multitude; who, with all the intemperance of popular agitation, burned and plundered the houses of such as supported the act. So general was the opposition to the law, that the stamp officers in all the colonies were obliged to resign. Opposition became general, systematic and alarming. Confederacies were every where forming. It was universally agreed that no articles of British manufacture should be imported, and that those which were prepared in the colonies, though both dearer and of worse quality, should be employed in all the settlements. The women, animated with a similar spirit, cheerfully relinquished every species of ornament which was manufactured in England. The proceedings in the courts of justice were suspended, that no stamps might be used; and the colonists were earnestly and frequently exhorted by those who took the lead on this occasion, to terminate their disputes by reference.

In the mean time an entire change had taken place in the British cabinet: the marquis of Rockingham became first lord of the treasury; and it was perceived that they must either repeal the obnoxious statutes, or oblige the Americans to submit to them by force of arms. Each of these measures had its advocates. Among the foremost to vindicate the colonies, in the house of peers, was Lord Camden. "My position," said he, "is this; I repeat

it, I will maintain it to my last hour—taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature; it is more—it is itself an eternal law of nature: for whatever is a man's own is absolutely his own; no man has a right to take it from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery."

In the house of commons, Mr. Pitt entered into the views of the colonists; and maintained with all the eloquence for which he was conspicuous, that taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power, but that taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone; and concluded his speech with a motion, "that the stamp act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately."

(1766.) About this time Dr. Franklin was examined before the house of commons, and gave it as his opinion, that the tax was unprofitable and ruinous. He asserted that it had alienated the affections of the colonists from the mother-country, and made them regard the people of England as conspiring against their liberties, and its parliament as desirous to oppress rather than to protect them. A petition was received from the Congress at New York; and some change having taken place in the cabinet, the existing administration agreed with Mr. Pitt, and the stamp act was repealed. But accompanying the repeal of the stamp act, was published another act, declaring, "that parliament have, and of right ought to have power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." This assertion diminished the joy which the repeal of the stamp act would otherwise have occasioned. It was considered by the Americans as a foundation on which any future ministry might oppress them, under the sanction of parliamentary authority; and it had no other effect than that of rendering them more suspicious of arbitrary designs, and more solicitous to mark with a jealous eye the first encroachments of power.

An opportunity for the exercise of this spirit was not long wanting. Immediately after the ratification of the treaty of peace at Paris, the intention of the ministers to quarter troops in America, and oblige the colonies to support them, was announced in the English papers. The maintaining of a standing army was connected with the system of taxation, but the ministry well knew it would be opposed, and they calculated that an army sent under pretence of protecting the colonies, afforded a plausible pretext for taxing them, while it would awe them into submission to the mandates of the British government. An act had been passed by the Rockingham administration, for providing the soldiers which had been quartered in the colonies, with the necessaries and accommodations which their circumstances might require, at the expense of the colony in which they were stationed. The assembly of New York refused obedience to this law, considering it an indirect mode of taxing them without their consent. The assembly at Boston not only followed the example of that of New York, but proceeded still further; and resolved, that the conduct of the governor, in issuing money from the treasury in order to furnish the artillery with provisions, was unconstitutional and unjust; and that it disabled them from granting cheerfully to the king the aids which his service demanded. These resolutions were not approved in England, even by many who had heretofore espoused the interests of the colonies. The consequence of this change of sentiment was perceptible by a change of measures in parliament. A

bill was introduced by Mr. Townsend, the chancellor of the exchequer, imposing a duty on all tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours. It passed both houses without much opposition, and was the next year sent to the colonies.

(1767.) The act for imposing the new taxes was received with greater aversion than the stamp act itself. Letters were sent from Massachusetts to all the other colonies, inveighing against the injustice and tyranny of the British legislature. Circulars were sent to most of the colonial assemblies, suggesting the expediency of acting in concert in all endeavours to obtain redress. These proceedings incensed and alarmed the ministry. They feared that a union of the colonies would give them strength and confidence; and determined if possible to prevent it. They instructed Sir John Bernard, then governor of Massachusetts, to require the general court to rescind the vote directing the circular to be sent; and in case of refusal, to dissolve it. The governor communicated these instructions to the house of representatives; which, by a vote of 92 to seventeen, refused to rescind, and was accordingly dissolved.

This measure, like all the others which the British government at this period pursued, with the intention of intimidating the colonies, did but exasperate and arouse them. Frequent meetings of the people were held at Boston, and the different provinces; a petition was made to the governor, in which he was desired to remove the ships of war from the neighbourhood of the town; a request with which he was neither able or willing to comply.

*Convention at Boston—Consequent conduct of colonies—Tea cargoes destroyed—Spread of revolutionary principles.*

At the opening of the year 1768, every thing appeared to indicate a rupture between the colonies and the parent state. The agent of the province was refused admission to the presence of the king. A report was circulated that the troops had been ordered to march into Boston, a dreadful alarm took place, and all ranks of men joined in beseeching the governor that a general assembly might be convoked. The answer of Governor Bernard was, that by his last instructions from England, he was prevented from complying with this wish of the people.

On this refusal, the select men of Boston proposed to the several towns in the colony to hold a convention, which was accordingly holden in that town on the 22nd of September. In this convention it was resolved that they would defend their violated rights at the peril of their lives and fortunes, and that the people who had no arms, should furnish themselves. At the same time, they thought it proper to assure the government of their pacific intentions, and requested again that an assembly might be called; but after transmitting to England an account of their proceedings, and the reasons which had induced them to assemble, they were again refused, and stigmatized with the appellation of rebels.

The refractory spirit of the people of Boston had been so often displayed, that General Gage, who was commander-in-chief of the troops in the colonies, was ordered to station a regiment in that town, not only to overawe the citizens, but to protect the officers of the revenue in the discharge of their duty. Before the order was executed, the seizure of a sloop belonging to Mr. Hancock, an eminent merchant, and a popular leader, occasioned a riot, in which those officers were insulted and beaten.

On the 28th of September, two regiments, escorted by seven armed vessels, arrived at Boston from Halifax. The landing of the troops was protected by the fleet, which was drawn up with the broadsides of the vessels opposite the town. In consequence of their formidable appearance, they marched into Boston without any resistance on the part of the inhabitants. The select men of the town having refused to provide them with quarters, the governor commanded the state house to be opened for their reception. The presence of the soldiers had great influence in restraining the excesses of the population; but the hatred of the colonies towards England was much increased by this highly offensive measure.

Early in 1769, news reached the colonies that both houses of parliament, in a joint address to his majesty, had recommended vigorous measures in order to enforce their obedience; and had even gone so far as to beseech the king to direct the governor of Massachusetts bay to make strict inquiries as to all treasons committed in that province since the year 1767, in order that the persons most active in committing them might be sent to England for trial. This proposal gave great offence to the colonists.

The legislature of Massachusetts was not in session when the news of this address reached America; but the house of burgesses in Virginia, which met a few days afterwards, were not tardy in expressing their sense of it. They passed several spirited resolutions, declaring their exclusive right to tax themselves, and denying the right of his majesty to remove an offender out of the colony for trial. An address to his majesty was also agreed on, which stated, in a style of loyalty and real attachment to the crown, the deep conviction of the house of burgesses of Virginia, that the complaints of the colonists were well founded. When the intelligence of these proceedings reached the governor, he suddenly dissolved the assembly. But the current of opposition was too strong to be stayed. The members assembled at a private house, elected their speaker, Peyton Randolph, Esq., moderator; and proceeded to pass resolutions against importing British goods. Their example was followed by other colonies; and non-importation agreements, which had before been entered into by Boston, Salem, the city of New York, and the colony of Connecticut, now became general.

On the 5th of March, 1770, an affray took place at Boston between the military and some of the inhabitants, who insulted them while under arms, in which four persons were killed. The bells were instantly rung; the people rushed from the country to the aid of the citizens; and the soldiers were obliged to retire to Castle William, in order to avoid the fury of the enraged multitude. A trial was instituted: the soldiers engaged in the affray were all acquitted, except two, who were found guilty of man-slaughter. The moderation of the jury, and the ability with which the soldiers were defended by two of the leading opposers of British aggression, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, were honourable to the individuals and to their country. This event, however, increased the detestation in which the soldiers stationed among the people were held.

In the mean time the parliament of Great Britain showed, that it had neither sufficient vigour to compel the Americans to submit, nor sufficient liberality to yield to their remonstrances. The ministry agreed to take off all the duties which had lately been imposed, except that on tea; but it was predicted by

the opposition that their indulgence would have no good effect, while any duty remained which was imposed upon the Americans without their consent. What was predicted by the opposition, was in the end found to be true. It was resolved that the tea should not be landed, but sent back to Europe in the same vessels that had brought it; for it was obvious to all, that it would be extremely difficult to hinder the sale, if the commodity should once be received on shore. The people assembled in great numbers at Boston, and forced those to whom it had been consigned to give up their appointments, and to swear that they would abandon them for ever. Such as refused to engage in this opposition, were denounced as the enemies of their country. This disposition was not confined to Massachusetts alone; but the same spirit appeared in all the colonies.

Such was the situation of affairs, when three ships laden with tea, arrived at the port of Boston. The captains of these vessels, alarmed at the menaces of the people, offered to return with their cargoes to England, provided they could obtain the necessary discharges from the merchants, to whom the teas had been consigned; and likewise from the governor, and the officers of the custom-house. But though afraid to issue orders for landing the tea, the merchants and officers, in conjunction with the governor, refused to grant the discharges, and the ships were obliged to remain in the harbour. The people, however, apprehensive that the obnoxious commodity would be landed in small quantities, if the vessels should continue in the neighbourhood of the town, resolved to destroy it at once. For this purpose, several persons disguised themselves as Indians, boarded the ships during the night, and threw their cargoes into the water, without making any further disturbance. No fewer than 142 chests were thus broken open, and their contents emptied into the sea.

At Philadelphia, the pilots were enjoined not to conduct the ships into the river: and at New York, though the governor ordered some of the tea to be landed under the protection of a man-of-war, he was obliged to deliver it into the custody of the people, who took care that none of it should be sold.

The parliament of England resolved not to change their measures, but to punish the inhabitants of Boston in an exemplary manner, by imposing a fine upon them, equal to the value of the tea which had been destroyed. The port of Boston was shut by an armed force until this should be accomplished, and their refractory spirit subdued.

An act was also passed, giving to the crown the appointment of counsellors; whereas, it had resided with the court. The custom-house was to be removed to Salem; and General Gage was made governor in the place of Hutchinson.

Gage removed the assembly from Boston, in Massachusetts, to Salem. Having met at that place, they declared it necessary that a congress of delegates, from all the provinces, should assemble, to take the affairs of the colonies into their most serious consideration. And they nominated James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, men celebrated for their talents and opposition to England, as the representatives to such a congress, from Massachusetts. They recommended to the whole province to abandon the use of tea; and urged the necessity of giving all the encouragement in their power to the manufactures of America.

In the mean time, the governor having learned

their proceedings, sent an officer to dissolve the assembly in the king's name; but he finding the door shut and entrance denied him, was compelled to read the order of dissolution aloud on the staircase.

The inhabitants of Salem, which had now become the metropolis of the country, appear to have adopted the same spirit with those of Boston. They published a declaration in favour of the latter; in which they asserted, that nature, in forming their harbour, had prevented their becoming rivals in trade; and that even if that were otherwise, they would regard themselves lost to every idea of justice and all feelings of humanity, could they indulge one thought of seizing upon the wealth of their neighbours, or raising their fortunes upon the ruins of their countrymen.

The cause of Boston was espoused by the rest of the colonies. The 1st of June, the day on which the city was to be blockaded by the king's ships, was observed in Virginia as a day of fasting and humiliation; and a public intercession in behalf of the American people, was enjoined throughout the province. The style of prayer was, "That God would give them one heart and mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of American rights." Virginia united with Massachusetts in recommending a general congress. They declared if any one of the colonies was taxed without its consent, the rights of the whole were violated; and that in the present case, they regarded the injury done to the inhabitants of Boston as done to themselves.

The proposal for a general congress had now been discussed, and was approved, and eleven of the colonies had elected their delegates. Georgia had not determined to unite her fate with that of New England; and North Carolina was later than the others in acceding to the measure.

The members of this congress were generally elected by the authority of the state legislatures; but, in some instances, a different system had been pursued. In New Jersey, and Maryland, the elections were made by a committee chosen in the several counties for that particular purpose; and, in New York, where the royal party was very strong, and where it is probable no legislative act, authorizing an election of members to represent that colony in congress, could have been obtained, the people themselves assembled in those places where the spirit of opposition to the claims of parliament prevailed, and elected deputies, who were readily received into congress. The powers, too, with which the representatives of the several colonies were invested, were not only variously expressed but of various extent. The names of the delegates were as follows, viz.: New Hampshire,—John Sullivan, Nathaniel Fulsom. Massachusetts Bay,—James Boudoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine. Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,—Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward. Connecticut,—Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas Deane. From the city and county of New York, and other counties in the province of New York,—James Duane, Henry Wisner, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, John Alsop. From the county of Suffolk, in the province of New York,—William Floyd. New Jersey,—James Kinsey, William Livingston, John Dehart, Stephen Crane, Richard Smith. Pennsylvania,—Joseph Galloway, Charles Humphreys, Samuel Rhoads, George Ross, John Morton, Thomas Mifflin, Edward Biddle, John Dickinson. Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware,—Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean, George

Read. Maryland,—Robert Goldsborough, Thomas Johnson, William Paca, Samuel Chase, Matthew Tilghman. Virginia,—Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton. North Carolina,—William Hooper, Joseph Hughes, Richard Caswell. South Carolina,—Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, Edward Rutledge.

*Congress gives one vote to each colony—Bill of rights—Petition to the King—Address to the people of England—Boston Neck fortified—Battle of Lexington—Militia—Fort Ticonderoga captured—Crown Point surprised.*

At length on the 4th of September, 1774, the first congress of the American States assembled at Philadelphia. This was the most important deliberative body which had ever met in America. Peyton Randolph, Esq. of Virginia, was chosen president by the unanimous suffrage of the delegates. To this august body of citizens, who were met for the highest purposes which can affect the temporal interests of men, the eyes of the people of America were turned with anxious concern. The officers and dependents of the crown looked also to their measures with the deepest interest, and alarmed at the calm determined spirit which they manifested, dreaded the consequences of their deliberations.

These delegates, having resolved that each colony should have only one vote, and that their deliberations should take place without the admission of strangers, proceeded to the high duty which their countrymen had imposed on them.

They first expressed their approbation of what had been done by the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay; warmly exhorted them to perseverance in the cause of freedom; and voted that contributions should be made for them in all the provinces, and continued so long, and in such a manner as their circumstances might require.

They next addressed a letter to General Gage, in which they informed him of their unalterable resolution to oppose every attempt to carry the British acts of parliament into effect; and entreated him to desist from military operations, lest a difference, altogether irreconcilable, should take place between the colonies and parent state. The next step was a declaration of their rights, addressed to the people in the shape of resolutions. This instrument is commonly quoted by the title of the bill of rights; and is as follows:—

"Whereas, since the close of the last war, the British parliament, claiming a power of right to bind the people of America by statutes in all cases whatsoever, hath in some acts expressly imposed taxes on them; and in others, under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these colonies, established a board of commissioners with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a colony.

"And whereas, in consequence of other statutes, judges, who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependent on the crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in times of peace: and whereas it has lately been resolved in parliament, that by force of a statute made in the 35th year of the reign of Henry VII., colonists may be transported to England and tried there, upon

accusations for treason, and misprisions and concealment of treasons committed in the colonies; and by a late statute, such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned.

"And whereas in the last session of parliament three statutes were made; one entitled 'An act to discontinue in such manner and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping of goods, wares and merchandise, at the town and within the harbour of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay in North America;' another, entitled 'An act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay in New England;' and another act, entitled 'An act for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay in New England;' and another statute was then made for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, &c. All which statutes are impolitic, unjust and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights.

"And whereas assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; and their dutiful, humble, loyal and reasonable petitions to the crown for redress, have been repeatedly treated with contempt by his majesty's ministers of state: the good people of the several colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina,—justly alarmed at the arbitrary proceedings of parliament and administrations, have severally elected, constituted and appointed deputies to meet and sit in general congress, in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment, as that their religion, laws and liberties may not be subverted: whereupon, the deputies so appointed being now assembled in a full and free representation of these colonies, taking into their most serious consideration the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place, as Englishmen their ancestors in like cases have usually done for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, declare, that the inhabitants of the English colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following rights:—

"Resolved unanimously,—1st, That they are entitled to life, liberty and property; and they have never ceded to any sovereign whatsoever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

"Resolved,—2nd, That our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were, at the time of their emigration from the mother-country, entitled to all the rights, liberties and immunities of free and natural born subjects within the realm of England.

"Resolved,—3rd, That by such emigration, they by no means forfeited, surrendered or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them as their local and other circumstances enabled them to exercise and enjoy.

"Resolved,—4th, That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative councils; and as the English colonists are not represented,

and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed; but from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament as are *bona fide* restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother-country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, external or internal, for raising a revenue on the subjects of America, without their consent.

"Resolved,—5th, That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

"Resolved,—6th, That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes, as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

"Resolved,—7th, That these, his majesty's colonies are likewise entitled to all the privileges and immunities granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

"Resolved,—8th, That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the king; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments, for the same, are illegal.

"Resolved,—9th, That the keeping a standing army in these colonies in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

"Resolved,—10th, It is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power in several colonies, by a council appointed during pleasure by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

"All and each of which the aforesaid deputies in behalf of themselves and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures. In the course of our inquiry we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which, from an ardent desire that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America."

A committee was next appointed, who drew a petition to the king, stating the grievances under which they had laboured;—grievances, which they said were the more intolerable, as the colonies were born the heirs of freedom, and had long enjoyed it under the auspices of former sovereigns; and stating also, that they had wished for no diminution of the

prerogative, and no privileges or immunities, except those which were their rightful inheritance as the subjects of Great Britain;—concluding the whole with an earnest prayer, that his majesty, as the father of his people, would not permit the ties of blood, of law, and of loyalty to be broken, in expectation of consequences, which, if they ever took place, would never compensate for the suffering to which they must give rise.

The committee who brought in this address, were Mr. Lee, Mr. John Adams, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Rutledge. The original composition has been generally attributed to Mr. Lee.

The petition to the king was followed by an address to the people of England, conceived with great vigour, and expressed in the most energetic language. "Be not surprised," they say, "that we who are descended from the same common ancestors,—that we, whose forefathers participated in the rights, the liberties, and the constitution you so justly boast of, and who have carefully conveyed the same fair inheritance to us, guaranteed by the plighted faith of government and the most solemn compact with British sovereigns,—should refuse to surrender them to men, who found their claims on no principles of reason, and who prosecute them with a design, that by having their lives and property in their power, they may with the greater facility enslave you. Are not," they ask, "the proprietors of the soil of Great Britain, lords of their own property? Can it be taken from them without their consent? Will they yield it to the arbitrary disposal of any man, or number of men, whatever? You know they will not. Why, then, are the proprietors of America less lords of their property than you are of yours? or why should they submit it to the disposal of your parliament, or council, or any other parliament in the world, not of their own election? Can the intervention of the sea that divides us, cause disparity of rights? or can any reason be given, why English subjects who live 3000 miles from the royal palace, should enjoy less liberty than those who are 300 miles from it?"

The committee who prepared this eloquent and manly address, were Mr. Lee, Mr. Livingston, and Mr. Jay, who also prepared the memorial to their constituents; the composition has generally been attributed to Mr. Jay.

This address was followed by a memorial to their constituents. They applauded them for the spirit which they had shown in defence of their rights; enjoined them to persevere in abstaining from the use of every thing manufactured or prepared in England; and hinted at the necessity of looking forward to melancholy events, and being ready for any contingency that might take place.

The inclinations of the people were in exact accordance with the decision of the congress. The inhabitants of Boston were supplied by contributions from all quarters. Even those, who by their station seemed likely to derive advantage from the cessation of their trade, were most forward to relieve them in their distress. The people of Marblehead, a town at no great distance, generously offered them the use of their harbour, their wharfs, and warehouses, free of all expense. Every one who could procure arms was diligent in learning their use.

Complete unanimity, however, did not exist. Some of the late emigrants, on whom England had bestowed offices, and many who feared her power, clung to her authority, and declared themselves her adherents. Whigs and Tories were the distinguish-

ing names of the parties. The former favoured the cause of the colonists; the latter that of Great Britain.

In the mean time, many British troops having assembled at Boston, General Gage thought it prudent to fortify the neck of land that joins that city to the continent. He also seized the magazines of gunpowder, ammunition, and military stores at Cambridge and Charlestown.

An assembly was called, and its sittings immediately countermanded; but the representatives met at Salem, notwithstanding the proclamation of the governor; and after waiting a day for his arrival, they voted themselves "a provincial congress," and adjourned to Concord. Mr. Hancock was chosen president; and the delegates resolved, that for the defence of the province, a military force, to consist of one-fourth of the militia, should be organized, and stand ready to march at a minute's warning; and that money should be raised to purchase military stores. They appointed a committee of safety to sit during the recess.

The more southern provinces, particularly Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland, displayed the same determination to resist, and passed resolutions designed to animate those who, in Massachusetts, stood in the post of danger.

General Gage having received intelligence that a number of field-pieces were collected at Salem, dispatched a party of soldiers to take possession of them, in the name of the king. The people, however, assembling in great numbers, prevented the military from advancing to the town, by pulling up a draw-bridge, which it was necessary for them to pass; and they returned to the governor, without accomplishing their purpose.

The next attempt was followed by more interesting consequences. The provincials had deposited a large quantity of ammunition and stores at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston; these General Gage resolved to seize or destroy; and with that view, on the 18th of April, 1775, he sent a detachment of 800 men, under the command of Colonel Smith, and Major Pitcairn, ordering them to proceed with the utmost expedition, and with all possible secrecy.

Notwithstanding his care, and the alacrity of the soldiers, the provincials had notice of his design; and when the British troops arrived at Lexington, within five miles of Concord, the militia of the place were drawn up on the parade, and ready to receive them. The advanced body of the regulars approached within musket-shot, when Major Pitcairn, riding forward, exclaimed, "Disperse, you rebels!—throw down your arms and disperse." Not being instantly obeyed, he discharged his pistol, and ordered his men to fire. They fired and killed eight men. The militia dispersed, but the firing continued. The detachment then proceeded to Concord, destroyed and took possession of the stores which were there. Having effected their purpose, the military began to retire; but the colonists, pressing upon them on all sides, they retreated to Lexington, where they met Lord Percy, with a reinforcement of 900 men. In consequence of this, they quitted Lexington, and continued their march towards Boston, which they reached the day after, though not without frequent interruption, and very great difficulty. The Americans being acquainted with the grounds, while the British were not, possessed a great advantage, which they improved to the utmost in harassing their retreat. From every place of concealment,—a stone fence, a cluster of bushes, or a barn, the con-



cealed provincials poured upon them a destructive fire. At sun-set, almost overcome with fatigue, they passed Charlestown Neck, and found on Bunker's Hill a place of security and repose. There, under the protection of a man-of-war, they passed the night, and the next morning went to Boston.

The affair of Lexington, where the first blood was spilled, has justly been considered as the commencement of the American war. In the retreat from that place, the British lost 273 killed, wounded, and missing; and the provincials 88.

The intelligence of the battle of Lexington spreading rapidly through the colonies, caused a deep sensation. Through all the country the cry was, "to arms." An army of 20,000 men soon collected in the neighbourhood of Boston. General Gage had, however, fortified the town so strongly, that, numerous as they were, the provincials durst not attempt it by assault. On the other hand, the governor was too weak to contend with them in the field.

The possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on which depended the command of lakes George and Champlain, was an object of essential importance. Accordingly, some gentlemen of Connecticut borrowed on their individual credit 1,800 dollars from the legislature of the colony, to enable them to undertake the enterprise. As success depended on secrecy and dispatch, they resolved not to wait to receive the sanction of congress, in the confidence that the number of men necessary for the expedition, might be raised among the hardy mountaineers, inhabiting the country that bordered the lakes. About 40 volunteers set out from Connecticut, towards Bennington, where the authors of the expedition proposed meeting with Colonel Ethan Allen; and engaging him to head their enterprise, Colonel Allen readily entered into their views, and met them with 230 Vermont volunteers, at Castleton. The next day, he was joined by Benedict Arnold, of Connecticut, who upon the first alarm had repaired to Boston; and having conceived the same project, had been authorized by the committee of safety in Massachusetts, to undertake it.

They reached lake Champlain, opposite Ticonderoga, on the 9th of May. Arnold and Allen embarked with the first body of troops, consisting of 83 men, landed at dawn of day, and completely surprised the fortress. The approach of a hostile force was so unexpected to De la Place, the commander, that he knew not from what quarter they were, and when summoned to surrender, he demanded by what authority. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," said Allen. De la Place was incapable of making any resistance, and delivered up the garrison, which consisted of only three officers and 44 privates.

The remainder of the troops having landed, Colonel Seth Warner was dispatched with a small party against Crown Point, and took possession of it without opposition. Arnold, having manned and armed a small schooner, found in South Bay, captured a sloop-of-war lying at the outlet of the lake. The pass of Skeensborough was seized at the same time by a detachment of volunteers from Connecticut.

Thus were obtained without bloodshed, these important posts, and the command of the lakes on which they stood, together with 100 pieces of cannon, and other munitions of war. The successes with which this expedition was crowned, greatly tended to raise the confidence which the Americans felt in themselves.

*Second Meeting of Congress.—British Troops arrive.—Fortifications on Breed's Hill.—Conflict with the British.—Washington elected Commander-in-chief.—Georgia joins the Confederacy.—First Line of Posts.*

(1775.) The continental congress assembled at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, and Mr Hancock was chosen president. Though the delegates were all animated with a determined spirit of opposition to parliamentary taxation, it was the prevailing sentiment in the middle and southern colonies, that a reconciliation with England might still be effected. For this object it was determined to address once more a humble and dutiful petition to the king; but as no great confidence could be placed in its success, it was unanimously determined to put the country in a state of defence. Bills of credit, drawn upon government, and not payable at any definite period, to the amount of 3,000,000 dollars, were issued for defraying the expenses of the war; and a cessation of the exportation of all provisions to those colonies which had not deputed members to congress, was unanimously determined on.

The middle and southern colonies, though not as forward as the northern, were every where preparing for hostilities, and the royal government was in all of them laid aside.

In Virginia, Lord Dunmore, the governor, seized by night some powder at Williamsburg, belonging to the colony, and conveyed it on board the Fowey, a British ship-of-war, in James river, at Yorktown. This act of the governor's was condemned by several counties, and Patrick Henry, at the head of the independent companies in his vicinity, marched towards the seat of government, with the avowed purpose of obtaining by force, restitution of the powder, or an equivalent value. He was met by a messenger who paid him the value of the powder, when he and his party returned to their homes.

Lord Dunmore fortified his palace, but soon after, apprehending personal danger, he retired on board the Fowey, then lying at Yorktown, from which he issued his proclamation, making charges of illegal practices against Henry and his associates in the affair of the powder, which highly offended the people, with whom this measure of their favourite leader was particularly popular.

In North Carolina, Governor Martin was obliged to take refuge on board a ship-of-war in Cape Fear river.

South Carolina had always resisted parliamentary taxation, and the governor, Lord William Campbell, sought personal safety by retiring from the province.

New York contained many advocates for freedom; yet such was the affection of some for the royal cause, that they declined choosing delegates to congress in May 1775; but the majority were actuated by different feelings. Accordingly, a convention was chosen for the sole purpose of electing members, who should represent that province in the grand council of the colonies.

About the latter end of May, the British army in Boston, receiving a powerful reinforcement from England, under Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, martial law was proclaimed, and pardon offered to all who would return to their allegiance, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock; but this, like every other measure designed to intimidate or divide, served only to unite the Americans in one common feeling of indignation, and consequently increase their courage and activity.

The movements of the British army excited an apprehension that General Gage intended to penetrate into the country. It was therefore recommended by the provincial Congress to the council of war, to take effectual measures to annoy them in their present situation.

For this purpose a detachment of 1000 men, under Colonel Prescott, was ordered on the night of the 16th of June, 1775, to throw up a breastwork on Bunker's Hill, near Charlestown. By some mistake, the troops intrenched themselves on Breed's Hill, nearer to Boston. They proceeded with such silence and activity, that by return of light they had nearly completed a strong redoubt, without being discovered. At the dawn of the morning, however, the British, discovering the advance of the Americans, commenced a severe cannonade from the ships in the river. But this not interrupting the Americans, a body of about 3000 men under Generals Howe and Pigot, left Boston in boats, and landed under the protection of the shipping in Charlestown, at the extreme point of the peninsula, and advanced against the Americans. Generals Clinton and Burgoyne took their station on an eminence in Boston, commanding a distinct view of the hill. The spires of the churches, the roofs of the houses, and every height which commanded a view of the battle ground, were covered with spectators, taking deep and opposite interests in the conflict. The Americans waited in silence the approach of their enemy, until they were within ten rods of the redoubt. Then taking a steady aim, and having advantage of the ground, they poured upon them a deadly fire. The British were thrown into confusion, and many of their officers were killed. They were twice repulsed, yet they again rallied, and advanced towards the fortifications. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. The ammunition of the colonists began to fail. In this situation courage was no longer of any avail, and Colonel Prescott, who commanded the redoubt, ordered a retreat. They were obliged to pass Charlestown Neck, where they were exposed to a galling fire from the ships in the harbour.

During the engagement, the town of Charlestown, which is separated from Boston by a narrow sheet of water, was set on fire, and the houses being chiefly wood, the whole town was soon reduced to ashes.

In this engagement, 3000 men, composing the flower of the British army, were engaged, and high encomiums were bestowed on the resolution they manifested. Their killed and wounded amounted to 1054. Notwithstanding the danger of their retreat over Charlestown Neck, the loss of the Americans was only 450 men. Among the killed was General Joseph Warren, a gentleman greatly beloved and regretted. Although the ground was lost, the Americans claimed the victory; and it was universally asked how many more such triumphs the British army could afford? The boldness with which the undisciplined troops of the colonies so long withstood the charges of the regulars, increased their confidence, and convinced the English that they had to contend with a resolute foe.

In the midst of these military transactions, the continental congress assembled at Philadelphia. It comprised delegates from twelve colonies; all of whom were animated with a determined spirit of opposition to parliamentary taxation. Mr. Hancock, the proscribed patriot, was again chosen president. Congress proceeded to the choice of officers to command their united forces. The northern delegates

determined to give their suffrages for commander-in-chief, to a person residing in the southern provinces; in order to interest that section of the union more warmly in the cause of resistance. On the 15th of June, two days previous to the battle of Bunker's Hill, by unanimous vote of congress, George Washington, then present as a delegate from Virginia, was elected to that important station.

He had been elected a member of the first grand congress at Philadelphia, where his example and influence produced very considerable effects; and now that the situation of the provincials called for a man of tried firmness and approved judgment, he was unanimously elected "general and commander-in-chief of the army of the united colonies." When his appointment was intimated to him by the president of the congress, he modestly observed that he was not equal to the duties of the station to which their partiality had raised him; but he declared at the same time, that he was ready to exert whatever talent he might have in the service of his country.

Artemas Ward of Massachusetts, Colonel Lee, formerly a British officer, Philip Schuyler of New York, and Israel Putnam, then before Boston, were at the same time appointed to the rank of Major-generals; and Horatio Gates to that of Adjutant-general.

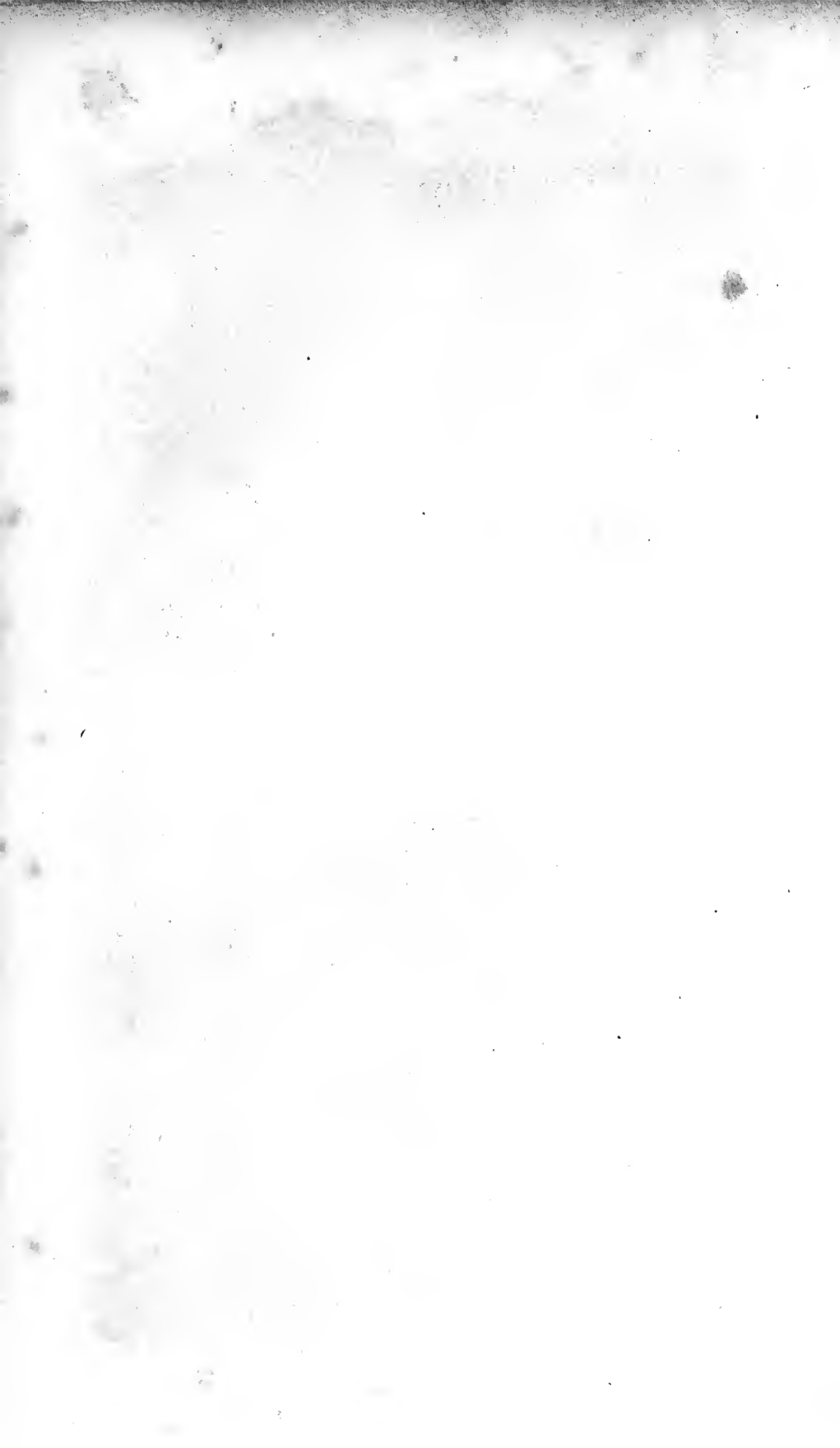
Soon after his election, Washington set out for the camp at Cambridge. He found the American army, consisting of 14,000 men, posted on the heights around Boston, forming a line which extended from Roxbury on the right, to the river Mystic on the left, a distance of twelve miles. The British forces occupied Bunker's and Breed's Hill, and Boston Neck. This disposition of the troops greatly distressed the British, who were confined to Boston, and often obliged to risk their lives to obtain the means of sustenance.

General Washington found the colonists animated with great zeal, and prepared to follow him in the most desperate undertakings: but he soon perceived that they were unacquainted with subordination, and strangers to military discipline. The spirit of liberty which had brought them together, showed itself in all their actions. In the province of Massachusetts the officers had been chosen by the votes of the soldiers, and felt themselves in no degree superior to them. The congressional and colonial authorities likewise interfered with each other. The troops were scantily supplied with arms and ammunition, and all their operations were retarded by the want of engineers. These difficulties were in a great measure overcome by the talents and perseverance of Washington. He formed the soldiers into brigades, and accustomed them to obedience: he requested the congress to nominate a commissary-general and paymaster-general, which officers they had neglected to appoint. A number of the most active men were constantly employed in learning to manage the artillery; and such were the efforts of the commander-in-chief, that in a short time the army was organized, and fit for service.

In the meantime a solemn, dignified declaration, in the form of a manifesto, setting forth the causes and necessity of the war, was prepared by congress, to be published to the world.

In July, Georgia entered into the opposition made to the claims of the British parliament to tax America, and chose delegates to congress; after which, the style of "the Thirteen United Colonies" was assumed, and, by that title the English provinces confederated and in arms, were thenceforth designated.





During this session of congress also, the first line of posts for the communication of intelligence through the United States, was established. Benjamin Franklin was appointed, by an unanimous vote, postmaster-general, with power to appoint as many deputies as he might deem proper and necessary, for the conveyance of the mail from Falmouth, in New England, to Savannah, in Georgia.

*Americans send two parties against Canada—Montgomery invests St. John's—Colonel Allen makes an attempt on Montreal—He is taken prisoner—Montgomery takes St. John's—And Montreal—Proceeds to Quebec—Arnold arrives at Point Levi—Attempts to surprise Quebec—Montgomery arrives—Quebec assaulted—Montgomery killed—Arnold wounded—Part of the assailants surrender—Arnold blockades Quebec.*

(1775.) While the British army was closely blockaded in Boston, without the power of annoying the surrounding country, congress conceived the design of sending a force into Canada. Two expeditions were accordingly organized and dispatched, one by the way of Champlain, under General Schuyler of New York, the other by the way of the river Kennebeck, under the command of Arnold. General Lee, with 1200 volunteers from Connecticut, was also directed to repair to New York, and with the aid of the inhabitants, fortify the city, and the highlands on the Hudson river.

In pursuance of the plan of guarding the northern frontier by taking Canada, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New York militia, and a body of New England men, amounting in the whole to about 2000, were ordered to move towards Ticonderoga, which had remained in possession of the Americans since the expedition of Colonels Arnold and Allen.

Brigadier-general Montgomery was ordered to proceed in advance, with the troops then in readiness, and lay siege to St. John's, the first British post in Canada, about 150 miles north of Ticonderoga. General Schuyler soon followed, and on arriving at the Isle aux Noix, twelve miles south of St. John's, sent circular letters to the Canadians, exhorting them to arouse and assert their liberties, declaring that the Americans entered their country as friends and protectors, not as enemies. The intelligence received of the situation of St. John's, determined them to wait at the Isle aux Noix, for their remaining troops and artillery. Gen. Schuyler returned to Albany to hasten their departure; and being prevented from again joining the army, the chief command devolved on Montgomery. On receiving the reinforcement he invested St. John's; but being almost destitute of battering cannon and of powder, he made no progress in the siege.

Colonel Allen, the hero of Ticonderoga, had a command under General Montgomery; and was sent by him with about 80 men, to secure a party of hostile Indians. Colonel Allen having effected his object, was returning to head-quarters, when he was met by Major Brown, who, with a party, had been on a tour into the country, to observe the dispositions of the people, and attach them, if possible, to the American cause. It was agreed between them to make a descent upon Montreal. They divided into two parties, intending to assail the city at two opposite points. Allen crossed the river in the night, as had been proposed; but by some means Brown and his party failed. Instead of returning, Allen with great rashness determined to maintain his

ground. In the morning the British general, Carleton, at the head of a few regulars and several hundred militia, marched to attack him. Allen, with his little band of 80, fought with desperate courage; but he was compelled to yield, and he and his brave associates were instantly loaded with irons, and in that condition sent to England.

On the 13th of October, a small fort at Chamblet, which was but slightly guarded, was taken. Several pieces of artillery, and about 120 barrels of gunpowder, were the fruits of this victory; which enabled General Montgomery to proceed with vigour against St. John's. In defiance of the continual fire of the enemy, the Americans erected a battery near the fort St. John's, and made preparations for a severe cannonade, and an assault, if necessary.

General Carleton, hearing of the situation of St. John's, raised a force for its relief. He had posted Colonel McLean, with a Scotch regiment, at the mouth of the Sorel, and attempted to cross at Longueuil for the purpose of forming a junction, and marching to the relief of St. John's. Colonel Warner, who was stationed at Longueuil with 300 mountaineers and a small piece of artillery, kept up so warm a fire upon their boats, that they were compelled to return to Montreal.

When the news of this repulse reached Montgomery, he sent a flag to Major Preston, who commanded the besieged fortress, summoning him to surrender; as all hope of relief was cut off by Carleton's repulse, and further resistance could only lead to useless destruction of lives. It was accordingly surrendered, November 3, and soon entered by the American troops.

General Carleton now abandoned Montreal to its fate, and made his escape down the river in the night in a small canoe, with muffled oars. The next day General Montgomery, after engaging to allow the inhabitants their own laws, the free exercise of their religion, and the privilege of governing themselves, entered the town. His benevolent conduct induced many to join his standard: yet some of his own army deserted from severity of climate, and many whose time of enlistment had nearly expired, insisted on returning home.

With the remnant of his army, consisting of 300 men, he began his march towards Quebec, expecting to meet there the detachment of troops under Arnold, who were to penetrate by the way of Maine.

Arnold commenced his march with 1000 men, about the middle of September. After sustaining almost incredible hardships, he arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec, on the 9th of November. On the 13th, he crossed the St. Lawrence in the night, and ascending the precipice which Wolfe had ascended before him, formed his army, which from the hardships it had endured, was reduced to 700 men, on the heights near the memorable plains of Abraham. He then marched towards Quebec, in the hope of surprising it. But, being convinced by a cannon-shot from the walls, that the garrison were ready to receive him, he was obliged to retire; and on the 18th marched to Point aux Trembles, to await the arrival of Montgomery.

On the 13th of October, General Arnold had entrusted an Indian whom he met, with a letter for General Schuyler, giving him information of his progress, which the Indian delivered to General Carleton; and thus, in all probability, was the enterprise frustrated.

General Carleton, who had escaped the vigilance

of the provincial batteries at Montreal, arrived at Quebec, immediately after Arnold had withdrawn his troops, and began to prepare for a vigorous defence. His garrison consisted of 1500 men.

General Montgomery arrived on the 1st of December. The united forces of the Americans amounted to less than 1000 effective men. On the 5th, Montgomery addressed a letter to the governor, and sent a flag with a summons to surrender. General Carleton ordered his troops to fire upon the bearer of the flag, and forbade all communication. Montgomery attempted to batter the walls, and harass the city by repeated attacks. During one night, he constructed a battery of ice, where he planted his cannon; but they were not of sufficient force to make any material impression, or to alarm the garrison.

Montgomery now found himself under circumstances much more delicate and embarrassing, than those which had sixteen years before environed Wolfe at the same place. Several feet of snow covered the ground: and his troops had undergone the severest hardships of which human nature is capable. Yet to abandon the enterprise was to relinquish fame, and disappoint the expectations, however unreasonable they might be, of his too sanguine countrymen. He therefore, with the unanimous approbation of his officers, came to the desperate determination of storming the city. Just at the dawn of day on the 31st of December, and during a violent snow-storm, the troops marched from the camp, in four divisions, commanded by Montgomery, Arnold, Brown, and Livingston. The two latter were to make feigned attacks; while Arnold and Montgomery were to make an assault at opposite points. Montgomery, at the head of his valiant band, was obliged to advance through a narrow path, leading under the projecting rocks of a precipice. When they reached the block-house and picket, he assisted with his own hands to open a passage for his troops, encouraging by his voice and his example his brave companions. They advanced boldly and rapidly to force the barrier, when a single and accidental discharge from a cannon, proved fatal to this brave and excellent officer, and thus destroyed the hopes of the enterprise. Several of Montgomery's best officers shared his fate; and Colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, found it impossible to pursue the advantages already gained.

In the meantime, Arnold, at the head of his detachment, was advancing with the utmost intrepidity, when he received a musket-ball in the leg, and was carried off the field. Colonel Morgan, who succeeded him, led on the troops with so much vigour, that he soon made himself master of the second barrier. But the troops of the garrison, freed from their apprehensions of attack at any other point, were now enabled to turn their undivided force upon Colonel Morgan and his party. In order to cut off his retreat, a detachment, with several field-pieces, attacked him in the rear, while in front he had to oppose the whole remaining garrison. The stand which this little band of provincials made against three times their number, is sufficient evidence that nothing but the death of Montgomery, and the subsequent retreat of the party on the opposite side, could have prevented the fall of Quebec and the surrender of Carleton. After an obstinate defence of three hours, they were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

On the part of the Americans, the loss was about 400; that of the enemy was inconsiderable. The

treatment of Carleton to his prisoners did honour to his humanity. Arnold, wounded as he was, retired with the remainder of his army, to the distance of three miles below Quebec; where, though inferior in numbers to the garrison, they kept it in a state of blockade, and in the course of the winter reduced it to great distress for want of provisions.

*Falmouth and Boston burned—Attention of Americans to their navy—British attempt to gain New York—Are defeated—Dunmore burns Norfolk—Penn examined before the peers—Parliament of England prohibit the trade of the colonies—And hires mercenaries from Germany—Bad state of the army—Washington fortifies Dorchester heights—He compels the British to evacuate Boston—Arnold's difficult situation at Quebec—General Thomas supersedes him—Siege of Quebec raised—Thomas dies—Loss of the Americans at the Cedars—General Thompson and 200 Americans taken prisoners—British fleet arrives at Charlestown—Attack of the British on Sullivan's island—Jasper's exploit—British sail for New York—Independence proposed in congress—Independence declared—State of the country—Eminent men.*

(1775.) While these events were transacting in the north, the royal force, both by sea and land, was turned against New England. Orders were given to the British officers to treat the Americans as rebels, and to lay waste and destroy all such seaports as had taken part in the rebellion. In consequence of these orders, the town of Bristol in Rhode Island, and Falmouth in Massachusetts, were burned by the orders of Captain Mowatt, of the British navy.

These and other outrages of the royalists excited the Americans to redouble their exertions; they put forth all their efforts to collect military stores; they purchased powder in all foreign ports where it was practicable, and in many colonies commenced its manufacture. They also began more seriously to turn their attention to their armed vessels. Massachusetts granted letters of marque and reprisal. Congress also fitted out some frigates, and caused two battalions of marines to be raised for the service, and framed articles of war for the government of their little navy. General Washington employed in the service several cruisers to intercept the store-ships of the enemy. Congress at the same time established regular courts of admiralty for the adjudication of all prizes. These measures produced a spirit of adventure, and the American coast soon swarmed with privateers. Alert and bold, they visited every sea, and greatly annoyed the British commerce. In these enterprises, Captain Manly, of Marblehead, greatly distinguished himself.

Efforts were still made by the British ministry to retain the colony of New York under their own influence. They restored Tryon, who was greatly beloved by the people, to the government of New York, for the express purpose of detaching, if possible, this colony from the united confederacy; and they empowered him to make use of every measure to corrupt their political sentiments. Congress, alarmed for the safety of the colony, recommended that "all persons whose going at large would endanger the liberty of America, should be arrested and secured." In consequence of this intelligence, Governor Tryon was obliged to take refuge on board a ship in the harbour.

In November, Lord Dunmore issued a proclamation offering freedom to such slaves, as would leave



their masters, and repair to the royal standard at Yorktown. Several hundred in consequence repaired to the place. A body of militia immediately assembled, who, while posted near the city, were attacked by the royalists, regulars, and negroes. The militia repelled the attack, and gained a decisive victory. Lord Dunmore, followed by his black and white forces, took refuge on board one of his majesty's ships. In this situation he sent to Norfolk, demanding a supply of provisions. The commander of the provincials refused to comply with this requisition, in consequence of which, he set fire to the town, and reduced it to ashes.

In the mean time, the friends of America were making ineffectual exertions in the British parliament for the relief of the colonies. A reluctant vote of the peers was obtained to examine Mr. Penn, who had presented the last petition of congress to the king, emphatically styled by its framers, the *olive branch*. He affirmed that the colonies would still allow the royal authority of Great Britain, but not its system of taxation; and that the rejection of the present offer would certainly prove an insuperable bar to a reconciliation: but the prevailing wish in America still was, restoration of friendship with Great Britain. He was informed that no answer would be given to his petition. A bill was passed in parliament, prohibiting all trade and intercourse with the revolted colonies; and their property, whether ships or goods, was declared to be forfeited to the ships or crews, who might be their captors. Treaties were made with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel and other German princes, hiring of them 17,000 men, to be employed against the Americans; and it was determined to send over in addition to these, 25,000 English troops. When the intelligence of the "Prohibitory Act" and the "Treaty for the German Troops" reached America, such indignant feelings were excited, that their flag, which had hitherto been plain red, was changed to thirteen stripes, as emblematical of the union of the colonies.

At the close of the year 1775, the American army was almost destitute of the necessary supplies for carrying on the war. The terms of enlistment with all of the troops had expired in December, and although measures had been taken for recruiting the army, yet on the last day of December, when the old troops were to be disbanded, there were but 9,650 men enlisted for the ensuing year. General Washington proposed to congress to try the influence of a bounty, but his proposal was not acceded to until late in January, and it was not until the middle of February that the regular army amounted to 14,000 men.

(1776.) General Washington had continued the blockade of Boston during the winter of 1775-76, and at last resolved to bring the enemy to action, or to drive them from the town. On the night of the 4th of March, a detachment under the command of General Thomas, silently crossed the neck of land which separates Dorchester heights from the town, and constructed, in a single night, a redoubt which gave them command of the heights, and menaced the British shipping with destruction. When the light of the morning discovered to General Howe the advantage the Americans had gained, he perceived that no alternative remained for him, but to dislodge them or evacuate the town. He immediately dispatched a few regiments to attempt the former, but a violent tempest of wind and rain rendered their efforts ineffectual. The Americans had continued with unremitting industry to strengthen

their works, until they were now too secure to be easily forced. After the failure of this attempt, a council of war was held, in which it was resolved to evacuate the town. Preparations were immediately made for the embarkation of the troops, and on the morning of the 17th, the whole British force, with such of the loyalists as chose to follow their fortunes, set sail for Halifax. As the rear of the British troops were embarking, General Washington entered the town in triumph.

In the plans for the campaign of 1776, beside the relief of Quebec, and the recovery of Canada, two expeditions were resolved upon by the British. The object of the one was to reduce the southern colonies; the command of this was given to General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker: and the object of the other was to gain possession of New York. The command of this was given to Admiral and Sir William Howe.

Arnold had continued the siege of Quebec, and had greatly annoyed the garrison; but he found himself oppressed with many difficulties. His army had suffered extremely from the inclemency of the season, and the small-pox had made its way into the camp. Notwithstanding the garrison of Montreal had been sent to reinforce him, he had at this time scarcely 1000 effective men. The reinforcement, which had been ordered by congress to his relief were slow in arriving, and when they reached Quebec, they were greatly reduced in numbers by disease. Added to this, the river was now clear of ice, and the British fleet was daily expected to arrive.

General Thomas, who had been sent by congress, now succeeded Arnold in command. He was unwilling to raise the siege of Quebec without making another effort to reduce the place. With the view of burning the vessels of the governor, a fire-ship was sent down the river. He intended to take advantage of the disorder which would ensue, to make an assault upon the town. The garrison, when they saw the ship, immediately commenced firing, and the attempt failed. Having now nothing further to expect from a siege, and seeing his troops daily diminish, both in numbers and courage, General Thomas resolved to abandon the enterprise. On the very day appointed for raising the siege, several British vessels came in sight of Quebec, bringing reinforcements to the garrison. These ships now had the command of the river, and prevented any communication between the different parts of the American camp. General Thomas found it necessary to retreat with the greatest precipitation, leaving behind him the baggage, artillery, munitions, and whatever else might have retarded the march of the army. Many of the sick, together with all the military stores, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Had General Carleton vigorously pursued the Americans, they could not, probably, have effected their retreat; but he seemed only desirous of driving the besiegers from the neighbourhood. He treated with great kindness the sick and other prisoners who fell into his hands. The Americans continued their retreat to the river Sorel, having marched the first 45 miles without halting. Here they found a reinforcement of several regiments, under the command of General Thompson, waiting their arrival. General Thomas was now seized with the small-pox, of which he died. The command devolved upon General Sullivan.

Adverse fortune seemed in every part of Canada to follow the American arms. While the troops before Quebec were compelled to retreat by a supe

rior force, a calamity, resulting from cowardice, was experienced by a body of the Americans, in another quarter. A garrison of 400 men, under the command of Colonel Bedel, was stationed at the Cedars, about 40 miles above Montreal, at the head of one of the rapids. Colonel Bedel, having received information that Captain Foster, with about 500 royalists and Indians, was descending the river to attack the post, immediately proceeded to Montreal, to obtain assistance; leaving the command with a subordinate officer. They invested the fort, and the American officer, intimidated by the threat of Captain Foster, that if any of the Indians were killed, a general massacre of the Americans would take place, surrendered the post without resistance. A reinforcement, under the command of Major Sherburne, was ordered to march from Montreal. While on his way thither, ignorant of the surrender of the fort, Major Sherburne was attacked by the Indians, to whom, after a spirited defence, he was obliged to surrender. The loss of the Americans at this place could not have been less than 500. The British army in Canada was now augmented to 13,000 men; and although they were scattered along the banks of the St. Lawrence, yet the general place of rendezvous was at Three Rivers, a village about half way from Quebec to Montreal. The party stationed at this place was under the command of General Frazer; another, under General Nesbit, was near them, on board the transports; one greater than either, with Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips, and the German Baron Reidesel, was on its way from Quebec. General Sullivan detached General Thompson from the river Sorel, with a considerable body of troops, to attack the enemy at Three Rivers.

General Thompson dropped down the river by night, with an intention of surprising the forces under General Frazer. The troops passed the ships without discovery; but arrived at Three Rivers an hour later than had been intended; in consequence of which, they were discovered, and an alarm was given at their landing. They were fired on by the ships in the river; to avoid which, they attempted to pass through what appeared a wood, but was in reality a deep morass; the difficulties of which were scarcely surmounted, when a tremendous fire was opened upon them, which threw the whole detachment into confusion; and each man took the best means of effecting his own safety. In this unfortunate enterprise, General Thompson and about 200 men were made prisoners.

General Sullivan was induced by the unanimous opinion of his officers, to abandon the post at Sorel, after the British entered it. He was joined at St. John's by General Arnold, who had crossed at Longueuil, just in time to save the garrison from falling into the hands of the enemy. General Sullivan, at the Isle aux Noix, received the orders of General Schuyler to embark on the lakes for Crown Point; which post they reached in safety, June 15th, 1776. On the Sorel the pursuit stopped. The Americans had the command of the lakes, and the British general deemed it prudent to wrest it from them, before he advanced further. Thus ended the enterprise against Canada. It was a bold, though unsuccessful, effort to annex that extensive province to the United Colonies. It had, however, in its commencement, been attended with success to the Americans, and displayed the military character of the colonial officers, in the most honourable point of view.

In the beginning of June, the British fleet under Sir Peter Parker came to anchor in the harbour of

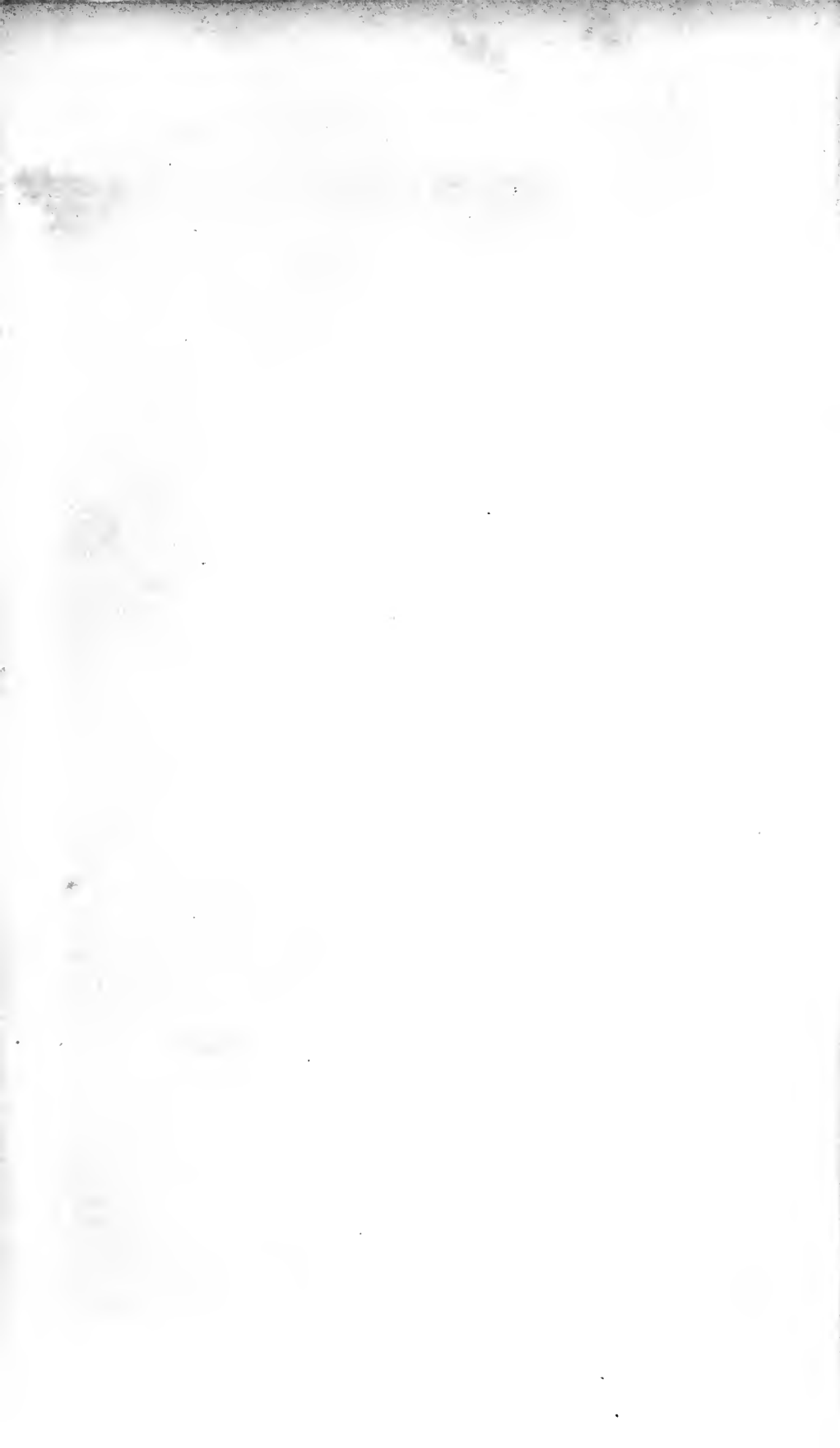
Charlestown, where it was joined by General Clinton, who had been waiting its arrival at Cape Fear. This fleet brought the expected reinforcements, with Lord Cornwallis, General Vaughan, and Colonel Ethan Allen, who was now exchanged. This officer, with his fellow-prisoners, had been confined in Pendennis-castle, in Cornwall.

Fortunately, an official letter had been intercepted early in the year, announcing the departure of this armament from England, and its destination against the southern states. This gave the colonists an opportunity to be prepared for its reception. Sullivan's Island, at the entrance of Charlestown harbour, had been strengthened; and a fort had been constructed with the palmetto-tree, which resembles very much the cork. On learning the near approach of the enemy, the militia of the country were summoned to defend the capital. The popularity of General Lee, the commander, soon collected a force of 5,000 or 6,000 men; and his high military reputation gave confidence to the citizens as well as soldiers. Under him were Colonels Gadsden, Moultrie, and Thompson. Colonel Gadsden commanded a regiment stationed on the northern extremity of James Island; two regiments, under Colonels Moultrie and Thompson, occupied the opposite extremities of Sullivan's Island. The remainder of the troops were posted at various points. General Clinton landed a number of his troops on Long Island, separated from Sullivan's Island on the eastern side, by a small creek. The fort on Sullivan's Island was garrisoned by about 400 men, commanded by Colonel Moultrie. The attack on this fort commenced on the morning of the 28th of June. The ships opened their several broadsides upon it; and a detachment was landed on an adjoining island, and directed to pass over where the sea was fordable, and attack it in the rear. The discharge of artillery upon this little fort was incessant; but Moultrie and his brave Carolinians returned the fire with such skill and spirit, that many of the ships suffered severely; and the British, after persisting in their attack until dark, were repulsed and forced to abandon the enterprise. Their loss amounted to about 200; that of the Americans to twenty. The palmetto wood, in this instance, proved an effectual defence; as the enemy's balls did not penetrate, but sunk into it as into earth. The name of the fort was henceforth called, from its brave defender, Moultrie.

During this engagement, a singular circumstance occurred. After a dreadful volley from the British, the flag of the fort was no longer seen to wave, and the Americans were every moment expecting to see the British troops mount the parapets in triumph. But none appeared; and after a few moments, the striped banner of America was once more unfurled to their view. The staff had been carried away by a shot, and the flag had fallen upon the outside of the works. A brave sergeant, by the name of Jasper, jumped over the wall, and amidst a shower of bullets, fastened it in its place.

It had early occurred to Washington, that the central situation of New York, with the numerous advantages attending the possession of that city, would render it an object of great importance to Great Britain to possess it. Under this impression, before the enemy evacuated Boston, General Lee had been detached from Cambridge, to put Long Island and New York in a posture of defence. Soon after the evacuation of Boston, he followed, and with the greater part of his army fixed his head-quarters in New York.





In a few days after the repulse at Charlestown, the British fleet, with the troops on board, set sail for the vicinity of New York, where the whole British force had been ordered to assemble.

On the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, made a motion in congress, for declaring the colonies FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES.

The most vigorous exertions had been made by the friends of independence to prepare the minds of the people for the necessity and advantage of such a measure. Among the numerous writers on this momentous question, the most luminous and forcible was Thomas Paine. His pamphlet entitled "Common Sense," was read and understood by all. While it demonstrated the necessity, the advantage, and the practicability, of independence, it treated kingly government and hereditary succession with ridicule and opprobrium. Two years before, the inhabitants of the colonies were the loyal subjects of the king of England, and wished not for independence, but for constitutional liberty. But the crown of England had, for their assertion of this right, declared them out of its protection; rejected their petitions; shackled their commerce; and finally employed foreign mercenaries to destroy them. Such were the excitements which, being brought up and directed by the master spirits of the times, had, in the space of two years, changed the tide of public feeling in America, and throughout her extensive regions produced the general cry of,—"WE WILL BE FREE."

Satisfied, by indubitable signs, that such was the resolution of the people, congress deliberately and solemnly decided to make in a formal manner, this declaration to the world,—"America is, and of right ought to be, a free and independent nation."

The declaration of independence was agreed to in congress, on the 4th of July, 1776.

Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and R. R. Livingston, had been appointed, on the 11th of June, to prepare a declaration of independence. It was agreed by this committee that each one should draw up such a one as his judgment and feelings should dictate; and that upon comparing them together, that one should be chosen as the report of the committee, which should prove most conformable to the wishes of the whole. Mr. Jefferson's paper was the first read; and every member of the committee determined, spontaneously, to suppress his own production; observing that it was unworthy to bear a competition with that which they had just heard.

This important document is as follows:—

*The declaration of independence of the United States of America. Signed on the 4th of July, 1776, by a congress of delegates, assembled at Philadelphia, from the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia.*

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by

their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right; it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

"He has refused to pass other laws, for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

"He has called together legislative bodies, at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

"He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

"He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

"He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws, for establishing judiciary powers.

"He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

"He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

"He has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction, foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation,

"For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

"For protecting them, by a mock-trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

"For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

"For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

"For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

"For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences:

"For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument, for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

"For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

"For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

"He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

"He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

"He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

"He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

"He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

"In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

"Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war—in peace, friends.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the

United States of America, in congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states.—That they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

The members of the congress of 1776, who signed this declaration, were as follows:—

New Hampshire.—Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay.—Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island.—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery. Connecticut.—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

New York.—William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.

New Jersey.—Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abram Clark.

Pennsylvania.—Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross.

Delaware.—Cæsar Rodney, George Read, Thomas M. Kean.

Maryland.—Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

Virginia.—George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, jun., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton. North Carolina.—William Hooper, Joseph Hughes, John Penn.

South Carolina.—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, jun., Thomas Lynch, jun., Arthur Middleton.

Georgia.—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

*Geographical notice of the state of the country, from 1763 to 1776.*

The settlements in Vermont had extended, from the southern, over the northern part of the state. Emigrants from the eastern states, had commenced the settlement of Kentucky and Tennessee.

#### Population.

Massachusetts.....	292,000
Connecticut.....	197,856
Rhode Island.....	59,678
New York.....	168,000
South Carolina.....	40,000
Louisiana.....	5,500
New Hampshire.....	52,000

The principal towns at this time were,—New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Boston, Charlestown, South Carolina, Jamestown, Newark, Providence, Newport, Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Portland, in Maine.

During this period the following societies were formed:—

1766. The Marine Society of Salem.

1769. The American Philosophical Society, for



the promotion of useful knowledge, held at Philadelphia.

*Catalogue of eminent men who flourished during the same period.*

Year in which  
they died

Zabdiel Boylston, F.R.S., an eminent physician—the first who introduced the inoculation of the small-pox into America. 1766

Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., a learned divine. 1776

Thomas Clap, president of Yale College—constructed the first orrery or planetarium, made in America. 1767

George Whitefield, one of the founders of the sect of the Methodists. 1770

William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts. 1771

John Clayton, an eminent botanist and physician—author of "Flora Virginica." 1773

William Johnson, major-general of the militia of New York, and distinguished in the last French war. 1774

Richard Montgomery, a major-general in the American army. 1775

Josiah Quincy, an eminent statesman and patriot.

Peyton Randolph, first president of congress.

Joseph Warren, a major-general in the American army, and a distinguished patriot.

*Howe takes possession of Staten Island—Positions of Washington's army—British land on Long Island—Battle of Long Island—The Americans defeated.*

Considered as a step in the great march of human society, perhaps no one can be fixed upon of more importance than the solemn promulgation of the writing, which, while it contained a catalogue of the grievances of America, and declared her freedom, embodied also, and held up to the view of the world, the universal wrongs of the oppressed; sent forth a warning voice to the oppressor; and declared the common rights of all mankind.

But as it more particularly concerned the condition of the Americans, the signing of this declaration by the American congress, was a momentous procedure. That firm band of patriots well knew, that, in affixing their signatures, they were, in the eyes of England, committing the very fact of treason and rebellion; and that in case of her ultimate success, it was their own death-warrant which they signed. Their countrymen felt there was now no receding from the contest, without devoting to death these their political fathers, who had thus fearlessly made themselves the organs of declaring what was equally the determination of their constituents, that America should no longer be subject to Britain. Thus it was now the general feeling, that the die was cast, and nothing remained but liberty or death. Foreign nations also now regarded the contest in a different light.

"The Declaration of Independence," says Allen, in his history of the revolution, "once published to the world with such solemnity, gave a new character to the contest, not only in the colonies, but in Europe. It was no longer the unholy struggle of subjects against their monarch; of children against their parents; but it became under the awful sanction of that assembly, the temperate and determined stand of men who have intrenched themselves within the certain and thoroughly-understood limits of their rights; of men who had counted the cost dispassionately, and measured the event without shrinking."

The troops from Halifax, under the command of General Howe, after touching at Sandy Hook, took possession of Staten Island on the 2nd of July and those from England, commanded by Admiral Howe, landed at the same place on the 12th of the same month. About the same time Clinton arrived, with the troops which he reconducted from the expedition against Charlestown. Commodore Hotham also appeared about the same time, with the expected reinforcements; so that the army amounted in the whole to 24,000 of English, Hessians, and Waldeckers. Several Hessian regiments were expected shortly, when the army would consist of 30,000 of the best troops of Europe.

In hopes that this powerful force might have awakened the fears of the Americans, and thus disposed them to submission, Lord Howe, before active operations, made an attempt at pacification. He had, in the month of June, announced by his proclamations, which the government wisely caused to be printed, that he was empowered to grant pardon to any person, or to the inhabitants of any city or province, who should return to their allegiance; and he promised large recompense to any who should contribute to re-establish the royal authority. The declaration of independence made soon after, showed him in what light these promises were regarded by congress. He now addressed himself to the commander-in-chief, in a letter directed to George Washington, Esq. With a spirit which the whole nation applauded, Washington returned the letter unopened; alleging that it had not expressed his public station, and that as a private individual, he neither could nor would hold any communication with the agents of the king. Howe, not yet discouraged, sent another communication by Adjutant-General Patterson. To the smooth and conciliatory address of this gentleman, Washington made a reply, which was an expression of the general feeling of his countrymen, the true source of a union, which both the threats and promises of Great Britain failed to divide. The sentiment it contained was, that Great Britain did not offer us the enjoyment of our rights; she offered nothing but forgiveness of offences:—America had committed no offences, and asked no forgiveness.

The officers in command, General and Admiral Howe, no longer hesitated to direct their efforts against New York. The submission of this important port would give the English a firm footing in America, from which the English army could turn to the right and carry the war into New England, or upon the left to scour New Jersey and menace Philadelphia. From New York, the English could infest the neighbouring towns, attack and combat the Americans with success, and retreat without danger. Again, if Carleton after passing, as was hoped, the lakes of Canada, could penetrate to the Hudson, and descend at the same time that Howe should ascend it, their junction would intercept all communications between the provinces of New England, and of the middle and southern colonies. Long Island, adjacent to New York, being abundant in grain and cattle, offered subsistence for the most numerous army. While Howe expected to have been seconded in his invasion of New York by 13,000 men from Canada, under Carleton, Clinton was to operate in the southern provinces and attack Charlestown. The American troops being thus divided, their generals surprised and pressed upon so many points at once, it was not doubted that the British arms would soon be successful. This suc-

cess, however, was dependent upon the concurrence of a number of parts. Admiral Howe, retarded by contrary winds, did not arrive until the expedition of Charlestown had failed. The army of Canada encountered so many obstacles, that it was not able to make its way this year to the Hudson. Hence, Washington was not compelled to weaken his army upon the coast to send succours into South Carolina, or towards Canada.

The American congress had ordered the construction of gun-boats, of galleys, and floating batteries to defend New York and the mouth of the Hudson. Thirteen thousand of the militia were ordered to join the army of Washington. This army amounted to 27,000; but a fourth of these were invalids, and another fourth were poorly provided with arms. From these and other causes, the force fit for duty did not exceed 10,000. And of this number the greater part was without order or discipline. These inconveniences proceeded in part from want of money, which prevented congress from paying regular troops and providing for their equipments, and partly from parsimonious habits, contracted during peace, which withheld them from incurring with promptitude the expenses necessary to a state of war; while their jealousy of standing armies inspired the hope of organizing each year an army sufficient to resist the enemy.

The American army occupied the island of New York. Two detachments guarded Governor's Island and Paulus Hook. The militia under the American Clinton were stationed at East and West Chester and New Rochelle, to prevent the British landing in force on the north shore, penetrating to Kingsbridge, and thus enclosing the Americans in the island. A considerable part of the army, under General Putnam, encamped at Brooklyn, in a part of Long Island which forms a sort of peninsula. The entrance was fortified with moats and intrenchments. Putnam's left wing rested upon Wallabout Bay, his right was covered by a marsh adjacent to Gowanus Cove. Behind was Governor's Island and the arm of the sea between Long Island and New York, which gave him direct communication with the city, where Washington was with the main army.

On the 22nd of August, the English landed without opposition, between the villages of New Utrecht and Gravesend, on Long Island. They extended themselves to Flatlands, distant four miles from the Americans, and separated from them by a range of hills called the heights of Gawanus, which, covered with woods, and running from east to west, divide the island into two parts. These hills were passable only in three places; one, the road near the Narrows, on the left of the English; one, the road leading to the centre by Flatbush; the other and most eastern, that on the right of the British by Flatlands. Upon the summits of these hills is a road the length of the range from Bedford to Jamaica, intersected by the Flatlands and Flatbush roads. Washington, wishing to arrest the enemy on these heights, had guarded them with his best troops, and had made such arrangements as with proper vigilance would have rendered the passage one of extreme difficulty and danger.

About midnight of the 25th, the English, under General Grant, attacked the Americans from the left, thus inducing the belief, that against this post the main strength of the British would be directed. At day-break on the 26th, the Hessians under General de Heister attacked from the centre, and Ge-

neral Sullivan, who commanded the forces in front of the camp, led them to repel the Hessians.

At the same time, the English ships commenced a brisk cannonade upon the battery at Red Hook. Colonel Miles was to guard the Flatlands road, and to scour that and the Jamaica road continually, in order to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy. This service, as the events proved, was the most important, and the worst performed, of any on the side of the Americans. It was here that the British generals made their grand effort, and here that the Americans suffered a surprise. The right wing of the English, which was the most numerous, and entirely composed of select troops, under Generals Clinton, Percy, and Cornwallis, proceeded by Flatlands, and were, before Miles perceived their approach, within half a mile of the Jamaica road upon the heights. Scouts sent by Sullivan were captured, and he was ignorant that the enemy were approaching until his flank was attacked by their infantry. He instantly ordered a retreat; but was intercepted in the rear by the English, who had occupied the plains from Bedford, and compelled the Americans to throw themselves into the neighbouring woods. There they were met by the Hessians, who repulsed them upon the English. Thus were the distressed Americans alternately chased and intercepted, until at length several regiments cut their way with desperate valour through the midst of the enemy, and gained the camp of Putnam; but a great part of the detachment were killed or taken prisoners. The left wing having given way, the right attempted to retreat, but they were encountered by the English and many were taken prisoners. Lord Sterling, at the head of a Maryland company, charged a superior British force and kept them engaged, while a considerable body of the Americans passed them and retreated to Brooklyn. The loss of the Americans was estimated at nearly 2,000, and the British at about 400.

On the subject of the loss of the Americans on this unfortunate day, authorities disagree. Sir Henry Clinton's official report states it at between 3,000 and 4,000; General Washington's at upwards of 1,000. When the disastrous consequences of this engagement are considered, it does not seem probable that the American loss could have been less than 2,000.

In the height of the engagement, General Washington crossed to Brooklyn from New York, and seeing so many of his best troops slaughtered or taken prisoners, he uttered, it is said, an exclamation of anguish. He might at this moment have drawn all his troops from the encampment; he might have called over all the forces in New York to take part in the battle: but victory having declared in favour of the English, the courage with which it inspired them, and the superiority of their discipline, destroyed all hope of recovering the battle. Great praise is therefore due to Washington for having preserved himself and his army for a happier future.

*Washington withdraws his troops from Long Island—British enter New York—Situation of the American army—Battle of West Plains—Fort Washington surrenders—Fort Lee evacuated—Washington retreats.*

On the night of the 28th of August, General Washington, with great skill and judgment, succeeded in drawing the troops from Long Island to New York; to which place the detachment from Governor's Island also retired. Finding it, however

impossible to defend the city, he removed his forces to the heights of Harlaem.

About this time Captain Hale, a highly interesting young officer of Connecticut, learning that Washington wished to know the state of the British army on Long Island, volunteered in the dangerous service of a spy. He entered the British army in disguise, and obtained the desired information; but being apprehended in his attempt to return, he was carried before Sir William Howe, and by his orders was executed the next morning. At the place of execution, he exclaimed, "I lament that I have but one life to lay down for my country."

On the 15th of September, the British army entered and took possession of the city of New York. A few days after, a fire broke out, which consumed nearly one-fourth part of the buildings. It is said that the fire was discovered in many different places at once; and hence many persons supposed that the city was set on fire, as Moscow has more recently been, to deprive its enemies of its hospitable shelter.

General Howe, not yet convinced of the constancy of the American character, still indulged a hope that they might now be sufficiently humbled to accede to the terms offered September 11th by England, and again made overtures for reconciliation. Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, and Edward Rutledge, were accordingly appointed to meet the British commissioners at Staten Island. But as they utterly refused to treat on any other basis than the acknowledgment of American independence, nothing was effected.

The situation in which the American commander now saw the momentous contest, could not but have filled him with alarming apprehensions for the fate of his country. Until the check at Brooklyn, the Americans had flattered themselves that Heaven would constantly favour their arms. From the excessive confidence which had intoxicated them in prosperity, they now fell into a state of dejection. At first they had believed that courage without discipline could do all; they now thought it could do nothing: at every moment they were apprehensive of some new surprise, and at every step fearful of falling into an ambuscade.

Thus discouraged, the militia abandoned their colours by hundreds, and entire regiments deserted to their homes. In the regular army also, subordination diminished, and desertions were common.

Their engagements were but for a year, or a few weeks, and the hope of soon returning to their families induced them to avoid dangers. The fidelity of the generals was not suspected, but their talents were distrusted, and every thing appeared to threaten a total dissolution of the army. Washington strove earnestly, with exhortation, persuasions, and promises, to arrest this spirit of disorganization. If he did not succeed according to his designs, he obtained more than his hopes. To congress he addressed an energetic picture of the deplorable state of the forces, and assured them that he must despair of success, unless furnished with an army that should stand by him till the conclusion of the enterprise. To effect this, a bounty of twenty dollars was offered at the time of engagement, and portions of unoccupied lands were promised to the officers and soldiers.

But although Washington hoped ultimately to reap the benefit of these arrangements, yet time must intervene; and his present prospect was that of a handful of dispirited and ill-found troops, to contend against a large and victorious army. In this situation he adopted the same policy by which

Fabius Maximus had 2000 years before preserved Italy, when invaded by Hannibal, and like him saved his country. Hence he has been called the American Fabius. This policy was to risk no general engagement, but to harass and wear out the enemy by keeping them in motion; while by skirmishes, where success was probable, he would by degrees diminish their number and inspirit his own troops.

On the 16th of September, the day after the British took possession of New York, a considerable body of their troops appeared in the plain between the two armies. Washington ordered Col. Knowlton and Major Leech, with a detachment, to get in their rear, while he amused them with preparations to attack them in front. The plan succeeded; and although the brave Knowlton was killed, the rencontre was favourable to the Americans; particularly as it served in some degree to restore that confidence in themselves which their preceding misfortunes had destroyed.

The British commander manœuvred with great address to bring Washington to a general engagement; but failing of this, he endeavoured to destroy his communication with the eastern states, and prevent his supply of provisions from that quarter. To effect this, it was necessary to occupy the two roads leading east. The one on the coast they secured with little difficulty; but to occupy the more inland road, it was necessary to get possession of that post of the highlands called White Plains. Washington, aware of their object, removed his own force to that place, where on the 28th of October he was attacked by the British and Hessians, under Generals Howe, Clinton, Knyphausen, and De Heister. A partial engagement ensued, in which the loss on both sides was considerable. Howe could not, however, draw Washington from his position; which he maintained until a strong British reinforcement arrived under Lord Percy, he dared not any longer risk his army, but on the night of the 30th he withdrew his forces to North Castle. Leaving here a body of men under General Lee, he crossed the Hudson, and took post near fort Lee.

General Howe next turned his attention towards the forts Washington and Lee, which had been garrisoned with the hope of preserving the command of the Hudson river. General Washington, foreseeing their danger, had written to General Greene, who commanded in that quarter, that if he should find fort Washington not in a situation to sustain an assault, to cause it instantly to be evacuated. General Greene, believing that it might be maintained, left it under the command of the brave Colonel Magaw, with a force of 2700 men. On the 16th of November the British attacked the fort in four different quarters. The Americans repelled them with such bravery, that in the course of the day about 1200 of the assailants were killed or wounded. At length, the Americans were forced to capitulate; but not without securing to themselves honourable terms. The prisoners taken by the British at this time, amounted to about 2000, a greater number than had, on any previous occasion, fallen into their hands.

The British army immediately crossed the Hudson to attack fort Lee; but the garrison, apprised of their approach, evacuated the fort, and under the guidance of General Greene, joined the main army at Newark.

The acquisition of these two forts, and the diminution of the American army, by the departure of those soldiers whose term of service had expired,

encouraged the British to hope that they should be able to annihilate, with ease, the remaining force of the republicans. Washington still pursued the policy of avoiding an engagement, as the only hope of preserving his little army. Finding himself, in the post which he had taken at Newark, too near his triumphant foe, he removed to Brunswick. The same day, Cornwallis, with a part of the British army, entered Newark. Washington again retreated from Brunswick to Princeton, and thence to Trenton. The British still pursuing, he finally crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania.

General Howe appears, on this occasion, to have manifested himself deficient in the energy and promptitude of the military character; as, with an army of sixfold numerical force, and tenfold efficient strength, comprised of disciplined troops, in health and vigour, ably commanded, completely found in all things, and elated with success, he did not commence the pursuit till four days after the capture of the forts Washington and Lee.

On the 28th of November, as the American rear-guard left Newark at one end of the town, the British van entered the other; and at any time after this, till Washington crossed the Delaware, by a single forced march, they might have overtaken and destroyed his army. But forced marches were not ordered by General Howe; and when he arrived at the Delaware, where he had hoped to overtake the Americans, the last boat with the baggage was crossing the river.

The British general, not choosing, however, to take the trouble of constructing flat-bottomed boats, for carrying over his troops, and the Americans having been careful not to leave theirs for his accommodation, he arranged his German troops, to the number of 4000, along the Delaware, from Holly to Trenton; placed a strong British force at Princeton; stationed his main army at Brunswick, and retired himself to New York, to wait for the river to freeze, and that they might be furnished with a convenient bridge; not doubting, as it would seem, but that the Americans would quietly wait until he was ready to pass over and destroy them.

Congress at this period manifested their sense of the talents and services of the commander-in-chief, by resolving that he should be possessed of full powers to order and direct all things relative to the operations of the war.

*Distress of Washington's army—General Lee made prisoner—Washington attacks Cornwallis—Arnold defeated—British blockade Providence—Congress grant extraordinary powers to Washington.*

Washington showed how well he deserved the confidence reposed in him, by making every exertion to increase his army, which, feeble as it was when he commenced his retreat, had hourly diminished. His troops were unfed amidst fatigue; unshod, while their bleeding feet were forced rapidly over the sharp projections of frozen ground; and they had to endure the keen December air, almost without clothes or tents. In such a situation, the wonder is not, that many died and many deserted, but that enough remained to keep up the show of opposition. In this distressing situation, Washington manifested to his troops all the firmness of a commander, while he showed all the tenderness of a father. He visited the sick, paid every attention in his power to the wants of the army, praised their constancy, and represented their sufferings to congress. He encouraged their despairing minds by

holding out the prospects of a better future; and the serene and benignant countenance with which he covered his aching heart, made them believe that their beloved and sagacious commander was himself animated with the prospects he portrayed to them.

The distresses of the Americans were increased by the desertion of many of the supposed friends of their cause. Howe taking advantage of what he considered their vanquished and hopeless condition, offered free pardon to all who should now declare for the royal authority. Of the extremes of society, the very rich and the very poor, numbers now sued for the royal clemency; but few of the middle class deserted their country in her hour of peril.

General Lee, as has been before stated, was, by the orders of Washington, separated from the main body of the army, soon after the battle of White Plains. He was sent northerly, to be at hand to succour the troops which were opposed to Carleton, upon the lakes. But when Washington found the main army in danger of annihilation, he ordered Lee to join him with all possible expedition. Mercer, who commanded a corps of light infantry at Bergen, and Gates, who commanded on the northern frontier, received similar orders, and promptly obeyed them. Washington had also sent in various directions to arouse the militia. General Millin, from Pennsylvania, had now joined him with a body of 1500.

Lee's army was also united to the main army; but it was under the conduct of General Sullivan. General Lee had not promptly executed the orders of Washington, but had lingered along the northern mountains of New Jersey; where, having taken up his quarters at a house distant from the main body of his army, he was surprised and carried prisoner to New York, by a party of British cavalry. Sullivan immediately, as before stated, conducted the army to Washington's camp.

With these reinforcements, the American forces amounted to about 7000 effective men. A few days, however, would close the year, and the period of enlistment for a considerable portion of the soldiers, expired with it. The cause of America demanded that important use should be made of the short space which intervened. At this critical moment, Washington formed the bold resolution of re-crossing the Delaware, and attacking the British at Trenton. It has been remarked, that the British force extended on the left bank of the Delaware, from Trenton to Holly, below Burlington. Washington designed to cross his army over the river, in three divisions;—at Makonkey's ferry, at Trenton ferry, and at Bristol, in order to attack the posts at Trenton and Burlington. The forces to cross at the two last places, commanded by Irwing and Cadwallader, were unable, owing to the quantity of ice, to proceed. The main body, under Washington, crossed at Makonkey's ferry. This force was separated into two divisions, commanded by Sullivan and Greene; under whom were Lord Sterling, Generals Mercer and St. Clair. One division taking the upper road, the other the Pennington road, they arrived at Trenton at the same moment. The Hessians under Colonel Rahl were surprised, and their commander slain. Prisoners to the amount of 1000 were taken by the Americans, who immediately re-crossed the Delaware. The joy caused by this success was great; and it was unalloyed by that sorrow, which even victory generally brings. The Americans had scarcely lost a man.

Lord Cornwallis was at this time in New York, on the point of embarking for England; but on

receiving this news, he returned instantly to New Jersey. The success of Washington at Trenton induced the Americans to serve six weeks longer; and Washington had again quartered at Trenton. Cornwallis immediately proceeded towards Trenton, with the intention of giving battle to the Americans; and arrived with his van-guard, on the 1st of January, having left a part of his troops at Princeton. Washington, knowing the inferiority of his force, sensible too that flight would be almost as fatal as defeat, conceived the project of marching to Princeton, and attacking those who were left in that place. About midnight, leaving his fires burning briskly, that his army should not be missed, he silently decamped, and gained, by a circuitous route, the rear of the enemy. At sun-rise, the van of the American forces met unexpectedly two British regiments. A conflict ensued; the Americans gave way:—all was at stake; and Washington himself, at this decisive moment, led on the main body. The enemy were routed, and fled. Instead of pursuing them, Washington pressed forward towards Princeton, where one regiment yet remained. A part of these saved themselves by flight; the remainder, about 300 in number, were made prisoners. The loss of the British was upwards of 100; that of the Americans was less; but in the number was the brave General Mercer, with several other valuable officers.

On hearing the cannonade from Princeton, Cornwallis, apprehensive for the safety of his Brunswick stores, immediately put his army in motion for that place. Washington on the approach of Cornwallis, retired to Morristown. When somewhat refreshed, he again appeared against the British; and having taken possession of Newark, Woodbridge, Elizabethtown, and indeed of all the enemy's posts in New Jersey, except Brunswick and Amboy, he retired, on the 6th of January, to secure quarters at Morristown. In order to give a connected view of the important operations of the main armies, events have been omitted, which, had the order of time been strictly observed, would have been sooner inserted.

On the 11th of October, the northern American force under General Arnold, and the British force under Carleton, met on lake Champlain, near the island of Valcour. The American armament was entirely destroyed; and General Carleton, after proceeding to Crown Point, reconnoitred the posts at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and returned to winter-quarters in Canada.

On the same day that General Washington retreated over the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island, and blockaded the squadron of Commodore Hopkins, together with a number of privateers, at Providence.

On the 4th of October, congress adopted certain articles, which were afterwards approved by the several state governments, by which they agreed, that on the first Monday of November in each year, a general congress should be convoked, of deputies from each of the states, and invested with all the powers which belong to the sovereigns of other nations. These powers were set forth, and the limits between the authority of the state and national government as clearly defined, as was at that time practicable. These articles gave to the nation the style of the "United States of America." They were called the articles of confederation, and formed the basis of the American government, until the adoption of the federal constitution.

Never perhaps was a firmer or a wiser band of patriots, than that which composed the congress

of 1776. They were environed with difficulties which would have utterly discouraged men of weaker heads or fainter hearts. They were without any power, except the power to recommend. They had an exhausted army to recruit, amidst a discouraged people, and a powerful and triumphant foe; and all this, not merely without money, but almost without credit; for the bills which they had formerly issued had greatly depreciated, and were daily depreciating: yet they held their course of patriotic exertion, undismayed. In order to provide pecuniary resources, they passed a law, authorizing a loan of 5,000,000 dollars, at four per cent. yearly. They also created a lottery; intending by this means to raise the sum of 1,500,000 dollars. Aware of the importance of inducing the French to espouse the American cause, they appointed, as commissioners to the court of France, Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee. They instructed them to procure arms and ammunition, to obtain permission to fit out American vessels in the ports of France, in order to annoy the commerce of England. They directed them to solicit a loan of 10,000,000 francs, and to endeavour, by every means in their power, to prevail upon the French government to recognise the independence of the United States.

To General Washington they gave, for six months, powers which were almost dictatorial. They gave him authority to levy and organize sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to those already voted by congress, and to appoint their officers; to raise and equip 3000 light-horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, and to establish their pay. They empowered him to call into service the militia of several states; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier-general, and to fill up all vacancies in every department of the American army. They also authorized him to take whatever he might want for the use of the army, even if the inhabitants refused to sell it, establishing his own price for the same; and to arrest and confine persons who refused to take the continental money, returning their names and the nature of their offences, to the states of which they were citizens. This confidence in the good faith of their defender, entitled them to find, and they did find, one that was faithful.

*Campaign of 1777—Excesses of the English army in New Jersey—Revolt of the loyalists—Governor Tryon advances to Danbury—Exploit of Colone. Meigs at Sag Harbour—La Fayette espouses the American cause—Cornwallis defeats Sterling.*

The inhabitants of New Jersey were so exasperated at the excesses which the English and Hessians had committed, that these troops now occupying Brunswick and Amboy, could not venture out even to forage, without extreme danger. General De Heister had not attempted to suppress his licentious soldiery; and the English soon vied with the Germans in all scenes of violence, outrage, cruelty, and plunder; and New Jersey presented only scenes of havoc and desolation. The complaints of America were echoed throughout Europe, and it was every where reproachfully said, that "England had revived in America the fury of the Goths, and the barbarity of the northern hordes."

At this period the loyalists evinced a spirit of revolt in the counties of Somerset and Worcester, in Maryland; of Sussex in Delaware, and of Albany in New York, to which places troops were sent to overawe them.

The small-pox which had made such ravages in the northern army during the last year, now threatened the middle. To prevent the loss of lives from this source, Washington caused his army, both regulars and militia, to be inoculated; and the affair was so prudently conducted, that no opportunity was in consequence offered for the British to attack his camp.

The first attempts of the British during the campaign of 1777, were against the American stores collected at Courtland Manor, in New York, and at Danbury, in Connecticut. Peekskill, the port of the Manor, was then in command of Colonel McDougal. The 23rd of March, the British, under Colonel Bird, attacked this post, and McDougal, knowing his few men could not defend it, destroyed the magazines and retired to the back country. The loss, though greater than the Americans would acknowledge, was less than Howe anticipated.

The 25th of April, 2000 men under Governor Tryon, major of the provincials or Tories, having past the sound, landed between Fairfield and Norwalk. The next day proceeding to Danbury, he compelled the garrison under Colonel Huntington to retire, and not only destroyed the stores, but burned the town.

Meantime, 800 militia had collected to annoy them on their return; of whom 500, under Arnold, took post at Ridgefield to attack their front, while 300, under General Wooster, fell upon their rear. Both parties were repulsed, Wooster slain, and Arnold retired to Saugatuck, about three miles east of Norwalk. The enemy having spent the night at Ridgefield, set fire to it, still retreating, although continually harassed by Arnold's party, now increased to 1000; until they at length arrived at Compo, between Norwalk and Fairfield, and took refuge on board their ships. The British loss was 170, the American 100. As to the stores taken, the loss of tents was most severely felt by the Americans. From the promptitude with which the inhabitants rose on the marauders, who expected many to join them, the friends of liberty had their hopes invigorated, and their exertions encouraged.

The same effect was also produced by another affair which occurred soon after. The British had collected at Sag Harbour, on Long Island, immense magazines of forage and grain. Colonel Meigs, one of the intrepid companions of Arnold in the expedition to Canada, with 130 men, left Guilford on the 23rd of May, destroyed the stores, burned a dozen brigs and sloops, killed six of the enemy, took 90 prisoners, and returned without loss.

About this time the effects of the mission to France began to appear. Congress had with great judgment selected Dr. Franklin as one of the commissioners. A profound knowledge of human nature, united with a warm and cheerful benevolence, had given to this philosopher a manner possessing a peculiar charm, attractive to all, however different their taste or pursuits. His wit and gaiety even at 70, the age at which he went to Paris, had power to charm the young beauty from her lovers and her toilette; while his wisdom and his learning could instruct the mechanic in his own trade, or the statesman in his profoundest calculations. Perhaps it is equally to these qualities in Franklin as to the graver wisdom and more heroic valour of Washington that America owes her existence as a nation; for it must ever remain problematical, whether, without the aid of France, she could have achieved her independence:—and although political reasons

might have operated to make France wish evil to England, yet without the interest which Franklin found means to excite for America, it is not probable the government would have effectually interfered.

This interest was so lively, that several individuals of distinction took the generous resolution of embarking in the cause of America, and combating in her armies. The most distinguished of these was the young Marquis de la Fayette. With every thing and beloved bride, he was yet moved by compassion to the suffering, and by indignation against oppression, to leave all that was individually dear, to expose his life and impair his fortune in the cause of American liberty, and the rights of man. He had early communicated his resolution to the commissioners. After hearing of the disasters which followed the battle of Long Island, they felt bound to communicate to him the despairing state of their country; and also that such was her extreme poverty that they could not even provide him with a vessel for his conveyance. "Then," said Fayette, "if your country is indeed reduced to this extremity, this is the moment that my departure to join her armies, will render her the most essential service." His arrival caused a deep sensation of joy among the people. Congress appointed him a major-general in the army; and Washington received him into his family, and regarded him with parental affection.

The American commander, in forming such a probable calculation on the movements of his enemy at New York, as would enable him to make a judicious disposition of his own army, which now amounted to 18,000, was well aware that there were two objects of surpassing magnitude to the British. The one was to get possession of Philadelphia; and the other to proceed up the Hudson and form a junction with the northern army, and thus cut off the communication between the eastern and southern states. His sagacious mind comprehended that the latter was the most important enterprise; and he knew that it best coincided with the orders which Howe had received from England. He was therefore inclined to believe that such would be his course; but he also knew that Howe had, the preceding year, manifested a disposition to follow his own plans, rather than those of the ministry; and that it was a favourite project with him to draw the Americans into a general engagement, not doubting but that it would issue in their final discomfiture. Washington therefore sought to make such a disposition of his forces as should best enable him to concentrate them in opposition to the British commander, whichever way he should turn. He removed the main army from Morristown and took a strong position at the heights of Middlebrook. He stationed the troops raised in the northern provinces at Peekskill and Ticonderoga, and those from the middle and southern in New Jersey.

Howe commenced his operations by an attempt, which the time wasted in his last campaign might have taught him would be fruitless; which was to draw the American commander into a general engagement. For this purpose he crossed the Hudson, and marched to Middlebrook; but finding the American camp too strong to attack, he remained several days before it, vainly offering battle. Finding that Washington could not be thus induced to leave his intrenchments, he made a feint to induce Washington to believe that he was going to attack Philadelphia, by detaching first several parties, and finally



his whole army towards the Delaware. But failing in these attempts to draw Washington from his camp, as though nothing further could be effected, on the 19th of June he ordered a precipitate retreat from Jersey. Having arrived at Amboy, the bridge designed for the Delaware was thrown hastily over to Staten Island, and all the heavy baggage and many of the troops passed it. Even Washington was for once deceived. He ordered his army to the pursuit, and proceeded himself to Quibbletown, six miles nearer Amboy. Howe having thus at length succeeded in drawing Washington from his camp, recalled his troops during the night of the 25th from the island to the continent; and the next day proceeded against the Americans in two parties—the right or eastern under Cornwallis, to proceed by Woodbridge to Scotch Plains—the left under Howe, to go by Metuckin. Howe was to attack the Americans at Quibbletown; Cornwallis to gain the heights at Middlebrook.

After passing Middlebrook, Cornwallis attacked and defeated 700 Americans, under Stirling. The noise of the firing instantly convinced Washington what was the design of the English. He with celerity regained his camp at Middlebrook, and detached parties which secured his left or eastern pass, which Cornwallis designed to take. Washington being again within his strong hold, Howe and Cornwallis retired to Amboy, and passed with their army to Staten Island.

*General Prescott captured—Burgoyne arrives at Quebec with an army—Fort Stanwix invested—Burgoyne's army move to Crown Point—Americans lose 1000 men—Schuyler retreats—British defeated at Bennington—Battle near Saratoga—British defeated—Burgoyne surrenders—Garrison of Ticonderoga retreat—Kingston is burned.*

Great preparations were now made by the English at Staten Island and New York; but whether their object was to co-operate by the Hudson with the Canadian army, or to conquer Philadelphia, was indeterminable.

On the night of July 10th, occurred the capture of General Prescott, then in command on Rhode Island. Colonel Barton, with 40 country militia under his command, proceeded from Warwick, ten miles in their whale boats, landed between Newport and Bristol, marched a mile to Prescott's quarters, took the general from his bed, and conducted him with dispatch to a place of safety on the main land.

Mean time great preparations were making for a descent upon the United States from Canada. The plan of dividing the states, by effecting a junction of the British army through lake Champlain and the Hudson, was at the beginning of this year looked to by the whole British nation as the certain means of effecting the reduction of America. This plan had gained new favour in England by the representations of General Burgoyne, an officer who had served under Carleton, and whose knowledge of American affairs was therefore undisputed. Burgoyne by his importunities with the British ministry, obtained the object for which he had made a voyage to England. He was appointed to the command of all the troops in Canada, to the prejudice of Governor Carleton, and was furnished with an army and military stores. With these he arrived at Quebec in May.

General Carleton, exhibiting an honourable example of moderation and patriotism, seconded Burgoyne in his preparations with great diligence and

energy. To increase the army he exerted not only his authority as governor, but also his influence among his numerous friends and partisans. Though himself averse to employing the savages, yet such being the orders of the British government, he aided in bringing to the field even a greater number than could be employed.

Burgoyne's army was provided with a formidable train of artillery. The principal officers who were to accompany him were General Philips, who had distinguished himself in the German wars, Brigadiers Frazer and Powel; the Brunswick Major-general Baron Reidesel, and Brigadier-general Sperht. The army consisted of 7173 British and German troops, besides several thousands of Canadians and Indians.

Burgoyne's plan of operation was that Colonel St. Leger should proceed with a detachment by the St. Lawrence, Oswego, and Fort Stanwix to Albany. Burgoyne proceeding by Champlain and the Hudson, was to meet St. Leger at Albany, and both join General Clinton at New York.

His preparations completed, Burgoyne moved forward with his army, and made his first encampment on the western shore of lake Champlain at the river Boquet. Here in two instances he betrayed that vanity which his biographers consider the characteristic weakness of his character. He made a speech to his Indian allies, in which, in terms of singular energy and with an imposing manner, he endeavoured to persuade them to change their savage mode of warfare. He also published a proclamation, in which, by arguments, promises, and threats, (threats of savage extermination!) he seemed to expect that he should bring the republicans to the royal standard; as if the words which he should speak could change the natural character, and established manners of a nation; or those which he could write should have power to subvert the purpose of men, whom all the previous measures of his government had failed to intimidate.

Meanwhile St. Leger, and Sir John Jonson who had united with him, having nearly 2,000 troops, including savages, invested Fort Stanwix then in command of Colonel Gausevoort. On the 3rd of May, General Herkimer having collected the militia, marched to the relief of Gansevoort; but he fell into an English ambuscade, and was defeated and slain with 700 of his troops. St. Leger wishing to profit by his victory, pressed upon the fort. In this perilous moment, Colonel Willet and Lieutenant Stockton escaped from the fort, made their way through the English camp, eluding the Indians, arrived at German Flats, and proceeded to Albany to alarm the country and gain assistance.

General Schuyler, on hearing the danger of the fort, dispatched Arnold to its relief. On his approach, the Indians having previously become dissatisfied, now mutinied, and compelled St. Leger to return to Montreal. On the way, they committed such depredations on the British troops, as to leave the impression that they were no less dangerous as allies than as enemies.

To preserve a connected view of the expedition of St. Leger, we have nearly two months, forestalled the operations of Burgoyne. On the 30th of June that general advanced to Crown Point, from whence he proceeded to invest Ticonderoga, which was garrisoned by 3000 men, under the command of General St. Clair. This was a place of great natural strength, and much expense and labour had been bestowed upon its fortifications; but up to this

period a circumstance respecting it seems to have been strangely overlooked. It is commanded by an eminence in its neighbourhood called Mount Defiance. The troops of Burgoyne got possession of this height on the 5th of July, and St. Clair finding the post no longer tenable, evacuated it on the same night. The garrison, separated into two divisions, were to proceed through Hubbardton to Skeenesborough. The first division under St. Clair, left the fort in the night, two hours earlier than the second under Colonel Francis. The stores and baggage, placed on board 200 batteaux, and conveyed by five armed galleys, were to meet the army at Skeenesborough.

General Frazer, with 850 of the British, pursued and attacked the division at Hubbardton, under Colonel Francis, whose rear was commanded by Colonel Warner. The Americans made a brave resistance, during which 130 of the enemy were killed; but the British, in the heat of the action, receiving a reinforcement under Reidesel, the republicans were forced to give way. They fled in every direction, spreading through the country the terror of the British arms. In this unfortunate action the Americans lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, nearly 1000 men. Many of the wounded perished in the woods. Colonel Francis was among the slain.

A part of the stores and armed galleys which had been sent up the lake, fell into the hands of the British. St. Clair, on hearing of these disasters, did not pursue his intended route, but struck into the woods on his left. At Manchester he was joined by the remnant of the vanquished division, conducted by General Warner. After a distressing march, he reached the camp of General Schuyler, at Port Edward, on the 30th. Warner remained in Manchester with a detachment, which proved of great importance in the affair which shortly after occurred at Bennington.

Burgoyne, meanwhile, took possession of Skeenesborough. The American army under Schuyler retired as he approached, successively, to Fort Anne, to Fort Edward, to Saratoga, and finally, on the 13th of August, to the islands at the mouth of the Mohawk.

This period of the history was gloomy to America, and triumphant to England. When the news of Burgoyne's successes reached that country, the ministers were every where felicitated on the success of their plans; and rejoicings were made, as though their object was already attained. On the other hand, the Americans saw that the juncture was critical and alarming; but their spirit rose with the occasion, and they breasted themselves to the shock.

General Schuyler, before leaving the northern positions, obstructed the roads by breaking the bridges, and, in the only passable defiles, by cutting immense trees on both sides of the way, to fall cross and lengthwise. These, with their branches interwoven, presented to the enemy an almost insurmountable barrier.

Congress were aware of the great merits and exertions of General Schuyler; yet they found that the misfortunes of the army had, though undeservedly, made him unpopular; and therefore it was necessary to supersede him, in order to make way for a leader, who should inspire a confidence that would draw volunteers to the service. Accordingly General Gates was appointed to the command. Lincoln also was ordered to the north, as were Arnold and Morgan, whose active spirits and brilliant achieve-

ments, it was hoped, would reanimate the dispirited troops. The celebrated patriot of Poland, Kosciuszko, was also in the army, as its chief engineer.

Burgoyne, having with great expense of labour and time opened a way for his army, arrived at the Hudson on the 30th of July. But being in a hostile country, he could obtain no provisions but from Ticonderoga; and these he was compelled to transport by the way of lake George. Learning that there was a large depot of provisions at Bennington, he sent 400 men under Lieutenant-colonel Baum, a brave German officer, to seize them. General Stark, with a body of New Hampshire militia, was on his march to join General Gates, when hearing of Baum's approach, he recruited his forces from the neighbouring militia, and met him four miles from Bennington. After a sharp conflict, Baum was killed, and his party defeated. The militia had dispersed to seek for plunder, when a British reinforcement under Colonel Breyman arrived. Fortunately for the Americans, the Green Mountain Boys, under Colonel Warner, appeared at the same time, and the British were again defeated, and compelled to retreat. Their loss was 700, the greater part of whom were taken prisoners. The republican loss was inconsiderable.

After the battle of Bennington, the Hessian prisoners were carried into the village, and distributed into public buildings and out-houses. The meeting house was filled to crowding. The next day an alarm was suddenly given to the women of the village, to take their children and flee. The Hessians, it was said, were rising on their guard. They were rushing in all directions out of the meeting-house. The guard fired, and killed five of them. But the fears of the inhabitants were suddenly changed to compassion. The galleries were giving way. In danger of being crushed to death, the unfortunate men rushed out and met the fire of a guard, who could not understand, from their foreign speech, their explanation of the disorder.

The army of the islands having been reinforced, and amounting to 5000, Gates left that encampment the 8th of September, and proceeding to Stillwater, occupied Bemus heights.

On the 12th, Burgoyne crossed the Hudson, and on the 14th encamped at Saratoga. An obstinate and bloody battle occurred at Stillwater on the 19th. At first it was partial, commencing with a skirmish between the advanced parties. Each party kept reinforcing their own combatants, until nearly the whole were in action. The American combatants took advantage of a wood which lay between the two camps, and poured from it a fire too deadly to be withstood. The British lines broke; and the Americans rushing from their coverts, pursued them to an eminence, where their flanks being supported, they rallied; charging in their turn, they drove the Americans into the woods, from which they again poured a dreadful fire, and again the British fell back. At every charge the British artillery fell into the hands of the Americans, who could neither carry it off, or turn it on the enemy. At length night came on, and to fight longer, would be to attack indiscriminately friends and foes.

The Americans retired to their camp, having lost between 300 and 400 men: the loss of the British was 500. Both sides claimed the victory; but the advantage gained was clearly on the side of the Americans.

Skirmishes, frequent and animated, occurred between this and the 7th of October, when a general

battle was fought at Saratoga. At this time the right wing of General Gates occupied the brow of the hill near the river. This camp was in the form of the segment of a great circle, the convex side towards the enemy.

General Burgoyne's left was on the river, his right extending at right angles to it across the low grounds, about 200 yards, to a range of steep heights, occupied by his choicest troops.

The guard of his camp upon the high grounds was given to Brigadiers Hamilton and Sperht; that of the redoubts and plain near the river, to Brigadier Gole. Burgoyne commanded in person the centre detachment of 1800, and was seconded by Philips, Reidesel, and Frazer. His left flank, composed of grenadiers, was commanded by Major Ackland; his right, consisting of infantry, by the earl of Balcarra.

The Americans, under General Poor, attacked the left flank and front of the British; and at the same time Colonel Morgan attacked their right. The action became general. The efforts of the combatants were desperate. Burgoyne and his officers fought like men who were defending at the last cast their military reputation; Gates and his army, like those who were deciding whether their native land should become the prey of invaders.

The invading army gave way in the short space of 52 minutes. The defenders of the soil pursued them to their intrenchments, forced the guard, and killed Colonel Breyman, its commander. Arnold, the tiger of the American army, whose track was marked by carnage, headed a small band—stormed their works, and followed them into their camp. But his horse was killed under him; he was himself wounded, and darkness was coming on. He retired; and thus was reserved to another day, the utter ruin of the British army.

The loss in killed and wounded was great on both sides, but especially on the part of the British, of whom a considerable number were made prisoners. General Frazer, whose character was as elevated as his rank, received a mortal wound.

The Americans had now an opening into the British camp. They rested on their arms the night after the battle, on the field which they had so bravely won; determined to pursue their victory with returning light. But Burgoyne, aware of the advantage which they had gained, effected, with admirable order, a change of his ground. The artillery, the camp and its appurtenances, were all removed before morning to the heights. The British army, in this position, had the river in its rear, and its two wings displayed along the hills upon its right bank. Gates was too wise to attack his enemy in this position, and exposed to another risk what now wanted nothing but vigilance to make certain. He now made arrangements to enclose his enemy, which Burgoyne perceiving, put his army in motion at nine o'clock at night, and removed to Saratoga, six miles up the river. He was obliged to abandon his hospital with 300 sick and wounded, to the humanity of the Americans.

Burgoyne now made efforts in various directions to effect a retreat, but in every way he had been anticipated. He found himself in a hostile and foreign country, hemmed in by a foe, whose army constantly increasing, already amounted to four times his own wasting numbers. The boats laden with his supplies were taken and his provisions were failing. He had early communicated with Sir Henry Clinton at New York, and had urged his co-opera-

tion. More recently, when his fortune began to darken, he had entreated him for speedy aid; stating that at the most, his army could not hold out beyond the 12th. The 12th arrived without the expected succour. His army was in the utmost distress, and Burgoyne capitulated on the 17th.

The army surrendered amounted to 5752, which together with the troops lost before by various disasters, made up the whole British loss to 9213. There also fell into the hands of the Americans 35 brass field-pieces, and 5000 muskets. It was stipulated that the British should pile their arms at the word of command, given by their own officers, march out of their camp with the honours of war, and have free passage across the Atlantic; they on their part agreeing not to serve again in North America during the war. They were treated with delicacy by the Americans. Their officers, especially their commander, received many kind attentions. The worthy General Schuyler hospitably entertained Burgoyne at his own house; although much of his private property, especially an elegant villa, was destroyed by command of that officer.

On hearing of the defeat of Burgoyne, the British garrison at Ticonderoga, returned to Canada, and not a foe remained in the northern section of the union. Thus ended an expedition from which the British had hoped, and the Americans had feared so much. The effects of their success were highly propitious to the cause of the republicans. It weakened and discouraged their enemy, gave them a supply of artillery and stores, and what was still more important, raised them in their own estimation, and in that of foreign nations.

Connected in some degree with Burgoyne's invasions, was the predatory excursion up the North river, in which the British took forts Clinton and Montgomery, and burned the village of Esopus, now Kingston. This excursion, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton, who was accompanied by Tryon and Vaughan, appears to have had the double object of opening a free navigation for the British vessels up the river to Albany, and of making a division of the American forces, which were now concentrated in opposition to Burgoyne, and thus giving him an opportunity to escape. Had Clinton taken this step earlier, he might possibly have effected the latter object. As it was, Burgoyne had notice of the taking of the forts, and the advance of Clinton, just after he had made a verbal agreement to sign the articles of capitulation; when neither his honour nor his humanity would permit him longer to await the expected succour.

Clinton, on hearing that Burgoyne had surrendered, and that Gates was advancing to attack him, evacuated and dismantled the forts which he had taken, and retreated to New York, experiencing no other permanent result than the execrations of a plundered people, and the character of reviving in a civilized age, barbarian atrocities.

*Battle of Brandywine—Americans defeated—Washington retreats to Chester—Congress adjourn to Lancaster—Cornwallis enters Philadelphia—Battle of Germantown—Americans defeated—Washington returns to Schipack creek—Attack on Redbank—American crews destroy their own vessels—Washington retires to winter-quarters.*

Having now given a connected view of the momentous operations in the north, we go back nearly three months, in the order of time, to take a brief sketch of the less decisive transactions of the middle states.

Admiral and General Howe, intent on the capture of Philadelphia, left Sandy Hook on the 23rd of July. Sailing up Chesapeake Bay, they disembarked their troops, amounting to 18,000, on the 25th of August, at the head of the Elk river, 50 miles south-west of Philadelphia. Washington, apprised of their movements, crossed the Delaware, determined to oppose them, notwithstanding his army was greatly diminished by the powerful detachments he had sent to check the alarming progress of Burgoyne.

Accompanied by Generals Greene, Sullivan, Wayne, and Stirling, he approached the enemy until he reached Gray's Hill, in front of the British commanders, with whom were Generals Knyphausen and Cornwallis.

He encamped on the rising grounds which extend from Chadsford, in the direction from north-west to south-east, and here, (the shallow stream of the Brandywine being between the armies,) he awaited an attack from the British; well knowing that nothing but a victory could now save Philadelphia. Early in the morning, on the 11th of September, the British army being drawn up in two divisions, commenced the expected assault. Agreeable to the plan of Howe, the right wing, commanded by Knyphausen, made a feint of crossing the Brandywine, at Chadsford; while the left, commanded by Cornwallis, took a circuitous route up the Brandywine, and crossed, though not without opposition, at the forks.

Knyphausen, with some fighting and much noise, had occupied the attention of the Americans. Washington, learning the approach of Cornwallis, determined to press forward in the centre and on the left; and if possible, divide the army, and cut off Knyphausen. The false intelligence, that Cornwallis was not approaching, prevented his executing this bold design, which might have changed the fate of the day. He had already dispatched some of his officers, whom, by the false intelligence, he was induced to recall. Thus time was consumed, and Cornwallis fell upon the Americans while they were in some measure unprepared to receive him. They however defended themselves with great valour, and the carnage was terrible. But they at length were forced to give way. Washington ordered to their aid the reserve, commanded by Greene; but it was too late, and the most it could effect was to cover the retreat of the fugitives. Knyphausen began in earnest effecting his passage at Chadsford. The Americans withstood bravely; but finding the remainder of the army vanquished, they fled in confusion, and abandoned to the enemy their artillery and ammunition. These fugitives also found a shelter within the lines of Greene, who was last to quit the field of battle. The Americans lost 300 killed, 600 wounded, and 400 taken prisoners. The British loss in killed and wounded was less than 500. This battle was distinguished by the exertions of foreign officers. The heroic La Fayette, while endeavouring to rally the fugitives, was wounded in the leg. Another French officer of distinction, the Baron St. Ovary, was made prisoner; and Count Pulaski, a celebrated Polisher, displayed a courage which congress afterwards rewarded with the rank of brigadier-general.

On the night succeeding the battle, the Americans retreated to Chester; the next day, through Philadelphia to Germantown. The following day, a detachment of British troops proceeded to Wilmington, and took prisoner the governor of Delaware. They seized considerable property, public and private; among which was a quantity of coined money.

Not disheartened by this defeat, Washington determined to risk another battle for the defence of the capital, and accordingly, re-passed the Schuylkill, and met the enemy at Goshen; but a violent shower of rain wet the powder in the ill-constructed cartridge-boxes of the Americans, and compelled the commander to defer the engagement. The republicans were unfortunate in another attempt to annoy the enemy. Washington had ordered Wayne with a detachment into the rear of the British. This detachment was surprised; and a night scene of shocking slaughter ensued, in which a great part of the Americans were cut off.

Howe now made a movement, which placed Washington in a situation where he could not interpose his army between the enemy and the capital, without exposing to destruction the extensive magazine of provisions and military stores which had been established at Reading. Notwithstanding the clamours of the populace, he prudently abandoned the city, rather than sacrifice the stores, or risk another battle, while the odds were so much against him.

Congress, finding themselves insecure in Philadelphia, adjourned to Lancaster, to which place the public archives and magazines were removed. They again invested Washington with the same dictatorial powers which were intrusted him after the reverses in New Jersey.

On the 26th, a detachment of the British army, under Cornwallis, entered the American capital: the main body remained at Germantown. Within sixteen miles of this place, at Schippack creek, was encamped the American army, which had been conducted by Washington along the left bank of the Schuylkill.

Lord Howe had now consummated an event to which he had looked as decisive of the contest. But far from being subdued, the Americans were not even disheartened. They knew that the army of Washington, when it should have received its reinforcements, could cut off the enemy's supplies on the side of Pennsylvania. If, therefore, they could prevent their receiving them by water, they would soon be compelled to evacuate the city. For this object, they had created batteries on Mud Island, and also at Red Bank and Billing's Point, on the Jersey shore; along which places they had sunk ranges of frames, to impede the navigation of the river. The British, sensible of the importance of a free communication with the sea, by means of the Delaware, sent Colonel Stirling with a detachment to attack Billing's Point, and clear away the obstructions which the Americans had placed in the river; in which they were ultimately successful.

The American commander, knowing that the army of Howe was weakened by the detachments under Cornwallis and Stirling, determined if possible, to surprise him. He accordingly left his camp at Schippack creek, at seven in the evening. The approach of the Americans was discovered by the British patrols. Washington's army commenced the attack about sunrise. Fortune at first favoured the arms of the Americans, and the British were compelled to retreat. But Colonel Musgrave having thrown several companies into a stone house, they so annoyed the Americans, that the pursuit was delayed. The Pennsylvania militia did not all perform the duty assigned them. A thick fog coming on, caused confusion in the American ranks. The British, thus enabled to recover from the first attack, aroused to fresh exertions; and the Ameri-

cans were defeated. Their loss was 200 killed; among whom was General Nash of North Carolina; 600 wounded, and 400 taken prisoners. The British loss was 500; among their killed were Colonels Agnew and Bird.

The American army, with all its artillery, now retreated twenty miles to Perkiomy creek, and from thence, having received a reinforcement of 500 militia, Washington advanced to his old camp, at Schipack creek. Although the army had not effected what its commander had hoped, yet so much skill and bravery had been displayed, that its reputation was enhanced.

Congress voted their thanks to the commander, and his officers and soldiers, except General Stephens, who was cashiered for misconduct on the retreat.

A few days after the battle, the royal army retreated from Germantown to Philadelphia. Scarcity of provisions prevented Howe from following the Americans, and he wished to co-operate in the design of opening the navigation of the Delaware. Indeed this measure became necessary to the preservation of his army, which could not draw subsistence from the adjacent country; so effectually did the menacing attitude of Washington's army operate, and also the edict of congress, which pronounced the penalty of death upon any citizen who should dare to afford him supplies. Thus situated, the British general found, in the language of a wit of the times, that "instead of taking Philadelphia, Philadelphia had taken him."

To succeed in opening a communication with their fleet, it was necessary that the British should possess themselves of Mud Island, which was defended by Fort Mifflin and Fort Mercer on Red Bank. Accordingly a body of Hessians, under Colonel Donop, marched down the Jersey shore, and attacked Red Bank with great impetuosity. The Americans withdrew within the fort, and made there a vigorous defence. The Hessian commander was mortally wounded, and they were repulsed with the loss of 500 men. The remainder returned to Philadelphia. Their next attack was upon Mud Island, and made by their shipping. This proved no more successful; and the British lost two warlike vessels in the attempt. The Americans were, however, at length dislodged by an attack from an unexpected quarter. The British found means to erect a battery on Province Island a little above Mud Island, which commanded fort Mifflin. Their post thus becoming untenable, the Americans withdrew in the night from Mud Island to Fort Mercer on Red Bank.

To attack this fort, the British commander dispatched Cornwallis with a strong detachment. In obedience to his orders, that general crossed the Schuylkill, followed down the Delaware to Chester below the fort, then crossing to Billing's Point, and receiving a reinforcement from New York, he thence ascended the river to attack the fort in the rear. The Americans apprised of his approach evacuated the fort, which, with a considerable quantity of artillery and stores, fell into the hands of the royalists. The American shipping, deprived of the protection of the forts, was now in great danger. Some vessels, under cover of night, passed the battery of Philadelphia and sought safety further up the river; but the English taking measures to render the escape of the remainder impracticable, the crews abandoned their vessels to the number of seventeen, and consumed them by fire. Lord Howe had now opened

the navigation of the Delaware so that he could communicate with his brother, the admiral. In the mean-while the victorious troops of the north had reinforced the main army of the republicans; and Washington advanced within fourteen miles of Philadelphia to White Marsh, his army consisting of 12,000 regulars and 3000 militia. Howe marched his army within three miles of his lines, and manoeuvred to draw him from his intrenchments, but Washington, though he did not shun the battle, chose to receive it within his lines. Howe finding him too cautious to be drawn out of his camp, and too strong to be attacked in it, withdrew his army and retired to winter-quarters at Philadelphia.

Washington on the 11th of December, left White Marsh, and retired to Valley Forge. Hardly was the army established in their winter-quarters, when the magazines were found to contain scarce a single day's provision. As to their clothing, some few had one shirt, some the remnant of one, the greater part none at all. Barefooted on the frozen ground, their feet cut by ice, they left their tracks in blood. A few only had the luxury of a blanket at night. More than 3000 were excused from duty on account of cold and nakedness. Straw could not be obtained, and the soldiers, who during the day, were benumbed with cold, and enfeebled by hunger, had at night no bed in their huts, but that of the humid ground.

Diseases attacked them, and the hospitals were replenished as rapidly as the dead were carried out. The unsuitableness of the buildings and the multitude of sick that crowded them, caused an insupportable fetor. Hospital fever ensued. It could not be remedied by change of linen, for none could be had; nor by salubrious diet, as even the coarsest was not attainable; nor by medicines, as even the worst were wholly wanting. The hospitals resembled more receptacles for the dying, than refuges for the sick.

The patience with which these patriotic votaries of freedom endured such complicated evils, is, we believe, without a parallel in history. To go to battle, cheered by the trumpet and the drum, with victory or the speedy bed of honour before the soldier, requires a heroic effort; much more to starve, to freeze, and to lie down and die, in silent obscurity. Sparta knew the names of the 300 who fell for her at the pass of Thermopylae; but America knows not the names of the hundreds who perished for her in the camp of Valley Forge.

*Causes of the distress of the army—Intrigues against Washington—Predatory excursions of the British—Massacre at the bridges of Quinton and Hancock—Policy of France in reference to America—France concludes a treaty with America—Arrival of British ministers.*

The melancholy state to which the army was reduced, was owing to several causes. The bills of credit had diminished to one-fourth their nominal value. A scarcity of linen cloth and leather prevailed throughout the country. The commissaries had contracted for supplies at ten per cent. above the current price. This proceeding congress refused to sanction; but required that supplies should be furnished, and the bills received as specie. The consequence was, that these articles could not be procured. The officers, too, were constantly leaving the army. This was principally owing to the depreciation of paper-money, and the advanced price on all articles of consumption; hence, far from being able to live as became their rank the officers had

not even the means of providing for their subsistence. Many had already expended their private fortunes, to maintain a respectable appearance. Those who handed in their resignations were not the worthless, but the bravest, most distinguished, and most spirited; who, disdaining the degraded situation in which they were placed, left the army to escape it.

This example of defection set by his beloved officers, more than any of the other disasters of the army, wounded the parental heart of Washington. In the midst of these anxieties, that great man was called to suffer from those common foes of distinguished merit,—envy and calumny. Intrigues were set in motion against him; the object of which was to give him so many occasions of disgust, that he should of himself retire from the head of the army; and thus make room for the promotion of Gates, whose success in the affair of Burgoyne, had raised his reputation to the highest pitch.

Among the leaders of this combination, was General Conway, a wily and restless intriguer. He besieged all the members of congress with insinuations that no order existed in the American camp. Congress, at length, appointed him inspector-general.

Pennsylvania addressed a remonstrance to congress, censuring the measures of the commander-in-chief. The same was done by the members from Massachusetts, among whom was Samuel Adams. They were not pleased that the whole command devolved on a Virginian, to the exclusion of their generals, who were, in their opinion, equal, if not superior, to Washington.

A board of war was created under Gates and Mifflin, both of whom were thought to be among the authors of the machinations against Washington. With the advice of this board, congress planned an expedition against Canada. Washington was not consulted; but he was ordered to detach La Fayette, with certain regiments, to perform the service. This order was promptly obeyed; but what he did, was all that was done. La Fayette was recalled from Albany, and the expedition was abandoned.

It is impossible to express, with what indignation the whole army and the best citizens were filled, on hearing the machinations that were in agitation against their honoured chief. An universal cry arose against the intriguers. Conway was superseded by Baron Steuben, and dared not show himself among the exasperated soldiers. Samuel Adams also deemed it prudent to keep aloof from the army.

Congress, thus made to see how deeply rooted was the commander in the affections of the army and people, and knowing also that he ranked high at foreign courts, became at length sensible of their error, and restored to Washington a confidence which he had so hardly earned, and to which he was so justly entitled.

During these machinations, Washington never once turned from his high career of suffering virtue, to notice his personal enemies. He had been indefatigable in urging congress to stop the defection of the officers, by securing to them some reward for their services. In accordance with his advice, a law was passed, allowing them half pay for seven years after the close of the war. He also urged congress, and the different state governments, to make such preparations for the ensuing campaign, as that it might be commenced early in the spring, before the British reinforcements could arrive. But deliberations are of necessity tardily made in popular governments: hence, what ought to have been ready

in the beginning of spring, was but scantily provided during the summer.

These delays might have been fatal to the army, had the British been in a condition to take the field early in the season. As it was, they contented themselves with sending out their light troops to scour the country in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. In March, a party of their soldiers massacred in cool blood, while crying for quarter, the soldiers who were stationed at the bridges of Quinton and Hancock.

Near the same time, another party undertook an expedition up the Delaware. They destroyed the magazines at Bordentown, and the vessels which the Americans had drawn up the river, between Philadelphia and Trenton.

In May 2000 men, under La Fayette, were posted at Baron Hill, to form an advance guard for the main army, and to be in readiness to annoy the British rear, in case they attempted a retreat to New York. A detachment of 5000 men, under General Grant, were sent to surprise and destroy this force. In the beginning of the engagement Grant obtained some advantage, but at length the skill and activity of La Fayette baffled his exertions. He returned to Philadelphia, while La Fayette removed to Valley Forge.

The Americans were no where more successful than in the depredations which their swift-sailing privateers made upon the British commerce. With these they infested every sea, even those about the British islands, and often performed deeds of almost incredible boldness. Since 1776 they had already captured 500 of the British vessels.

Early in the season, Sir Henry Clinton arrived in Philadelphia to supersede Howe in the command of the British forces; that general having resigned his commission, and returned to England.

The news of the capture of Burgoyne caused a deep sensation throughout Europe, and affected the politics of several of its cabinets. It produced, however, its chief effects in England and France. The former nation was astonished and afflicted; their sanguine calculations were defeated; their boastful predictions had failed; and they were mortified and perplexed, and knew not what course next to pursue. The generals and soldiers who had fought in America were not inferior to any that England or Europe could produce. These the Americans had vanquished. Of what, then, might they not be capable in future, when they should have derived new confidence from successes, and consolidated their state by practice and experience? The garrisons of Canada were weak, and the Americans might turn their victories against them: the Canadians following the example of the Americans, might also revolt from Britain. Enlistments, both in America and England, became daily more difficult, and the Germans would only furnish troops to fulfil the engagement already made. And for the few recruits which they could raise, several of the German princes refused a passage through their dominions.

France had long, by secret intrigues, favoured the cause of America; and the perplexities of the British ministry were doubled, by the belief that she would soon openly disclose herself; and thus her ancient and inveterate foe be joined in the contest with her alienated colonies.

When the difficulties of America commenced, the finances of France were diminished by preceding wars, and her marine enfeebled by neglect. The navy of England was powerful, her colonies in dif-



ferent quarters numerous and wealthy, and productive of an immense revenue. France, jealous of her rival, viewed the discontents in America with pleasure. She did not at first espouse the quarrel, knowing that at the moment she should declare herself, the British ministry, by acquiescing in the concessions demanded by the Americans, might instantly disarm them, and France would find herself alone, burdened with a war without motive or object. The declaration of independence removed this objection; yet though France would rather see America independent, than reconciled with her parent state, she relished a long war between them, which should waste both England and her colonies, better than either.

This being her policy, she amused the British ministers with protestations of friendship. She encouraged the Americans with secret succours, but scanty and uncertain; and excited their hopes by promises of future co-operation. These promises were, however, vague and unofficial, so that they might have been disowned by the government.

Wearied out and disgusted, the agents or congress urged the cabinet of Versailles to come to a final decision; but they avoided it, alleging a variety of excuses. Unable to accomplish their views with France, and discovering no other prospect of safety, the Americans proposed to England the recognition of their independence. This point conceded, they would have yielded in all others, to such conditions as should tend to save the honour of the mother-country; but this proposition was rejected.

The capture of Burgoyne gave new ardour to these patriots, and new hopes and fears to France and England. The American negotiators now endeavoured to give jealousy to the French cabinet, by pretending a disposition to form an alliance with England; and disquietude to the English ministry, by the appearance of courting the strictest union with France. This policy induced the French ministers to declare themselves openly; and they well knew that they should be warmly seconded in this measure by every class of the French citizens; with whom the cause of America was exceedingly popular. On the 6th of February, 1778, France acknowledged the independence of America by treaty; and promised to support it. The treaty was signed, on behalf of France, by M. Gerard; on the part of the United States by Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee. On the 20th of March, the American commissioners were received at the court of France, as the representatives of a sister nation; an event which was considered in Europe as the most important which had occurred in the annals of America, since its discovery by Columbus.

In the British parliament, a proposal was brought forward by the ministers, to send commissioners to America, empowered to grant all that her colonies had asked before the war, on condition of their returning to their former allegiance. This measure was warmly opposed, and its ill-success foretold. It is, said the opposition, either too little or too much; too little, if we wish to make peace in earnest; too much, if we expect to continue the war. If the Americans refused any other conditions than independence, when they were single-handed and depressed by misfortunes, surely all others will now be rejected. Why not at once concede that independence which America has already acquired, and is able to maintain. She will then doubtless prefer our alliance to that of France, and in our coming contest with that wily nation, we shall have her as-

sistance instead of her hostility. Such in substance was the language of the opposition; but the councils of the ministry prevailed. The earl of Carlisle, Governor Johnstone and William Eden were appointed commissioners. The ministry, as the result sufficiently proves, had other than the ostensible objects in view, in sending these men to America. They were to make an attempt to bribe, corrupt and divide the people.

The British, highly exasperated against the French, on account of their interference, immediately made preparations to attack that nation at sea. To the astonishment of England, she now found that France was able to cope with her on that element. When the difficulties in America commenced, France had directed her attention to the maintenance of a marine. To provide excellent officers, seamen of the merchant shipping were employed in the royal navy.

In 1772, 1775, 1776, fleets, as schools of practice, were sent out under Counts D'Orvilliers, De Guichen, Duchfaut; and the French marine was now equal to the English.

On the 2nd of May arrived the long-expected treaty with France. It was brought over by the French frigate *Le Sensible*. This frigate brought also Silas Deane, who had been recalled, and M. Gerard, the minister from France to the United States. She left Brest the 8th of March, and arrived at Casco Bay on the 2nd of May. The 6th of August, M. Gerard was received publicly by congress at Philadelphia.

Carlisle, Eden and Johnstone, arrived at Philadelphia on the 9th of June. The concessions offered were, as was predicted too late, and congress refused to negotiate on any other terms than the recognition of their independence, and the removal of all the British forces.

The commissioners next resorted to the expedient of disseminating in the country a multitude of writings, in which they censured congress as requiring what was unjust, and injurious to America. They represented the alliance with France as associated with meanness, while they extolled the generosity and magnanimity of England.

Johnstone had formerly resided in the colonies; and afterwards, as a member of parliament, he espoused the American cause. Availing himself of the influence which these circumstances had given him, he approached many influential republicans; and while he flattered them for their abilities and conduct, he adroitly insinuated that, if the royal authority could again be established, their merits would be rewarded by wealth, titles and honours.

In some cases attempts at direct bribery were discovered:—a lady was employed by Johnstone to offer to General Reed, if he would aid the royal cause, 10,000*l.* sterling, and any office in the colonies within the king's gift. "I am not," said Reed, "worth purchasing; but such as I am, the king of England is not rich enough to buy me."

In some instances, Johnstone had the indiscretion to write. The indignant patriots brought forward his letters, which contained the evidence of his base intrigues, and laid them before congress. That body indignantly forbade all further communication with the commissioners. The popular writers of the times, among whom were Dayton, of South Carolina, and Thomas Paine, met and confuted their insinuations. Public opinion overwhelmed them with opprobrium; and this abortive attempt, like former similar ones, served only to show to the British ministry, the stability of that union which they endeavoured to shake.

*Battle of Monmouth—Clinton removes to New York—Washington to the Hudson—French fleet arrives—Franklin appointed minister to France—Expedition against Rhode Island—Siege of Newport—Indian atrocities—Attack of Wyoming—Savannah taken by the British.*

Near the 5th of June, measures were taken by the British to evacuate Philadelphia. This was done the morning of the 18th, the army proceeding through New Jersey, to go to New York.

Washington thought it wise to bring the British to an engagement on their retreat; but this opinion was contrary to that of a majority of officers. He however persisted, and brought about an engagement at Monmouth, or Freehold, on the 28th, in which the Americans had the advantage. The loss of the English was 700, that of the Americans much less. Though both sides claimed the victory, yet historians agree in awarding it to the republicans, as they remained masters of the field of battle.

It was at the commencement of this engagement, that the incident occurred, which was the cause of General Lee's being censured, and suspended one year from his command. By his own request, he had been associated with General La Fayette in the command of the van. After he had attacked the British, he thought the ground in his rear more favourable to the formation of his lines; and he made, in some haste, a retrograde motion. Washington met the retreating troops; and finding that Lee was abandoning a ground which he had commanded him to take, and endangering the army by an appearance of flight, the commander inquired, with sternness, what he meant; and himself gave orders for forming the battalion.

In the course of the day he employed Lee; who, during the remainder of this hard fought battle, displayed such courage and military conduct, that had he not thought proper afterwards to write to the commander a disrespectful letter on the events of the day, Washington would have taken no further notice of his irregular behaviour.

Night separated the combatants, and Washington and his soldiers rested upon their arms, intending to renew the conflict the succeeding day; but Clinton moved off silently in the night, and was in the morning several miles distant. He moved on to Middletown, from thence to Sandy Hook, and finally crossed over to New York.

On the 1st of July, the American commander, leaving Morgan's dragoons in lower Jersey, proceeded with his army towards the Hudson.

A French fleet was now sent to the aid of America, commanded by the Count D'Estaigne. The admiral left Toulon on the 18th of April, with the intention of blockading the British in the Delaware. He arrived on the 8th of June; and finding that Admiral Howe had left Philadelphia for New York, he proceeded to that place, designing to engage him there; but the size of his ships prevented his passing the bar between Sandy Hook and Long Island.

On the 14th of September, Benjamin Franklin, still in France, was invested with the dignity and powers of minister-plenipotentiary.

Washington, wishing to avail himself of the presence of the French fleet, directed an expedition against Rhode Island, for which he detached a force of 10,000 troops, under the command of General Sullivan. With him he afterwards associated generals Greene and La Fayette. The force to which

this army was opposed, consisted of 6000. It was stationed at Newport, and commanded by General Pigott.

Sullivan had, with the advice of Washington, concerted a plan of operations with the French admiral, D'Estaigne. Sullivan's army had taken post near Providence, and he had reasonable expectations, that with the aid of the French, he should be able to make himself master of the whole force under Pigott. The fleet was to enter the harbour of Newport, and land the French troops on the north part of the island on which that city is situated; while the Americans were to land at the same time, under cover of the guns of a frigate, on the opposite coast. On the 8th of August, General Sullivan joined General Greene at Tiverton, and the descent was to be made the next day. The fleet presented itself. Some militia who were to join the army, failed to come at the expected hour, and Sullivan represented to the French admiral the necessity of a short delay. In the meantime the fleet of Lord Howe appeared in sight. D'Estaigne left Sullivan to give chase to the British admiral. The crafty Howe led him on, and both fleets were soon out of sight. On the morning of the 9th, Sullivan crossed the east passage, and landed on the north end of Rhode Island, and on the 14th commenced the siege of Newport, still believing that he should have the promised assistance of the French fleet. Great was his chagrin and disappointment, when after its return, it having been shattered in a storm at sea, no entreaties could prevail on the admiral to remain; but on the 22nd he sailed to Boston to refit. Thus deserted by his allies, one half of his army, which consisted of militia, refused to remain to encounter the danger he was now in, of an attack from the British at New York.

Thus weakened, he raised the siege of Newport on the 28th, and retired to a commanding situation on the north part of the island. The enemy followed, and on the 29th attacked his army. After a sharp conflict, in which Sullivan lost 211 of his troops, and Pigott 260, the British were compelled to give way. They retired to Quaker Hill. The next day a letter from Washington informed him that Sir Henry Clinton, with a large body of troops, had put out to sea from New York.

His prospects were now completely reversed, and instead of hoping to conquer the British forces, his own were in imminent danger. By a skill that has been much commended, he succeeded in drawing off his army to the main land. The very next day, Clinton, who had been detained by adverse winds, arrived with 4000 men at the island.

This affair was unhappy in its effects. D'Estaigne had left Sullivan to his fate, not only against his entreaties, but against the warm remonstrances of Generals Greene and La Fayette. The resentment excited in the breast of Sullivan, and the disapprobation of many others, gave to Washington the greatest uneasiness, and called forth all his address to sooth their ruffled spirits, and prevent an open rupture with the French admiral.

Sir Henry Clinton, disappointed of his expected prize, bent his course towards New York, intending to make upon his way a descent upon New London; but the winds were adverse. He therefore proceeded to New York; having first left a detachment under General Gray, with orders to destroy, if possible, the American privateers, which resorted to Buzzard's bay, and the adjacent rivers. He arrived there with some transports, and succeeded in

destroying 60 large vessels, and some small craft. Proceeding to New Bedford and Fair Haven, he destroyed many mills, warehouses, and much private property.

In the campaign of this year, the depredations committed by the savages were more frequent and more inhuman than ever. The ruthless chiefs who guided them in these sanguinary expeditions were Butler and Brandt; beings capable of the most horrid deeds. The devastation of the flourishing settlement of Wyoming, by a band of Indians and Tories, was marked by the most demoniac cruelties. This settlement consisted of eight towns on the banks of the Susquehannah, and was one of the most flourishing as well as delightful places in America. But even in this peaceful spot, the inhabitants were not exempt from the baneful influence of party spirit. Although the majority were devoted to the cause of their country, yet the loyalists were numerous. Several persons had been arrested as Tories, and sent to the proper authorities for trial. This excited the indignation of their party, and they determined upon revenge. They united with the Indians, and resorting to artifice, pretended a desire to cultivate peace with the inhabitants of Wyoming, while they were making every preparation for their meditated vengeance. The youth of Wyoming were at this time with the army, and but 500 men capable of defending the settlement remained. The inhabitants had constructed four forts for their security, into which these men were distributed. In the month of July, 1600 Indians and Tories, under the command of Butler and Brandt, appeared on the banks of the Susquehannah. Two of the forts nearest the frontier immediately surrendered to them. The savages spared the women and children, but butchered the rest of their prisoners without exception. They then surrounded Kingston, the principal fort, and to dismay the garrison, hurled into the place 200 scalps, still reeking with blood. Colonel Denison, knowing it to be impossible to defend the fort, demanded of Butler what terms would be allowed the garrison if they surrendered; he answered, "the hatchet." They attempted further resistance, but were soon compelled to surrender. Enclosing the men, women, and children, in houses and barracks, they set fire to these, and the miserable wretches were all consumed.

The fort of Wilksbarre still remained in the power of the republicans: but this garrison learning the fate of the others, surrendered without resistance, hoping in this way to obtain mercy. But submission could not soften the hearts of these unfeeling monsters, and their atrocities were renewed. They then devastated the country, burnt their dwellings, and consigned their crops to the flames. The Tories appeared to surpass even the savages in barbarity. The nearest ties of consanguinity were disregarded; and it is asserted, that a mother was murdered by the hand of her own son. None escaped but a few women and children; and these, dispersed and wandering in the forests, without food and without clothes, were not the least worthy of commiseration.

Disputes occurred about this time, between the French and the inhabitants at Boston, and also at Charleston, South Carolina. In both these places some of the French were killed. At Boston, the Chevalier de St. Saverie lost his life. Congress attributed these unfortunate affairs to British machinations; and the French admiral forbore to in-

quire further. The Marquis La Fayette, hoping to serve the United States by his representations in France, requested and obtained permission to repass the Atlantic.

Admiral D'Estaigne left Boston for the West Indies on the 3rd of November. The same day, Commodore Hotham left Sandy Hook, having on board 5000 land troops, commanded by Major General Grant. Admiral Byron, who had superseded Admiral Howe, followed him the 14th of December. The English took Martinico from the French, and the French St. Lucie from the English.

In planning the campaign for this year, the British had placed their principal hope of success in conquering the southern states. It was not, however, until this late period of the campaign, that Sir Henry Clinton prepared to attempt the execution of their design. He sent to Georgia, under convoy of Admiral Hyde Parker, 2500 English, Hessians, and refugees. This corps was commanded by Colonel Campbell, who was to attack by sea, while Prevost, the commander in Florida, was ordered to commence attacks along the Savannah river. The 27th of December, Campbell arrived before Savannah, which was unprepared for defence. On the 28th, he defeated the Americans near Savannah, under Major-general Robert Howe, and killed upwards of 100 of his troops. The British took immediate possession of the city. Four hundred and fifty American troops, and a large quantity of artillery and ammunition, fell into their hands.

Late in the autumn of 1778, Washington took winter-quarters at Middlebrook.

*Campaign of 1779—Sunbury taken by the British—Unsuccessful attempt upon Port Royal—Colonel Pickens defeats a party of Royalists—General Prevost surprises the Americans—John Rutledge governor of South Carolina—British defeat General Moultrie near Charlestown—Engagement at Stono Ferry—British make a descent on Virginia—Governor Tryon makes a descent on Connecticut—Americans take Stono Point—British land at Penobscot river—American Flotilla destroyed—Sullivan defeats the Savages.*

The plan of Sir Henry Clinton was to subjugate at the outset of this campaign, the whole state of Georgia to the royal authority. The capital being already in possession of the British, they soon overran the adjacent country. Sunbury still held out for congress. General Prevost, (commander of the troops at St. Augustine,) pursuant to the orders of Clinton, left Florida; and after a march of excessive fatigue and hardship, attacked the garrison at that place. They made a show of resistance; but the country being now in the hands of the enemy, they were compelled to surrender at discretion.

Colonel Campbell had undertaken the same enterprise. Joining his corps to that of Prevost, they proceeded together to Savannah, where Prevost took the command of all the British forces in that region. All Georgia was now under the authority of the royalists; and Clinton had accomplished all that he had expected to effect, before he should be joined by recruits from England. He did not consider himself in sufficient force to attack Charlestown; but aware that if he did not proceed with offensive operations, his army would languish and his enemy soon put him on the defensive, he planned an expedition against Port Royal, giving the command to General Gardner. The English were, however, so valiantly received by the Carolinians, that they

were obliged to return, after having experienced a severe loss.

One of the motives of the British ministry in transferring the war into the southern states, resulted from an opinion that a great proportion were at heart in favour of the mother-country; and that if an opportunity presented, they would flock to her standard. They were not mistaken in the belief that there were royalists; but they were deceived as to their number and efficient strength. This was clearly shown by events which occurred about this period.

Of these royalists there were several kinds. Some of the least violent, concealing their sentiments, resided in the midst of the republicans; some lived solitary and watched a favourable opportunity to declare themselves; and some were so rancorous as even to unite with the Indians; and assisting in their nocturnal massacres, their conduct was more barbarous than that of the savages themselves.

To support and encourage these friends to the royal cause, the British generals moved up the river to Augusta. They sent out numerous emissaries, who represented to them that now was the time to join the royal standard. They were told that they wanted nothing but to unite their strength, to become incomparably the stronger party, and to be enabled to take vengeance on those who had so long loaded them with indignities, and to entitle them to the high rewards which await those who are found faithful among the faithless. The royalists rose in arms, put themselves under the command of Colonel Boyd, one of their chiefs; and moving towards the British army, pillaged, burnt, and murdered on their way. Meantime the Carolinians collected a force, which, under the command of Colonel Pickens, met them, just as they had nearly reached the British posts. A furious conflict ensued. The republicans killed great numbers, and totally defeated the party. Seventy-six of the most guilty were condemned to death as criminals; but mercy was extended to the whole number of the condemned, except five.

Towards the close of the preceding year, General Lincoln was appointed, at the request of the Carolinians, to take the command of the southern forces. He arrived on the 4th of December, at Charlestown; and on the 17th of January, took post at Purysburg. As the enemy extended their posts up the Savannah, on the southern side, Lincoln extended his on the northern bank. He fixed one encampment at Black Swamp, and another nearly opposite to Augusta; intending, as soon as he should be able to collect a sufficient force, to cross the Savannah, and oblige the enemy to evacuate the upper parts of Georgia. Meantime Prevost fell down the river to Hudson's Ferry. Lincoln, whose army amounted to 4000, intending to restrict him to the coast, now commenced the execution of his design, of taking possession of the upper part of Georgia. He detached General Ashe with 2000 men of the North Carolina militia, to take post on Briar creek. Finding his position a strong one, and trusting too much to its strength, General Ashe was not careful to avoid surprise. Prevost took measures by judicious feints, to keep the attention of Lincoln diverted from Ashe, while he marched to surprise that general. He was so completely successful, that he had entered the camp of the Americans before they were aware of his approach. Panic-struck, the militia fled without firing a shot; but many of them being drowned in the river and swallowed up in the marshes, met

with a death which they might possibly have escaped by a gallant resistance.

The regular troops of Carolina and Georgia animated by the example of their commander, the brave General Elbert, made a gallant resistance; but deserted by their friends, and outnumbered by their enemies, they were compelled to yield. By this disastrous affair, General Lincoln must have been deprived of 1600 of his troops, as only 400 returned to his camp.

Again the British were masters of all Georgia. They had free communication with the encouraged loyalists; not only in the back parts of this state, but also in those of the Carolinas: and General Prevost now proceeded to organize a colonial government.

Alarmed but not dismayed, the Carolinians made the most vigorous exertions to draw out their militia. John Rutledge, in whom all classes confided, was chosen governor. By the middle of April, Lincoln found himself at the head of 5000 fighting men. On the 23rd he resumed his intention of occupying Georgia; and leaving 1000 of his troops under General Moultrie, to garrison Purysburg and Black Swamp, he marched with the remainder up the Savannah. Meantime the army of Prevost, which was increased by the royalists, crossed the river Savannah near its mouth, and defeated General Moultrie; who, finding Purysburg and Black Swamp untenable, had retired towards Charlestown. Holding on their victorious course, the 11th of May they appeared before Charlestown. The garrison of this city was small, although it had been the day before reinforced by 500 militia under Governor Rutledge, and by the "American Legion" under the Count Pulaski. Their only hope of relief was from the hourly expected presence of Lincoln. When, therefore, they were, on the morning of the 12th, summoned to surrender, they sent out commissioners to negotiate, who contrived, by requiring certain conditions, to bring on a long dispute. In the meantime they were making vigorous preparations for real defence, and a great show as if well prepared for resistance.—The fears of Prevost began to operate, and he drew off his troops some miles from the town. While he hesitated, and delayed to attack the city, the army of Lincoln appeared.

Prevost now retired to the island of St. James and St. John's southward of Charlestown. His design was to pass along the fertile islands which line the coast. Lincoln followed him upon the main land, and an indecisive engagement of some regiments occurred at Stono Ferry. General Prevost left a garrison in Beaufort on Port Royal, under command of Colonel Maitland, and then retired with the British main army to Savannah; while General Lincoln with the American forces took post at Sheldon.

In May, General Clinton, wishing to further the designs of the British ministry in the conquest of the southern states, sent out from New York a fleet under the command of Commodore Collier, with a corps of 2000 men under General Matthews, to make a descent upon Virginia, and by devastating the country, to keep the inhabitants in a continual state of alarm. He had hopes that by the aid of the loyalists, this force would be able to overawe and effect a revolt of the state. This fleet proceeded to the Chesapeake, and blocked up the entrances of James river and Hampton roads. A part of the troops landed on the banks of Elizabeth river: then proceeded to Portsmouth, Norfolk, Suffolk, and

Gosport, burned those places, and spread devastation through the country. They demolished magazines, and took great quantities of provisions, which had been prepared for the American army, and burned or removed all the stores and shipping. Failing, however, in the grand object of producing a revolt, Clinton recalled them to New York.

He next resolved to attack the American works at Stony Point, and Verplank's Neck; two opposite projections of land on the Hudson river. The Americans had constructed these works at great labour and expense. They were important to them, as they commanded the pass called King's Ferry, and because if they fell into the hands of the British, the Americans would be obliged to take a circuit of 90 miles up the river to communicate between the northern and southern provinces.

General Clinton, commanding this expedition in person, left New York on the 31st of May. He first proceeded against Stony Point. The Americans being unprepared for defence, evacuated the place. At Verplank's Point, the fort named La Fayette had just been completed. Unfortunately, however, this fort was commanded by the heights of Stony Point, upon which the British had, during the night, planted a battery of heavy cannon, and another of mortars. Early in the morning this artillery was turned against Fort La Fayette; and the enemy having invested it, all probability of relief was cut off, and the garrison surrendered. General Clinton gave orders for completing the works of Stony Point. On the 2nd of June he encamped his army at Philipsburg, half way between Verplank's Point and New York.

At this period the commerce of the British in the sound was nearly destroyed by the Connecticut privateers. They intercepted whatever made its appearance on their waters; and by this means distressed the British army in New York, which had been accustomed to receive its supplies from this quarter. To remedy this inconvenience, Governor Tryon, by the orders of Clinton, embarked with a strong detachment for Connecticut. He proceeded to New Haven, and destroyed all the shipping which he found in that port. He then advanced to Fairfield, Norwalk, and Greenwich, all of which places he barbarously consigned to the flames. Besides the loss of a great quantity of shipping and whale-boats, the destruction of other property was immense.

While the British were thus desolating the coasts of Connecticut, the Americans undertook the recovery of Verplank's and Stony Points. The stores at Stony Point, in particular, were abundant, and it was supplied with a numerous and select corps of troops. Washington charged General Wayne with the attack of Stony Point, and General Howe with that of Verplank's. The troops commanded by General Wayne arrived under the walls of the fort about midnight. The Americans were divided into two columns, and attacked the fort from opposite points. The English opened a tremendous fire upon them, but they rushed impetuously onward, opening their way with the bayonet. They scaled the fort, and the two victorious columns met in the centre of the works. The loss of the British in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to 600, the Americans lost but 100. The attack upon Verplank's proved unsuccessful.

When Clinton received intelligence of the capture of Stony Point, he determined not to suffer the Americans to remain in possession, and dispatched a corps of troops to dislodge them. Washington,

not wishing to hazard a battle, ordered General Wayne to retire, having accomplished his object in dismantling the fort, and removing all the artillery and stores.

At the east, the British obtained some advantages over the Americans. Colonel McLean had embarked from Halifax with a strong detachment of troops, and landed at the mouth of the Penobscot river. In this place he chose an advantageous situation and proceeded to fortify himself. His object was to annoy the eastern frontier, and to prevent the inhabitants of Massachusetts from sending reinforcements to the army of Washington. The Bostonians in great alarm fitted out an armament, and gave the command to Commodore Saloustall. With it they dispatched a portion of land troops, under the command of Lovell. On their arrival at the Penobscot, instead of attacking the enemy immediately, which would have insured them success, they delayed fifteen days in order to intrench themselves. On the day of the intended attack, Commodore Collier, whom Clinton, on hearing of the situation of McLean, had sent from Sandy Hook to his relief, appeared with his fleet at the mouth of the Penobscot. The Americans re-embarked, but Collier attacked the flotilla, and entirely destroyed it. The soldiers and sailors, in order to effect their escape, were obliged to land and hide themselves in the forests. The failure of this enterprise was a severe mortification, as well as a serious loss to the Bostonians.

In July, congress sent General Sullivan with 2000 troops, to repress the incursions of the savages at the west. He proceeded up the Susquehanna, and at Wyoming was joined by a reinforcement of 1600 men, under the command of James Clinton.

The Indians had assembled in great numbers, under the command of their ferocious leaders, Johnson, Butler, and Brandt, and were now joined by 250 royalists. Confident in their strength, they had advanced to Newtown; and, while awaiting Sullivan's approach, had thrown up an extensive intrenchment, strengthened by a palisade and redoubts, after the European manner. General Sullivan, on his arrival, immediately attacked the place. The Indians, after defending it two hours, fled in disorder. Few were killed, and none taken prisoners. General Sullivan took possession of Newtown, from whence he made incursions into the other parts of their country. The savages, filled with terror, made no further resistance, but escaped to the forests. An immense quantity of grain was burned, 40 villages were utterly destroyed, and no trace of vegetation left upon the surface of the ground. General Sullivan, after having accomplished this enterprise, went with his army to Easton, in Pennsylvania.

*Naval affairs—D'Estaigue arrives off the coast of Georgia—Savannah invested by the French—The siege raised—Paul Jones's naval engagement—Intrigues of France and Spain.*

To understand the history of the war, it is necessary to keep in view, not only the movements of the forces of America, but also those of her ally and her enemy. the commencement of the present year finds the Count D'Estaigue and Lord Byron, with their respective fleets, in the West Indies. The former is reinforced by a squadron under the Count De Grasse, and the latter by an armament under Commodore Rowley.

Their fleets were now nearly equal, and the English were desirous of a naval battle; but the French

had in view the conquest of the neighbouring English islands, and for that purpose had on board a considerable land force, which must in the event of a battle be exposed, and could afford no assistance. D'Estaigne was therefore averse to an engagement, and lay quietly at anchor in Port Royal, Martinico.

Meantime, Lord Byron sailed towards England to convoy a fleet of merchantmen, well aware that a guard of no ordinary strength could, under present circumstances, protect them. No sooner had he left the West Indies, than the French admiral sent a detached squadron to St. Vincent, which succeeded in capturing that valuable island.

On the 30th of June, D'Estaigne, who had received a reinforcement from France, left Martinico, his fleet consisting of 25 sail of the line, and on the 2nd of July came to anchor in a harbour of Grenada. On this island he landed 2500 men, and attacked and carried, by a bloody and destructive assault, St. George, its principal fortress. The island, of necessity, submitted to France.

Shortly after these events, D'Estaigne received from General Lincoln, President Lowndes and Mr. Plombard, letters, from which he learned of the dissatisfaction which existed in America. The republicans complained, that the alliance with France had produced nothing upon the American continent, which corresponded either to the greatness of their ally, or the general expectations of the Americans. It was said that the sums expended upon Rhode Island were worse than fruitless, and that the zeal with which the Bostonians had victualled and equipped the French fleet, produced no better effect than its immediate desertion of their coasts, on distant expeditions. The loss of Savannah and Georgia, which opened to the British an easy entrance to the Carolinas, was attributed to the desertion of the French; and finally, it was said, that while the French were enriching themselves in distant seas, with the conquests of the British possessions, they left the Americans, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty, to sustain the burden of the war. These complaints were followed by earnest entreaties, that D'Estaigne would immediately restore the confidence of the Americans, by hastening to their succour.

Count D'Estaigne had received instructions to return immediately to Europe, but moved by the representations of the Americans, he ventured to disobey the summons of his court. Directing his course for Georgia, he appeared off the coast on the 1st of September.

He saw that there were two plans which, if America could successfully execute, the war must of necessity come to a conclusion. One of these was the destruction of the forces under General Prevost, at Savannah; and the other and more difficult was, to attack by sea and land conjointly with Washington, the British forces in the city of New York. It was determined to attempt the former; and the Count D'Estaigne and General Lincoln lost no time in commencing their joint operations.

The French admiral had sent some vessels to Charlestown with the joyful news of his arrival in those waters. They surprised and captured some British vessels loaded with provisions. General Prevost, alarmed at his danger, sent expresses directing the forces under Maitland, and those at Sunbury, to repair with speed to Savannah. He removed the shipping further up the river, destroyed the batteries at the island of Tybee, and pressed the completion of the fortifications at Savannah.

Meantime, General Lincoln marched towards Sa-

vannah, leaving orders for the militia to collect from all quarters, and join his army.

Before he had arrived, D'Estaigne had invested the place, and demanded of Prevost to surrender to the arms of France;—a measure which was displeasing to the republicans. The expected reinforcements of Prevost had not yet arrived; and he amused the French admiral by a protracted negotiation. D'Estaigne even went so far as to give him a truce of 24 hours. In the meantime, Maitland arrived, and there was then no further talk of surrendering. Pulaski with his legion, and Lincoln with 3000 troops, had arrived before Savannah. Works were erected, and a regular siege was commenced on the 24th of September.

On the 3d of October the trenches were completed, the batteries armed, and a bombardment commenced. Forty-three pieces of cannon and nine mortars sent an incessant shower of balls and shells. The city was on fire in many places. The burning roofs fell upon the women and children, and the unarmed multitude; and every where were seen the crippled, the dying and the dead. Five days had this firing continued; which although so dreadful to the town, was nearly harmless to the fort.

Touched with the sufferings which he witnessed, Prevost requested permission that the women and children should be sent down the river, on board of vessels intrusted to the care of the French, to await there the issue of the siege. D'Estaigne, fearing to be again entrapped, refused this humane request. In the meantime, the French fleet would be exposed to dangers, and himself to disgrace, should the admiral longer detain it. And although the allies knew that they were putting to great hazard that which delay would make certain, yet the exigency of the case seemed to demand it; and it was resolved to assault the town. The flower of the combined armies were led to the attack by the two commanders, D'Estaigne and Lincoln. They met with many disasters and a final repulse. The number of the slain and the wounded shows that the battle must have been bloody. The French loss was 700; the American 400. The Count D'Estaigne was wounded, but recovered; the Count Pulaski, while bravely charging at the head of 200 horse, received a wound which caused his death, and deprived America of one of her most valiant and disinterested defenders.

On the 18th, the allies raised the siege of Savannah. Lincoln crossed the river with his regular troops; the militia disbanded and returned to their homes; and D'Estaigne set sail for Europe. Sir Henry Clinton, fearing an attack from the French, withdrew his troops from Rhode Island precipitately, with the loss of his munitions; leaving that state to revert peaceably to the union.

Near the close of this year occurred on the coast of Scotland, that unexampled sea-fight, which gave to the name of Paul Jones such terrific eclat. This man was a native of Scotland, but engaged in the service of the United States. His flotilla was composed of the Bonhomme Richard, of 40 guns, the Alliance, of 36, (both American ships,) the Pallas, a French frigate of 32, in the pay of congress, and two other smaller vessels. He fell in with a British merchant fleet, on its return from the Baltic, convoyed by Captain Pearson, with the frigate Serapis, of 44 guns, and the countess of Scarborough, of twenty.

Pearson had no sooner perceived Jones, than he bore down to engage him, while the merchantmen endeavoured to gain the coast. The American flotilla formed to receive him. The two enemies



joined battle about seven in the evening. The British having the advantage of cannon of a longer reach, Paul Jones resolved to fight them closer. He brought up his ships, until the muzzles of his guns came in contact with those of his enemy. Here the phrensied combatants fought from seven till ten. Paul Jones now found that his vessel was so shattered, that only three effective guns remained. Trusting no longer to these, he assailed his enemy with grenades; which falling into the *Serapis*, set her on fire in several places. At length her magazine blew up and killed all near it. Pearson enraged at his officers, who wished him to surrender, commanded them to board. Paul Jones at the head of his crew, received them at the point of the pike; and they retreated. But the flames of the *Serapis* had communicated to her enemy, and the vessel of Jones was on fire. Amidst this tremendous night-scene, the American frigate *Alliance* came up, and mistaking her partner for her enemy, fired a broadside into the vessel of Jones. By the broad glare of the burning ships she discovered her mistake, and turned her guns against her exhausted foe. Pearson's crew were killed or wounded, his artillery dismounted, and his vessel on fire; and he could no longer resist. The flames of the *Serapis* were, however arrested; but the leaks of the *Goodman Richard* could not be stopped, and the hulk went down soon after the mangled remains of the crew had been removed. Of the 375 who were on board that renowned vessel, only 68 left it alive. The *Pallas* had captured the *Countess of Scarborough*; and Jones, after this horrible victory, wandered with his shattered, unmanageable vessels for some time; and at length, on the 6th of October, had the good fortune to find his way to the waters of the *Texel*.

Having now brought to a close the military affairs of the campaign, we pause to take some note of the political transactions.

Notwithstanding the apparent inutility to the republicans of the French fleet, it was in reality of great importance to their cause, as it kept the British constantly in check. But the alliance with France had also its disadvantages. The public feeling, so long strained to an unnatural elevation, was now predisposed to sink to apathy; and the Americans were led to believe that England must, from the power of France, soon be compelled to yield, although they should remit their efforts.

The leading republicans saw the evil with alarm. Endeavouring to counteract it, they called on the people by the memory of their past exploits, by the necessity of preserving the respect of their allies, by the perils which still impended, and by the power and treacherous policy of their yet unconquered adversary, to arouse from their lethargy, and trust not in chance or in strangers, but in their own exertions, for the establishment of their rights. But vain was the appeal; and even the army was affected by the lethargic torpor of the public mind.

Another evil had arisen. There had been produced by the disorders of the times, a race of men, who seeking solely to enrich themselves, made a trade of the public distress. What did they care if their country should fall, if they could share her spoils? Freedom from them might perish, so they could but batten on her corpse. Army supplies enriched them, as they afforded them pretences for peculations; and the state often paid dearly for what it never received. Such wretches are ever the loudest to chime in with the tune of the times. Hypocrites in patriotism; vociferous in talking of their

country's rights, they deceived the undiscerning, and acquired an influence, by which they sought to remove from office all who obstructed their designs. By their intrigues, the appalling cry of tory was raised, and sometimes not in vain, against the upright officer, who refused to connive at their selfish rapacity.

One cause of this alarming degeneracy in morals, lay in the depreciation of paper currency. At the close of this year, a dollar in specie could scarcely be obtained for 40 in bills. But, the paper was fluctuating in its value. Hence a set of men arose, who preferred speculating on this currency, to honest industry; and often in the changes which occurred, the worthless amassed sudden wealth, while many deserving persons of moderate fortunes, sunk at once to poverty. That the bills should have depreciated, will not be mysterious, when we consider that the immense sum of 160,000,000 had now been issued by congress.

The honest individual of private life will be surprised to learn another reason of the depreciation of American paper, although the wily politician knows that it is no new "trick of state." England on this occasion turned counterfeiter. Her ministers sent over, and her generals distributed whole chests of spurious bills so perfectly imitated as scarcely to be distinguished from the true.

In the meantime America was scarcely less in danger from her friends than her enemies. Her congress was beset by the intrigues of France and Spain. The former had not intended to declare in her favour, until far greater concessions had been obtained. She had been surprised into the step she had taken, by the unexpected fortune which in the case of Burgoyne, the Americans had single-handed won for themselves, and which made her fear that unless she then declared herself, the contest would be decided, and America independent without being in any degree indebted to her or inclined to favour her. She also feared that she should lose the opportunity of obtaining a powerful and efficient ally in a war which she wished, on her own account, to wage against her too powerful neighbour, and hereditary enemy. Now that by the alliance, these objects were secured, she wished in the particulars which yet remained to be settled, to drive a hard bargain for her services; and to make the Americans think meanly of themselves, would be to enhance the value of those services. M. Gerard in his communications to congress, endeavoured, by such means, to make them consent to abandon to France the extensive fisheries of Newfoundland, and to Spain the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi. The alliance of Spain was also to be thrown into the scale, and the advantages of this were magnified. But congress were not deceived, they refused the specious bait; and Spain having precisely the same policy as France, and the same desire to humble England, declared war against that power, to suit her own purposes; without succeeding in making America believe, that she did it for her sake.

The British ministry had in the spring sent out Admiral Arbuthnot with a reinforcement for the American service. He was however delayed by the way, and did not arrive until August. Under convoy of his fleet, Sir Henry Clinton with 7,000 men sailed in October from New York for the south, and after a tempestuous and protracted voyage, landed at Tyber Island in the neighbourhood of Charlestown.

General Lincoln, with his army, was, at the close of this year, in winter-quarters at Sheldon, and

Washington had again chosen his at the heights of Morrisania.

*Campaign of 1779—Armed neutrality—Clinton besieges Charlestown—That city capitulates—Tarleton surprises Burford—Clinton in South Carolina—He returns to New York—Skirmish at Springfield.*

Fresh indications of hostility towards England were manifested by the European powers. She had for a considerable period been mistress of the sea, and she had borne her honours haughtily. She claimed the right of searching the vessels of neutral nations, for articles contraband of war; nor would she allow their national flag to protect them from her troublesome and insulting scrutiny. A common feeling of indignation at this conduct pervaded the nations, which, by the policy of Catharine II. of Russia, England was made to feel, without the power of resenting. On the occasion of the irritation produced by the search and seizure of a number of Dutch vessels sailing under the convoy of the Count de Byland, that princess proposed to the nations to unite in an "armed neutrality," and immediately the kings of Denmark and Sweden acceded to the proposal. The treaty to which they were mutually bound, and which constituted the basis of this confederacy, stipulated that neutral vessels might freely navigate from one port to another, even upon the coast of belligerent powers;—that all effects become free so soon as they are on board a neutral vessel, except such articles as by a former specified treaty, had been declared contraband;—that no port should be deemed blockaded, until such an actual naval force had invested it, as to make its entrance dangerous;—that when any vessel had shown by its papers, that it was not the carrier of contraband goods, it might place itself under the escort of ships of war, which should prevent its being stopped;—and finally, that the legality of prizes should be determined by these rules. In order to command respect for this confederation, the three allied powers agreed that each should keep a part of its navy equipped, and make common cause in protecting their common trade. These articles were communicated to the courts of France, Spain, Holland, England, and Portugal, with an invitation to join the confederacy. The two former expressed great admiration of their wisdom, and joy in their adoption; and not only acceded to them, but wished the northern powers to understand, that by their directions to their admirals, they had already anticipated them. Portugal, fearful of offending England, declined the alliance. England threatened with vengeance the states of Holland, if they departed from the old system of neutrality; but Holland, irritated at the seizure of her vessels, and partaking in the common feeling of resentment towards England, disregarded these threats, and joined the armed neutrality. The British ministry, unwilling to come to an open rupture with Russia, but determined not to admit the principles of the confederacy, dissembled for the present their displeasure, and replied to the invitation in a vague and indecisive manner.

Surrounded by so many perils, it is not strange that England prosecuted the American war with less energy than she had done in preceding years. Yet she manifested no signs of fear or discouragement. The only change which took place in her policy respecting the American contest, was that before stated; to draw all her troops to the south, except so many as should enable her to keep possession of the posts already acquired at the north.

Sir Henry Clinton, as we have before noticed, was lying in the vicinity of Charlestown, with an army of 7000 men. This was increased by the troops from Savannah, under General Patterson. Not doubting but that Charlestown would be attacked, General Lincoln removed thither with his army; and in conjunction with Governor Rutledge, to whom the state had confided dictatorial powers, tried every measure to put the city in a posture of defence. But they had great difficulties to encounter. The militia had been disbanded; they were dispirited, and afraid to enter Charlestown on account of the small-pox, which was there prevailing.

Paper currency was out of credit, and many becoming discouraged as to the final success of the republican cause, took advantage of the amnesty which had been offered by Prevost. A considerable force was however collected, and great diligence was displayed in constructing fortifications.

The siege commenced on the 1st of April. General Lincoln had posted General Huger, with a detachment, at Monk's Corner. They were driven from their position by the British troops under Colonels Webster, Tarleton, and Ferguson. The British had, on the 11th of April, passed Fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it, losing by its guns only 27 men. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded this fort, surrendered it on the 7th of May. Charlestown, thus surrounded, capitulated on the 12th, and General Lincoln, with his army, fell into the hands of the British. Seven general officers, ten continental regiments, three battalions, 400 pieces of artillery, and four frigates, were surrendered.

The successful operations of the British in the siege of Charlestown, and in the defence made at the close of the last year at Savannah, are by historians attributed, in a great degree, to the superior skill of their chief engineer, Moncrieff.

After taking possession of the capital, Clinton planned three expeditions, all of which proved successful; one against Ninety-six, one towards Savannah, and the third to scour the country between the Cooper and Santee rivers. The object of the last was to disperse a body of republicans, under Colonel Burford, who were retiring by forced marches, in hopes to meet another body of Americans who were on the march from Salisbury to Charlotte. Burford continued his retreat with such celerity, that it appeared next to impossible to overtake him. But Colonel Tarleton, the most active of Clinton's officers, commanded the pursuit, and after marching 105 miles in 54 hours, on the 28th of May, he came up with Burford at Wacsaw. The English victory was complete, but it was stained with cruelty. They massacred many of those who offered to surrender, and from this time the proverbial mode of expressing the barbarous act of killing those who surrender, was to call it "Tarleton's quarter." Thus the cavalry which Clinton had brought with him had proved of essential service to his arms; and the alert, yet sanguinary Tarleton, at that period seemed to the terrified inhabitants to be every where present.

There no longer remained in South Carolina a force capable of withstanding the British. The inhabitants flocked from all parts to meet the royal troops, and declare their desire of resuming their ancient allegiance. Clinton wrote to England, that "South Carolina was English again." But he was aware that his conquests could not be preserved, but by re-establishing the civil administration. He published a full pardon to all who should immediately return to their duty. But they must consider them

selves established in the duties as well as the rights of British subjects; that is, they were required to take up arms in support of the royal government; those who had families, to form a militia for home defence; but those who had not, to serve with the royal forces, for any six months of the ensuing twelve. Thus citizens became armed against citizens, brothers against brothers; and the same individuals who had been soldiers of congress, since they had been comprehended in the capitulation as prisoners of war, were compelled to take up arms for England.

General Clinton, seeing the affairs of the south in apparent tranquillity, distributed his army into the most important garrisons; and, leaving Lord Cornwallis in the command of the southern forces, returned to New York. That city had been exposed to danger. The garrison was weak; and such had been the unparalleled severity of the winter, that Washington might have marched his army with all his artillery and baggage, across any of its surrounding and now solid waters. But the miserable condition of the American army would not allow the commander to take advantage of this unexpected circumstance.

Previous to the return of Clinton, General Knyphausen, who had been left in command, had, with 5000 men, made an excursion into New Jersey, and for a time occupied Elizabethtown. He had manoeuvred to draw Washington from the heights of Morristown, intending to occupy that strong post himself, and thus force the American army into the open country; but his plan was penetrated, and his expedition proved fruitless. Before his return, an affair occurred near Springfield, in which General Greene, who was sent by Washington to watch the motions of Knyphausen, lost about 80 men, and the British, as was supposed, somewhat more. Springfield, which consisted of 50 houses, was set on fire. At sight of the flames the inhabitants aroused. The spirit of the early days of the revolution rekindled. They collected in such numbers, and pursued the British with such violence, that their general was glad to take advantage of the night to withdraw his army from the open country of Jersey to the defenses of New York.

*Congress sanction the depreciation of paper currency—British in South Carolina—Heroism of the women in South Carolina—Society of ladies.*

Up to this period, congress had maintained their bills at their nominal value, and had often declared, that a dollar in paper should always be given and received for a dollar in silver. But compelled to yield to the pressure of circumstances, they now decided that in future the bills should pass, not at their nominal, but at their conventional value.

The government which Sir Henry Clinton established in South Carolina had first made such a decree; and had caused a table to be constructed, showing what had been the rate of depreciation, and the actual value of the bills, in years, and even in months past. The object of this calculation was to obtain a rule, by which the payment of debts might be regulated. This example congress found it expedient to follow.

In Carolina and Georgia the British saw, with chagrin, that there were still those who were devoted to the cause of independence; and their resentment dictated measures of extraordinary rigour. Their possessions were sequestered, their families jealously watched, and subjected as rebels to continual vexa-

tions. Within the city, they were refused access to the tribunals if they had suits to bring against a debtor, while, on the other hand, they were abandoned to all the prosecutions which those who had or pretended to have claims against them, chose to institute.

But there was still another more grievous injury, and one which stung the Carolinians to madness. This was the proclamation by which the British commanders had absolved the prisoners of war from their parole, and restored them to the condition of British subjects, in order to compel them to fight under the royal banner. Had they been suffered to remain at home, they would by degrees have become reconciled to what they could not but feel to be the degradation of their country. But with the requirement to take up arms, their wrath rekindled. "If we must fight," said they, "it shall be for America and our friends, not for England and strangers."

The heroism of the women of Carolina gives them a rank with the noblest patriots of the revolution. They gloried in being called "rebel ladies." They refused their presence at every scene of gaiety. Like the daughters of captive Zion, they would not, in their captivity, amuse their conquerors. But at every hazard they honoured with their attention the brave defenders of their country. They sought out and relieved the suffering soldiers, visited prisonships, and descended into loathsome dungeons. Sisters encouraged their brothers to fight the oppressor: the mother gave military weapons to her son, and the wife to her husband; and their parting advice was, "prefer prisons to infamy, and death to servitude."

Where important national affairs are concerned, there is a certain degree of warmth and animation, which, pervading the public mind, marks the healthy state of a nation. When this has risen to an unnatural heat, a period of lassitude and inertness succeeds, before the national pulse again recovers its healthful beat. Such a preternatural state of public feeling was excited in America by the apprehended wrongs of Britain, and produced the noble efforts of the days of 1776. But it was not in human nature to keep long strained to such a high pitch of elevation. The period of lassitude succeeded, and in 1779 the nation seemed asleep. But her sleep recruited her vital energies. Her enemies contemning her apparent weakness, had applied the scourge of a barbarian warfare. Its effects, though cruel to individuals, were wholesome to the body politic. America aroused from her slumbers, and awoke to better deeds.

The leading patriots saw with delight the rising enthusiasm of the people, and neglected no means which could cherish and propagate it. Congress sent circular letters to all the states, earnestly exhorting them to complete their regiments, and raise and send recruits to the army. The militia obeyed the call with alacrity. The capitalists subscribed large sums, to replenish the exhausted treasury. A bank was instituted at Philadelphia, on which congress could draw for the necessities of the army. With generous patriotism, commercial houses, and wealthy individuals stepped forward to support the public credit, by their personal responsibility, although the situation of affairs still offered too many motives of doubt and distrust.

Nor was this patriotic zeal to strengthen the sinews of war by filling the public chest, and providing for the wants of the soldiers confined to the

men. The women in all parts of the country displayed great zeal and activity, particularly in providing clothing for the soldiers. In Philadelphia they formed a society, at the head of which was Martha Washington, wife of the commander-in-chief. This lady was as prudent in private affairs, as her husband was in public. She alone presided over their domestic finances, and provided for their common household. Partaking of the complacent dignity and calm temperament of her husband, she had no caprices to disturb his affections, in that citadel of man's happiness, the conjugal relation. Thus it was owing to the talents and virtues of his wife, that Washington could give himself wholly to the dictates of that patriotism, which this virtuous pair mutually shared, and reciprocally invigorated.

Mrs. Washington, with the ladies who had formed the society, themselves subscribed considerable sums for the public; and having exhausted their own means, they exerted their influence, and went from house to house, to stimulate the liberality of others.

*Campaign of 1780—British defeated at Hanging Rock—Baron De Kalb enters North Carolina—Battle near Camden—Death of De Kalb—Tarleton surprises Sumpter.*

At this period La Fayette returned with the cheering intelligence, that a body of French troops had, at the time of his departure, embarked for America, and that the ships in which they had taken passage were on the point of setting sail from France. His exertions in that country had accelerated their departure, and he had again come, self-devoted to the generous cause of freedom. He was received by all classes with the ardent affection which his bland manners and interesting person excited, and which his services and talents commanded.

The expected succours soon arrived at Rhode Island. They consisted of a squadron of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and two corvettes, commanded by M. De Fernay. This fleet conveyed a number of transports, bearing 6000 soldiers under the command of the Count De Rochambeau. An agreement had been made between congress and the court of Versailles, that General Washington should be the commander-in-chief of all the forces both French and American. The French were welcomed with every demonstration of gratitude, and put in immediate possession of the forts on Rhode Island. Washington, in order to cement more firmly the union between the two nations, ordered the distinctive colours of the national flags to be blended in the banners of his army.

At New York, Admiral Arbuthnot, whose force had consisted of four ships of the line, was now reinforced by the arrival of six ships under Admiral Greaves. General Clinton determined on attacking the French at Rhode Island. He accordingly embarked on board the squadron of Admiral Greaves, with 6000 choice troops, and sailed for Rhode Island. Washington, in the meanwhile, having watched the movements of Clinton, immediately marched his army to Kingsbridge, with the intention of attacking New York, which was now left almost defenceless. But Clinton learning this movement, and finding also that the French were reinforced at Rhode Island by the New England militia, relinquished the expedition, and returned to the defence of New York. The indecision and timidity manifested by the British on this occasion, infused new courage into the Americans.

While these events were transpiring in the north,

the inhabitants of the south were not inactive. The insolence of the British troops had become insupportable; and the inhabitants of North and South Carolina had assembled in numbers, and seized every opportunity of harassing them. Among the officers who headed these desultory parties, none rendered such distinguished service to their country, as Colonels Sumpter and Marion. Sumpter was a native of South Carolina, and possessed an extensive influence with his fellow-citizens. He collected great numbers of the inhabitants; and although they were compelled to trust to chance for their means of subsistence, and to use their implements of husbandry for weapons of war, yet they menaced the enemy in all directions. The resources of these patriots were few. In some instances they were known to encounter the enemy with but three charges of ammunition to a man. Their frequent skirmishes with the British, however, soon furnished them with muskets and cartridges; and when thus equipped, Colonel Sumpter, whose numbers now amounted to 600 men, determined upon attacking some of the strong posts of the enemy. His first attempt was upon Rocky Mount, where he was repulsed; he then attacked the post at Hanging Rock, and destroyed a British regiment stationed at that place. Perfectly acquainted with every part of the country, he was enabled to elude all pursuit. This partisan warfare, while it weakened the number of the English, emboldened the Americans, and strengthened their confidence in themselves.

In the meantime a few regular troops under the command of the Baron De Kalb, had been sent from Maryland to the defence of Carolina. Owing to the excessive heat of the season, and the difficulty of procuring provisions, they necessarily proceeded by slow marches. On their way however they were reinforced by the Virginia militia, and the troops of North Carolina, commanded by General Caswell. At Deep river they were joined by General Gates, who had been appointed to the command of the southern army. He immediately advanced towards South Carolina with a force amounting to about 4000 men. When he arrived on the frontiers of the state, he issued a proclamation inviting the inhabitants to join him, and promised pardon to all, from whom oaths had been extorted by the English, excepting those who had committed depredations against the persons and property of their fellow citizens. His proclamation had the desired effect. Multitudes flocked to him, and even whole companies, which had been levied in the provinces for the service of the king, deserted.

Lord Rawdon, who had the command of the British forces on the frontiers of Carolina, had concentrated them at Camden. On learning the approach of Gates, he gave immediate notice to Cornwallis, who soon after joined him. At ten on the night of the 15th of August, his lordship marched from Camden with his whole force, amounting to 2000 men, with the intention of attacking the Americans in their camp at Clermont. Gates had also commenced his march from Clermont with the view of surprising the British camp. About two in the morning, the advanced guards of the two armies met and fired upon each other. From prisoners made on both sides, the commanders learned each other's movements. The two generals suspended their fire, waiting for the light of day, and the armies having halted were formed in the order of battle.

The ground on which they had met was exceedingly unfavourable to Gates: he could not advance

to the attack but through a narrow way bordered by a deep swamp, and the situation rendered the superiority of the American numbers of no effect. In the morning a severe and general action was fought. The Virginia and North Carolina militia fled in the commencement of the battle, and General Gates in vain attempted to rally them. The continentals were thus left to maintain the contest, and though they defended themselves with great bravery, and several times gained ground, yet they were unable to restore the fortune of the day. The rout became general, the Americans fled in the greatest disorder. They were pursued by the British 23 miles. The whole loss of the Americans in killed, wounded and prisoners, was about 2000. General Gregory was killed; the Baron De Kalb, who was wounded, and General Rutherford, were taken prisoners. All the artillery, baggage and stores, fell into the hands of the enemy. The loss of the British amounted to only 324.

Baron De Kalb, who had been wounded, died three days after the battle. General Gates retreated to North Carolina, leaving the British triumphant in the south.

Colonel Sumpter continued to show himself on the banks of the Wateree; but on learning the defeat of Gates, he retired with 1000 men and two field-pieces to North Carolina. Tarleton with his legion was sent in pursuit of him, and surprised him on the banks of Fishing creek. Sumpter with a few of his men escaped; the most of them, however, were taken by Tarleton and put to the sword.

Colonel Marion, who about this time was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, still kept the field. Sheltering himself in the fastnesses of the mountains, he occasionally sallied out upon the British and Tories, and seldom failed of surprising and capturing such small parties, as with his small force it was prudent for him to attack.

*Arnold's treason—Execution of André—Cornwallis arrives at Charlottetown—Defeat at Ferguson—Descent upon Portsmouth, Virginia—Gates surprised by Greene—Arnold makes a descent upon Virginia.*

While these affairs were transacting at the south, an unexpected event occurred at the north, which arrested the general attention. A design which had for some time been maturing in darkness, was now brought to light. Arnold, the loudest to proclaim his patriotism, the fiercest to fight for his country, had bargained to sell that country for gold! and he had nearly accomplished his wicked purpose.

Arnold was dear to the American people; he had been valiant in their service, and his maimed person bore the marks of the field of Saratoga. On account of his wounds he was obliged to retire from active service. He solicited and obtained from congress, the post of commandant of Philadelphia.

Here Arnold lived in princely magnificence. He inhabited, it is said, the house of Penn. If so, this mansion of simplicity received a splendid furnishing, and became a scene of high play, sumptuous banquets and expensive balls. To support this pagantry, Arnold resorted to commerce and privateering. In these he was unfortunate, and his next resource was the public treasure, to which as an officer of the government, he had means of access. He presented accounts unworthy of a general. Congress were indignant, and caused them to be investigated. The commissioners which they appointed reduced them to one-half. Arnold stormed, and appealed to congress. A committee of its members

re-investigated, and found his accounts worse than even the report of the commissioners had stated them. Arnold now wreaked his vengeance, by the most shameless invectives against congress. The state of Pennsylvania took up the quarrel, accused him of peculation, and brought him before a court-martial. By this court he was sentenced to be reprimanded by Washington.

From what other quarter could he obtain the money to support his extravagance, since the last resource had failed? The coffers of England, he knew might be opened to supply him. Treason bore with her a high price. He should also obtain revenge on the objects of his wrath: and for these motives he resolved to sell himself and his country. He developed his intention in a letter which he addressed to Colonel Robinson, by whom it was communicated to Sir Henry Clinton. Determined to make the most of his new ally, Clinton revolved in his mind what was the most important service which could be rendered him, while Arnold's treachery remained concealed. The foe within the fortress, is employed by its enemy to open the gate. This was the nature of the service, which Arnold was to perform for the enemies of his country.

As Arnold passed up the river to assume his command, those guardian mountains, whose rugged passes had so often sheltered the little army of his country, must have seemed to frown upon the traitor who was about to deliver it up to the enemy.

His first measure was to scatter his forces at different points, so that they might be easily cut off by the British; all was ready, and a few days would have consummated his treason; but a providential disclosure saved America.

Major André, the aid-de-camp of General Clinton, had been by him intrusted with the negotiation. This young officer is represented by those who knew him as being both in person and mind one of the most perfect specimens of human nature, and as concentrating all the qualities which the novel writer is fond of attributing to the hero of the tale. He was manly, yet graceful and elegant, bold, yet tender, and firm, yet ingenuous. Sir Henry Clinton loved him as a son; and such was his confidence in his talents, that he intrusted to him this most important, difficult and hazardous service. Probably, however, the partiality of Clinton threw a false light around its object; for André was not the proper man for such an enterprise. Had he been more crafty and subtle, he might have conducted the plot to its consummation.

Arnold and André had corresponded, under the feigned names of Gustavus and Anderson. As the crisis approached, they conceived that a personal interview was necessary, in order to concert the last measures. On the night of the 21st of September, André landed from the British sloop of war Vulture, which Clinton had stationed near West Point to facilitate the negotiation. Arnold and André spent the whole night in conference; and when the day dawned, their dispositions were not all concluded.

André was concealed through the day, and at night he prepared to return. By the entreaties of Arnold, he was prevailed upon to change his uniform for a common dress, instead of concealing it as he had formerly done by a cloak. He took a horse from Arnold, and a passport under the name of John Anderson. He had safely passed the American guard, and had reached Tarrytown near the British posts, when three soldiers of the militia crossed his way, and he passed on. One of them thought the

traveller had something peculiar in his appearance, and called him back. André inquired, "where are you from?" "From below," (intending to be understood from New York,) replied the soldier. "So am I," said the self-betrayed André. The soldiers arrested him, and he did not attempt to conceal that he was a British officer. He offered them every bribe which he thought could tempt men like them. He pleaded with all the energy inspired by the love of life, and the momentous concerns that his preservation then involved, to his country, and his beloved general. But the humble patriots spurned the bribe, and were deaf to the entreaty. Their names were John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Van Wart. They searched his person, and found papers in his boots, in the hand-writing of Arnold, which disclosed the treason. They immediately conducted André to Colonel Jameson, the officer at West Point, who commanded the advanced guard. This officer hesitated. He could not be persuaded that his general would betray that country for which he had shed his blood; and he indiscreetly permitted André to write. Arnold thus learned that André was arrested, and seizing a boat escaped on board the Vulture.

Washington, during these transactions, had been called by some affairs to Hartford, but shocked and alarmed at the news, he hastened to his camp. His first care was to learn whether Arnold had accomplices. Convinced by a strict scrutiny that none of his other officers were guilty, his next was the painful duty of bringing to trial and execution the interesting young André.

Although from the usages of war Washington might have given his prisoner, found as he was in disguise, the same hasty execution as Howe had some years before given to the equally interesting young Hale, yet he was aware that in this transaction the eyes of Europe and America would be upon him, and his heart inclined him to mercy. He therefore summoned a court-martial; and was careful to appoint a tribunal of whom none could complain, and who would be as merciful as public safety would allow. La Fayette and Greene were among its members; and who could doubt, if such men, with all the kindness of their nature, gave sentence of death, that such was the stern dictate of their military duty.

From this fate, Sir Henry Clinton strove with all the earnestness of a tender father to shield his favourite. He wrote to Washington, urging that whatever André had done, especially his change of dress, was by the direction of Arnold, an American general;—he urged, that his detention was a violation of the sanctity of flags and the usages of nations. Arnold also wrote in his favour, endeavouring to charge himself with the blame of the transaction; and alleging, that in his character as an American general, he had a right to grant to André the usual privilege of a flag, for the purpose of conferring with him, and to provide for his safe return in any manner he should choose. André appeared before his judges with a noble frankness. He was calm and composed as to his own fate, but anxious to screen his friends, especially Sir Henry Clinton. He disguised no fact, and resorted to no subterfuge. He ingenuously disavowed what Clinton and Arnold had mainly urged in his defence, that he had come under the protection of a flag; and the fact was unquestioned that he was in disguise. Grieving at the sentence they were compelled to pronounce, his judges condemned him to death as a spy.

Clinton, smitten with anguish, again sought to negotiate his release; and Washington, at his request, sent General Greene down the river to meet and confer with General Robinson. This friend of André exerted all the powers of reasoning to convince General Greene that the sentence was unjust. Failing in that, he urged his release on the score of interest; he promised that any American charged with whatever crime, should be exchanged for André; and he hinted that the sparing of his favourite would do much in the mind of the British commander in favour of the Americans. Finding all these efforts unavailing, he resorted to threats. He delivered a letter from Arnold, which contained the declaration, that if André was executed, the rebels of Carolina, hitherto spared by Clinton, should all be put to instant death.

The interference of Arnold would have injured the cause it designed to serve, had it not been already hopeless.

André prepared to meet his approaching fate as became a man. Life and its fair prospects he could calmly relinquish; but there were circumstances relating to his domestic affections, and his honour, which touched his heart. His widowed mother and his sisters, on the far shore of an intervening ocean, were watching for every vessel that brought them news of him. One would reach them in a few weeks, and who would console them for its tidings! and should they learn not only that he was dead, but that he died upon the gallows! There was the bitterness of death; and he besought Washington that he might be allowed to die by the musket, and not by the halter.

The cruel rules of that sanguinary science, which philanthropy hopes may in some future age cease to exist, compelled Washington to deny even this poor request. André then asked permission to write to Sir Henry Clinton, which was granted; and to the care of this general he commended his widowed mother, and afflicted sisters.

Brought to the gallows, he said, "And must I die thus?" The burst of grief was calmed by devotion. After a few minutes spent in prayer, he said with composure to those around him, "bear me witness that I die as a brave man should die:" and the scene closed.

Arnold received from the British 10,000*l.*, and the rank of brigadier-general. For this he bartered his honour, his peace and his fame;—changing the high esteem of the public into general detestation. The English, although they stooped to purchase the treason, could not but despise the traitor. Even his innocent children could not defend their little rights among their playmates; but the finger of scorn was pointed at them, and they were hissed with "Traitor, traitor."

The three captors of André were honoured as benefactors to their country. They received the thanks of congress, a silver medal, and a pension for life.

Cornwallis, after the battle of Camden, directed his attention to the subjugation of North Carolina; and with that view, commenced his march from Camden towards Charlottetown. But in order to maintain the royal cause in South Carolina, he distributed detachments of troops upon different parts of the frontier. He arrived at Charlottetown about the last of September.

In the meantime Colonel Ferguson, who had been previously sent into the province by Lord Cornwallis, had committed acts of so barbarous a nature,



as to awaken the highest indignation. Wherever he went devastation marked his progress, and the people determined no longer to submit to his atrocities. The mountaineers collected in great numbers under several commanders, the principal of whom were Campbell, Shelby, and Cleveland; and arming themselves with such weapons as could most easily be obtained, they descended to the plain in pursuit of Ferguson.

They found him posted on a woody eminence called King's Mountain. This spot commanded the adjacent plain, and the road leading to it was defended by an advanced guard. The guard were soon compelled to fall back, and the mountaineers advanced towards the summit. After a vigorous contest the Americans reached the brow of the hill. Ferguson fell, and 300 of his party were killed and wounded. His successor in command surrendered. This defeat was a severe blow to Cornwallis, and rendered his situation in North Carolina dangerous. The loyalists intimidated, no longer evinced an eagerness to join his cause. The republicans assembled under Colonels Sumpter and Marion, in whom they had equal confidence, made every effort to annoy him; and the royal troops were in continual danger of being surprised by these active leaders. Under these circumstances he found it most prudent to retire to South Carolina, and await the reinforcements which he there expected to receive. He accordingly repassed the Catawba, and stationed his army at Winnsborough, where he could conveniently hold communication with the forces at Camden and Ninety-six.

In order to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, Sir Henry Clinton had detached General Leslie, with a corps of 3000 men, to Virginia. They landed at Portsmouth, and ravaged the adjacent country. Cornwallis now ordered General Leslie to embark for Charlestown.

Colonel Sumpter continued to harass the British on all sides. He had surprised some small detachments, and made many prisoners. Tarleton was now sent by Cornwallis to surprise this formidable officer. He found him near Tiger river, encamped on the bank of Mud river. Tarleton commenced the attack with great impetuosity, but Sumpter soon compelled him to retreat. Sumpter was however dangerously wounded, and being unable to retain the command of his forces, they were disbanded.

General Gates had, during the period of these transactions, exerted himself to collect new troops, and had greatly improved the condition of his army. He was, however, superseded in command by General Greene. This officer found the army at Charlestown, and notwithstanding the exertions of Gates, it was still feeble, and unable to cope with Cornwallis. He therefore determined not to hazard a general action, but to harass, if possible, the British army, and reduce it by degrees.

A reinforcement of 1500 men now joined Cornwallis at Winnsborough. This accession of troops renewed his hopes of reducing North Carolina and Virginia. In order to render the success of the enterprise more certain, and to prevent the Virginians from sending succours to Greene, Arnold had been sent to the Chesapeake with 50 transports and 1500 men. He landed his troops in Virginia, and immediately commenced, what now seemed his favourite occupation, the devastation of his country.

*volt of the Pennsylvanian line—New Jersey troops revolt—Tarleton attacks Morton at the Coupens—Cornwallis pursues Morgan—Colonel Lee defeats Colonel Hill—Battle of Guilford Court-house—The Americans retreat—Cornwallis sets out for Virginia*

England, during the past year, had shown herself a brave and powerful nation. Though alone against both hemispheres in arms, she remained unshaken. The favourite objects of Spain, next to humbling the maritime power of England, were the possession of Gibraltar and Jamaica, and the recovery of the Floridas. She had, at immense expense, laid and continued the siege of Gibraltar, which under its commander, Elliot, made the most obstinate defence found in the annals of modern history. She had also sent out immense fleets, which uniting with those of France and Holland, had twice threatened England with invasion; but untoward circumstances prevented the attempts. The naval operations of the belligerent powers were, during these years, of astonishing magnitude; and neither side could at this period claim the supremacy of the ocean. Great naval battles were fought in the West Indian and European seas, in which the allies and the English were each alternately the conquerors and the conquered. Each also took from the other, on various occasions, large fleets of merchant vessels. But in these captures the English were the most successful. Several of the West India islands changed masters during these contests. Pensacola was in May taken by the Spaniards, who thence extended their conquests over the whole province of Florida.

Amidst these contests, neither England nor France forgot America. France, in addition to the force under Rochambeau, determined to send out a large fleet under the Count De Grasse, which, after performing certain services in the West Indies, was to repair to the coast of America, and co-operate with the Count De Rochambeau and General Washington. This measure proved of the highest importance to America.

The English exerted an extraordinary activity in equipping a fleet which was to carry Lord Cornwallis a reinforcement of several regiments of English troops, besides 3000 Hessians. They hoped that this addition of force would be sufficient to maintain their former conquests, and extend still further the progress of their arms.

The situation of America had in reality much at this period to give hopes to her enemies, and alarms to her friends. The efforts made during the preceding year, and the successes experienced in the south, had produced the happy effect of reviving public spirit. But although temporary relief had been afforded, no permanent system of means to supply the returning and increasing wants of the army had been established; and from this cause the country seemed standing on the verge of ruin.

It is scarcely possible to conceive a situation more trying than that of the American congress. They were fighting, not for conquest, but existence; their powerful foe was in full strength in the heart of their country; they had great military operations to carry on, but were almost without an army, and wholly without money. Their bills of credit had ceased to be of any worth; and they were reduced to the mortifying necessity of declaring by their own acts, that this was the fact; as they no longer made them a legal tender, or received them in payment of taxes. Without money of some kind, an army could neither be raised nor maintained. But the

*Campaign of 1781—Robert Morris treasurer—Franklin obtains money from France and Holland—Re-*

greater the exigency, the greater were the exertions of this determined band of patriots. They directed their agents abroad to borrow, if possible, from France, Spain, and Holland. They resorted to taxation, although they knew that the measure would be unpopular, and that they had not the power to enforce their decree. The tax laid they apportioned among the several state governments, by whose authority it was to be collected. Perceiving that there was great disorder and waste, or peculation in the management of the fiscal concerns, they determined on introducing a thorough reform and the strictest economy. They accordingly appointed as treasurer Robert Morris, of Philadelphia; a man whose pure morals, ardent patriotism, and great knowledge of financial concerns, eminently fitted him for this important station. The zeal and genius of Morris soon produced the most favourable results. By a national bank, to which he obtained the approbation of congress, he contrived to draw out the funds of wealthy individuals. By borrowing in the name of the government from this bank, and pledging for payment the taxes not yet collected, he was enabled to anticipate them, and command a ready supply. He also used his own private credit, which was good, though that of his government had failed; and at one time, bills signed by him individually, were in circulation to the amount of 581,000 dollars. While America thus received this great service from the zeal and ability of one of her sons at home, she owed not less to the exertions of another of her patriots abroad.

Franklin, at the court of France, obtained from Louis XVI. a gift of 6,000,000 of livres; and as Holland refused to lend to the United States on their own credit, the French monarch granted to the solicitations of the minister his guarantee to the states-general; who, on this security, lent to congress the sum of 10,000,000 of livres. Spain refused to furnish money to the United States, unless they would renounce the navigation of the Mississippi. This they steadily refused. The funds thus raised were expended with the utmost prudence. All who furnished supplies were paid by the treasurer with the strictest punctuality; and public confidence by degrees sprang up in the place of distrust; order and economy in the room of confusion and waste.

Before these measures had imparted vigour to the fainting republic, an event occurred which threatened its subversion. In fact, it was one of the causes which led to the reformation in the finance, and the establishment of the new system. The whole Pennsylvania line, amounting to near 1500, revolted. They were suffering the extremity of want. They had enlisted for three years, or during the war; and as the three years expired at the close of 1780, they contended that they had now a right to be discharged, and return to their homes. The government, however, maintained that they were bound to serve until the close of the war.

From these causes a violent tumult broke out on the night of the 1st of January. They declared that they would march with arms in their hands to the hall of congress, and demand justice. It was in vain that their officers attempted to appease them. Their most popular leader, La Fayette, and others, were constrained to quit the camp. General Wayne presented himself boldly among them with a pistol in his hand; but they menaced his life, and pointed their bayonets as if to execute their threat. Marching towards Philadelphia, they had already advanced from Middlebrook to Princeton, when they were

met by Generals Reed and Sullivan, who were commissioners appointed by congress to investigate facts, and take measures for the restoration of public tranquillity.

In the meantime, Sir Henry Clinton, informed of these affairs, made every disposition to draw the mutineers into the service of the British. He passed with his forces into Staten Island, and sent three American loyalists to make them the most tempting offers. These the insurgents declined. Meanwhile, the commissioners of congress offered to grant discharges to those who had enlisted for three years, or during the war. They promised remuneration for what they had lost by the depreciation of paper securities, the earliest possible payment of arrears, an immediate supply of necessary clothing, and an oblivion of their past conduct. The mutineers accepted the proposals, and congress in due time fulfilled the conditions. The Pennsylvanians then delivered to congress the emissaries of Clinton, who were immediately hanged.

A few days after this affair, the troops of New Jersey also erected the standard of revolt. Washington instantly marched against them with so powerful a force, that he compelled them to submit; and chastising their leaders with severity, the army was no longer disturbed by sedition.

In the meantime the war was vigorously carried on at the south, by both the contending parties. General Greene, as has been related, had superseded Gates in command of the southern army, then at Charlottetown. This army, which consisted of 2000 men, he separated into two parts. He marched at the head of one division to Hicks Creek, while Colonel Morgan, at the head of the other, moved by his direction into the western part of the state.

Cornwallis, unwilling to advance into North Carolina while Morgan was in his rear, detached Tarleton to oppose him with a corps of 1100 men, and two field-pieces. Tarleton found Morgan at a place called the Cowpens, and with his usual impetuosity commenced the attack. After one of the severest engagements which took place during the whole war, the British were defeated. The disparity of loss in this engagement was surprising; while that of the British was 300 killed and wounded, that of the Americans was only twelve killed, and 60 wounded. Colonel Morgan took 500 prisoners, and all the artillery and baggage of the enemy. Colonels Washington, Howard, and Pickens distinguished themselves in this action. Colonel Morgan now directed his march towards Virginia, in order to join General Greene. Cornwallis, mortified at the defeat of his favourite officer, immediately prepared to pursue him. He intended to intercept him on his route, retake the prisoners, and prevent his junction with Greene. He then designed to proceed to the sources of the Yadkin, before Greene could have crossed that river, and thus the last portion of the divided army would be his. Both Morgan and Cornwallis now proceeded by forced marches towards the Catawba, both exerting themselves to reach the fords before the other. Morgan reached the Catawba, and had crossed it but two hours before the British appeared on the opposite bank. Night coming on, Cornwallis was obliged to delay crossing until morning. A heavy rain fell, and in the morning the ford was impassable; and three days was the impatient Cornwallis obliged to wait, before the subsiding waters allowed him to pass.

In the meantime Greene, anxious for the fate of

the pursued troops, had left his army under the command of General Huger, to make their way toward the sources of the rivers, where they were fordable, and had himself proceeded with only a few attendants to join Morgan. It was at this juncture that he arrived at the camp of Morgan, and took upon himself the command. Another race now commenced, and again the Americans foiled the British. The army had just crossed the Yadkin, and a quantity of baggage was yet remaining on the other side, when the British arrived. Again the waters suddenly rose, and Cornwallis was once more obliged to stop, and look inactively on, while the expected fruit of his plans and toilsome marches was in a moment snatched from him. And it was done by no human hand. At this signal deliverance every pious feeling of the American bosom rose in gratitude to Him who had made to them, as to his people of old, a way through the waters, while he had closed it to their enemies.

General Greene now directed his course towards Guilford court-house, where he was to be joined by General Huger. On the 7th of February the two detachments of the American army reached Guilford, and effected their junction in safety. The two plans of Cornwallis were thus defeated. He resolved, now, to proceed to the Dan; intending, by reaching these fords before the Americans, to prevent their communication with Virginia. In this also he was disappointed, the Americans on the 14th crossed the Dan, with all their artillery, baggage, and stores, leaving the British yet in their rear.

Cornwallis, thus disappointed in all his schemes, was compelled to relinquish them. He now determined to remain in North Carolina, and to collect the loyalists under his standard. With this view he repaired to Hillsborough, and endeavoured to prevail upon the inhabitants to espouse the royal cause. His efforts, however, were not crowned with the success he anticipated. The people considered the cause of congress triumphant, and feared to manifest any attachment to the royal interest. In some instances, however, the British general prevailed upon the people to take up arms. He sent Tarleton with his legion to the district between the Haw and Deep rivers, to encourage the rising of the loyalists in that quarter.

General Greene detached Colonel Lee with a body of cavalry to scour the country, and attack Tarleton. Lee soon overtook a body of loyalists marching to Cornwallis, under the command of Colonel Hill. The Americans charged them with vigour, and the Tories, supposing them to be Tarleton's legion, and themselves mistaken for republicans, declared their attachment to the royal cause, and vociferated the cry, "long live the king." Between 200 and 300 were killed by their enraged assailants, and the survivors compelled to surrender. Tarleton, by a singular coincidence, soon after met another small body of royalists, and slaughtered them, believing them to be republicans. While advancing to encounter Lee, Tarleton was called back by Cornwallis to Hillsborough.

Greene had now received a reinforcement of continental troops, and several bodies of militia. These troops augmented his army to 6000, and he no longer wished to avoid an engagement with the British. Making every possible preparation for so important an event, he now marched toward Cornwallis who had taken post at Guilford court-house. The armies met on the 15th of March. Early in the battle some companies of the militia fled, and

the regulars were soon left to maintain the conflict alone. They fought for an hour and a half with great bravery, and in some instances forced the British to give way. They were, however, at length compelled to retreat, but it was only step by step, and without breaking their ranks. The loss of the Americans in this engagement was estimated at 1300 men, that of the British in proportion to their number was more considerable. Greene now retreated to Speedwell's iron works, ten miles from the field of battle. Cornwallis, although he had the reputation of a victor, found himself in consequence of his losses obliged to retreat, while Greene was in a condition to pursue, thus affording the singular spectacle of a vanquished army pursuing a victorious one. Cornwallis retired to Bell's-mills, and after a few days' repose marched towards Wilmington. Greene having collected the fugitives of his army, followed the British, and with his light-infantry continually infested their rear. He however soon altered his course, and proceeded by forced marches towards Camden in South Carolina. On Cornwallis's arrival at Wilmington, he was undetermined whether to return to the relief of South Carolina, or to march into Virginia, and join the forces under Arnold. A council of war was called, which decided upon the first measure, and the British general, after having remained in Wilmington a few days, to refresh his troops, proceeded towards Petersburg, leaving the command of the forces in the Carolinas to Lord Rawdon, a young man of much talent and military ardour, who he hoped would be able to hold the army of Greene in check, keep possession of the province, and establish the British authority.

*Sumpter and Marion annoy the British—Americans defeated at Hobkirk's Hill—Rawdon evacuates Camden—British forts taken by the Americans—Greene attacks fort Ninety-six.*

Lord Rawdon established his head-quarters at Camden, a place fortified with great care. The other principal posts of the British in Carolina were the city of Charlestown, Ninety-six and Augusta. They had, however, garrisoned several others of minor importance, so that their forces were much divided. The disaffection of the inhabitants to the British cause, compelled them thus to divide their troops, in order to maintain such points as were necessary to their subsistence, and their communication with each other. The intelligence of the retreat of Cornwallis gave the republicans new hopes, and new vigour. Sumpter and Marion by their bold but prudent movements were continually gaining advantages over the royalists. They thus made themselves regarded as leaders, who would conduct their followers to glory and success, and not lead them into disgrace or danger; and hundreds flocked to their standard, who were organized into regular companies. Thus they became so powerful, that they were able to hold in check the whole of lower Carolina, while Greene with his army faced Lord Rawdon in the Highlands. That officer, finding that his position was becoming dangerous, strengthened his army by calling in his troops from places not susceptible of defence.

General Greene at this time appeared in view of Camden, at the head of his army, and proceeded to intrench himself within a mile's distance, at Hobkirk's Hill. Rawdon would have retreated towards Charlestown; but the way was infested by the light-troops of Sumpter and Marion. He perceived that the Americans trusted to the strength of their post,

and guarded it with negligence. Arming his musicians, and leaving Camden in the care of the convalescents, he marched with every being in his army capable of carrying a firelock, on the night of the 25th of April; and taking a circuitous route, he fell by surprise on the left flank of the Americans. Greene perceiving that the British moved in a solid but not extended column, immediately caused them to be attacked at the same time on both flanks and in front. The battle became general and fierce. The royalists gave way. Rawdon pushed forward his reserve. The Americans in their turn retreated, and the efforts of Greene and his officers to rally them were ineffectual. The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded and missing, was 268; that of the British nearly equal.

The American general after this affair, retired from Hobkirk's Hill, (five miles from Gun Swamp,) to re-organize his army. Rawdon, like Cornwallis at Guilford, found the effects of the battle to be rather those of a defeat than a victory. He was inferior to his enemy in cavalry, and could not pursue him. His army was weakened. The inhabitants in every direction were rising against him; and he had reason to tremble for several of his posts, which, as he was informed, were invested by the Americans.

Thus situated, he evacuated Camden, raised its fortifications, and retreating before the foe which he boasted of having conquered, made his way towards Charleston. On the 13th of May, he arrived at Nelson's ferry; where he learned that the forts which the Americans had invested had fallen into their power. Fort Watson capitulated to Marion and Lee; fort Motte to Sumpter, and Georgetown to Marion. The prisoners taken in these forts amounted to nearly 800; and in fort Motte was a considerable quantity of military stores. From Nelson's ferry, Rawdon moved to Eutaw Springs.

Greene now formed the design of reducing Ninety-six and Augusta; the only two posts which remained to the British in the upper country, and which were already invested by militia, under Colonels Clarke and Pickens. He first marched his army against Ninety-six, which was the strong hold of the royalists, and could be overcome only by a regular siege.

Meantime, Rawdon, whose army had been reinforced by three regiments from Ireland, put himself in motion to oppose the American commander and preserve his fortresses, particularly that of Ninety-six. On his march, he learned the capitulation of Augusta, to the American militia, commanded by the gallant Colonel Pickens.

Greene now learned that the enemy approached with fresh forces; and he knew that his troops were in no condition to contend against the army of Rawdon, combined with the garrison of Ninety-six. Unwilling however to leave the place without an effort which should at least vindicate the honour of the American arms, he made a vigorous assault upon the fort, and gained a considerable advantage, though he did not succeed in capturing it. He then removed his army beyond the Tiger and Broaddrivers. Rawdon approached, and made some unavailing attempts to draw Greene into an engagement. After this, he entered and examined Ninety-six; and finding the place not capable of withstanding a regular attack, he abandoned it, and directed his march towards Orangeburg; where, on the 12th, he established his head-quarters. Greene followed him; but finding his position covered by the windings of the Edisto, he bent his march, on the 16th,

to the heights which border the Santee. The season proving uncommonly hot and sickly, the contending armies, by tacit consent, suspended their operations.

During this period, occurred the last scene of the tragedy of Colonel Hayne. At the commencement of the war, few men could have been found more to be envied than Isaac Hayne. Blessed with the goods of fortune, eminently endowed with those qualities which gain the love of men, possessing all the finer sensibilities which ennoble our nature, he was all that is estimable as a man and a patriot. At the commencement of the war, he entered with ardour into the views of the republicans, and assisted in person at the defence of Charlestown. On the surrender of that city, Hayne, whose consequence as a leader was appreciated by the British, was offered the alternative of becoming a British subject, or going into rigorous confinement. For himself, he would not have hesitated a moment to choose captivity. But his wife and children were at his plantation, languishing with the small-pox. And not only did he feel it agony at such a time to be separated from them, but he knew, that should he refuse the offer of the British, a lawless soldiery would violate and lay waste the retreat of his suffering family. Torn by conflicting duties, who could blame him, if in such a situation the husband and the father triumphed over the patriot. He consented to invest himself with the condition of a British subject, on the solemn assurances of the British general, Patterson, that he should not be called on to bear arms against his countrymen.

Meanwhile the republicans had found means to change the fortune of the war. The British, obliged to act on the defensive, no longer regarded their sacred engagements, but called on those enrolled as their subjects, to take up arms in their defence. Hayne, among others, found that he could not remain peaceably at home. His home too was desolated, by the loss of his wife and two children, who had died with the small-pox. Feeling released from an obligation which the British themselves had violated, he once more took arms in the cause which he had ever held dear. Engaged as a colonel, commanding a corps in the partisan warfare, he was taken prisoner and confined in a deep dungeon in Charlestown. Without even the form of trial, Lord Rawdon with Colonel Balfour, the commandant of Charlestown, contrary to the usages of war, sentenced him to death. The royalists, with the governor at their head, petitioned for the prisoner, and pleaded the impolicy of the act. The most distinguished women of Charlestown, touched with his virtues, pleaded his cause with all the feeling and eloquence of their sex. But more than all, his children, clad in mourning for their mother, appeared before the judges, and stretching out their little hands, pleaded and entreated with tears for the life of their surviving parent. But they pleaded in vain; and Hayne was led to execution.

Amidst the execrations which Rawdon's unrelenting cruelty had in this instance drawn, not only upon himself, but upon the cause which he had thought proper to use such means in vindicating, that general left the capital of Carolina, and returned to England. The command of the army devolved on Colonel Stuart.

*Battle of Eutaw Springs—Engagement of the French and English fleets—Junction of the British armies—Tarleton surprises Charlotteville—Cornwallis*

*enters Yorktown—Washington arrives at the head of the Elk—De Grasse enters the Chesapeake—Action between the French and English fleets.*

General Greene, still in his camp at the high hills of the Santee, had made the best use of the time allowed him by the suspension of arms. It was now the beginning of September, the sultriness of the season had abated, and Greene determined, if possible, to dispossess the British of the remaining posts in the upper country. He marched to the upper Congaree, passed it with all his army, and descended along its right bank, intending to attack Colonel Stewart, who at this time occupied the post of Mac-cord's Ferry. The royalists fell back upon Eutaw Springs; thither General Greene pursued them, and on the 8th of September the armies engaged. The battle of Eutaw Springs is memorable as being one of the most bloody and valiantly contested fields of the war; and also for being the last of any note that occurred at the south.

In this battle General Greene drew up his forces with great skill, and made the attack. The troops on both sides fought with great bravery. The American officers remarked, that when necessary, their soldiers resorted promptly to the use of the bayonet, which they had formerly appeared to dread. After a severe contest, victory seemed to declare for the republicans. The British were routed and fled; but finding in their flight a large house and some other objects affording shelter, they rallied and repulsed their assailants with heavy loss. Greene finding it impossible to dislodge them, retreated to his camp, bearing 500 prisoners. The whole loss of the British in killed and wounded was about 1000, that of the Americans 600. Congress voted their thanks to General Greene, and presented him with a conquered standard and a golden medal. Greene was ably seconded by his officers, among whom the gallant Colonels Lee and Washington are mentioned as particularly deserving. The latter was wounded and taken prisoner. Greene's army having being reinforced, the British no longer dared to keep the open country, but retired to Charlestown. Thus had the Americans in a few months recovered the whole of the states of South Carolina and Georgia, except their capitals. The skill and valour manifested by Greene in their defence, has given him a rank among the heroes of the revolution, second to none but to Washington.

While the war at the south was progressing, other important operations were going on in other parts of the union, and we now go back several months in the order of time, to give an account of their progress. It will be recollected that we left both Cornwallis and the traitor Arnold in the state of Virginia. The latter had landed on the 4th of January with a force of 1700 men, in the vicinity of Richmond. He destroyed the public stores in Richmond; and sent Colonel Simcoe, who laid waste those in Westham. In their course Arnold and his officers committed the most wanton depredations on private property.

Washington, although perplexed with the recent mutiny of the troops, and the deranged state of the finances, concerted measures with the French, by means of which, he hoped to relieve Virginia, and obtain possession of the traitor and his force.

La Fayette, at the head of 1200 light-infantry, was detached towards Virginia, while the commander of the French fleet at Rhode Island dispatched a squadron of eight sail of the line under the *Chevalier*

*Destouches*, to cut off the retreat of Arnold from the Chesapeake. But Clinton, gaining intelligence of the plan, sent Admiral Arbuthnot to the relief of Arnold, with a squadron of equal force. These two fleets met and fought off Cape Henry, on the 16th of March, and suffered equal, though not very considerable loss. But the French were constrained to relinquish their design, and return to Rhode Island. Upon hearing this, La Fayette, who had arrived at Annapolis, marched to the head of the Elk.

Clinton, finding how narrowly Arnold had escaped, sent to his assistance General Philips with 2000 men. Thus reinforced, Arnold resumed the work of pillage and destruction. La Fayette arrived in time to save Richmond; but he witnessed from that place the conflagration of Manchester, on the opposite bank of the James. About this time both parties learned the approach of Cornwallis; and it became the object of Philips and Arnold to form a junction with him at Petersburg. They arrived before Cornwallis. While awaiting his arrival, General Philips sickened and died. His death occurred the 13th of May, and on the 20th Cornwallis reached Petersburg.

After remaining a few days at Petersburg, Cornwallis, now in command of the combined forces, directed their march into the interior of Virginia, supposing, as was the fact, that the Americans were too weak and too much dispersed, to offer any effectual opposition. There were, however, three separate corps of republican troops in Virginia; one under General La Fayette, another and a smaller one under the Baron Steuben, and the Pennsylvania troops under General Wayne. Had they been united, they were by no means a match for the army of Cornwallis. But La Fayette, who had the chief command, showed how well he had profited by the lessons of Washington. Prudent and brave, understanding far better than the British, the ground over which the armies moved, he harassed his foe and restrained his motions; without once suffering himself to be led into a snare, or his army to be endangered. When Cornwallis pursued, he retreated; when intent upon some other object, his foe held another direction, immediately La Fayette pursued in his turn, hanging upon his rear, and preventing him from sending out straggling parties. This conduct kept up the spirits of the republicans, and prevented the British from realizing their sanguine expectation, that many would flock to their standard.

While at Westover, Cornwallis detached Colonel Tarleton to Charlottesville, where the legislature of Virginia were in session, and at the same time sent Colonel Simcoe to the Point of Fork, at the junction of the two rivers which form the James, to seize some stores at that place. Both these expeditions were in a measure successful; but Tarleton was disappointed of the prize on which he most calculated. This was the capture of Governor Jefferson, who after having provided for the safety of a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, found means to elude the vigilance of his pursuers.

Cornwallis, while thus ranging the interior of Virginia, constantly checked however by La Fayette, was suddenly recalled to the sea-coast by an order from Sir Henry Clinton. That general, apprehensive that the Americans and French meditated an attack on New York, and fearing that he was not in sufficient force to resist them, had directed Cornwallis to embark 3000 of his troops to join his garrison. Intent on obeying his mandate, Cornwallis marched with his army to Portsmouth, where he received orders to retain the troops. Clinton,

having received a reinforcement of 3000 Germans, now believed he could dispense with further aid; and ordered Cornwallis to proceed to Point Comfort and there fortify, in order to have, in any event, a secure retreat.

Cornwallis found reasons for disliking this post, and obtained of Clinton permission to select another. He fixed on Yorktown, a village which is situated on the right bank of York river. Upon the opposite side of the stream upon a projecting point, which narrows and deepens its channel, is the smaller village of Gloucester. Cornwallis entered Yorktown, August 23rd, and proceeded to erect fortifications.

We have already seen the difficulties which, from an exhausted army and treasury, at the commencement of this campaign, environed the commander-in-chief. For Washington was, in fact, a main spring in the deliberations and decisions of congress, as well as the director of field operations. He had learned that a considerable French fleet, and a body of land troops was soon to arrive upon the coast. Anxious to avail himself of the naval superiority which this force would give him, and to strike some important blow, the commander-in-chief, with the advice of Rochambeau, whom he met at Weathersfield, determined to attack New York. Clinton, apprised of the plan, determined, as we have seen, to recall a part of the forces of Cornwallis, but was prevented by the arrival of 3000 German troops, which increased his garrison to upwards of 10,000.

In the meantime, Washington was disappointed in his expected recruits. Instead of 12,000 regular troops, which he was to have had, he could hardly muster 5000, a number by no means adequate to the projected siege. He learned that De Grasse, the expected French admiral, could not remain on the American coast longer than October, and finally, that his destination was the Chesapeake. From these considerations, Washington suddenly changed his plan of operations, and bent all his calculations to take Cornwallis in the snare which he seemed laying for himself.

Success depended upon secrecy, for had Sir Henry Clinton been apprised of his plan, he might at first have defeated it. But it may reasonably be supposed that few at this time were in the counsels of the commander-in-chief, for never was a secret better kept, or an enemy more completely deceived. Washington made every show of a preparation to attack New York. He broke up his camp at New Windsor, and advanced down the river to Kingsbridge. The French army, consisting of 5000 under Rochambeau, had marched from Rhode Island and joined him. They appeared daily to expect the arrival of De Grasse at New York. Suddenly Washington crossed the Hudson, and directed the rapid march of the continental armies across New Jersey. But he had caused a report to be spread, that this was merely a feint to draw Clinton from his fortifications, that he might fight him in the open field. Clinton deceived, removed within his fortress. Washington, now learning that De Grasse was near the Chesapeake, no longer delayed crossing the Delaware, and steering direct for his object, well satisfied that the time for his foe to prevent its accomplishment was past. He arrived after a rapid march at the head of the Elk, the northern extremity of the Chesapeake, on the 25th of August; and having made the necessary arrangements for the transportation of his army, he proceeded in person to Vir-

ginia, attended by the Count De Rochambeau; and on the 14th of September, he joined La Fayette at Williamsburgh.

The Count De Grasse with 25 sail of the line, entered the mouth of the Chesapeake only one hour before Washington arrived at the head of the Elk, and immediately performed the part assigned to him, by blocking up the mouths of the York and James rivers, thus cutting off all communication between the British at Yorktown and New York. He also opened a communication with La Fayette. When Cornwallis first took post at Yorktown, this general had occupied a position high up the river, but had now descended as far as Williamsburgh. The allies had a fear that Cornwallis, seeing the toils into which he was falling, would turn upon La Fayette, who was inferior in force. To prevent this, 3000 light troops, under the Marquis de St. Simon, were sent up the river in boats, to join him at Williamsburgh.

The allies needed artillery, and other preparations for besieging, as Cornwallis had strengthened his works, and could only be overcome by a regular siege. These they expected from Rhode Island, to be brought by a French squadron, commanded by the Count De Barras, who had made sail three days before the arrival of De Grasse in the Chesapeake. To prevent falling in with the British fleet, Barras had stood far out to sea. While expecting him, De Grasse, on the 5th of September, saw, off the capes, a British fleet of nineteen sail, under Admiral Greaves. The French commander, advised by Washington, behaved with admirable skill and prudence. He engaged the British partially, to draw them from their anchorage ground; by which means the Count De Barras, as he expected, was enabled to pass by them into the bay; but refused a general engagement, which would have been putting to hazard a game, which with prudence was already in the hands of the allies.

*Fort Trumbull taken—And fort Griswold—Arnold burns New London—Yorktown besieged—Cornwallis capitulates—British Land forces surrender to the Americans, and the Marine to the French—Clinton too late endeavours to preserve Cornwallis—La Fayette returns to France.*

Cornwallis had now no hope of escape but from Clinton. To him he had found means to represent his situation, and closely invested as he was, he received an answer to his communication. By this he was informed that troops would, if possible, embark from New York for his relief by the 5th of October.

Clinton, hoping to draw off some part of the forces which menaced Cornwallis, projected an expedition against New London in Connecticut, the command of which he gave to the traitor, Arnold, lately returned from Virginia. The access to the port of New London, was guarded by forts Trumbull and Griswold, erected on the opposite banks of the Thames. Fort Trumbull was taken without much effort. The garrison of fort Griswold was composed of militia, many of whom were the fathers of the families in the vicinity, hastily collected, and under the command of the estimable Colonel Ledyard. They made a resolute defence, and killed numbers of the assailants. At length, however, they were overpowered, and ceased to resist. As the British entered the fort, an officer inquired "who commands this fort?" "I did," said Colonel Ledyard, "but you do now," and presented his sword.



The monster took it and plunged it in his bosom. This was the signal for slaughter. Forty, out of 160, were all that escaped. Scarcely was there a father of a family in the little town of Groten, but was that night butchered, and almost its entire population became widows and orphans.

New London was next laid in ashes, and a great number of vessels richly laden, fell into the hands of Arnold. Washington was not however moved to quit his post at the south. The people of Connecticut showed ominous signs of resistance, and Arnold judged it prudent to return to New York.

Cornwallis, in the belief that he should receive succour from Clinton, abandoned his out-posts and defences, and withdrew entirely within the fortifications of Yorktown. Many of his own officers considered this as a great error. They had urged him to attempt crossing the river, and regaining the open country, through which they might, as they believed, proceed by rapid marches to New York. While he delayed and deliberated, the small chance that was left him of escaping in this way, was destroyed. The besiegers had now collected in the vicinity of Yorktown; their whole force amounted to 16,000, 7000 of whom were French. Notwithstanding a heavy fire from the fort, they made rapid advances in their works. They had commenced them on the night of the 6th of October. On the 9th several batteries were completed, and a heavy destructive cannonade commenced. On the 11th they began their second parallel, which was only 300 yards from the fort. In order to complete their trenches, it was necessary to dislodge the English from two redoubts which were in advance of their main works. Washington determined on carrying them by assault, and taking advantage of the emulation between the two armies, to make success more certain, he assigned to the French under Baron De Viomesnil the taking of one, while to the Americans under the Marquis La Fayette and Colonel Hamilton he assigned the capture of the other. The ardour and eloquence of the officers stirred up their troops to the highest pitch of valour, and their onset was so furious, that the British, though they bravely withstood, could not long resist them. Both the redoubts were taken, not without loss to the allies, of which the French party suffered the greatest share.

Nothing now remained to prevent the completion of the second parallel; which once finished, Cornwallis had no alternative before him but death or submission. In fact his walls were already broken, and his ditches filled up by their falling parts. On the night of the 16th, the British under General Abercrombie made a vigorous sortie, took two batteries and spiked eleven cannon. They were charged furiously by the French under De Noailles, and driven back to their encampments.

Thus situated, Cornwallis made one more effort, which had he, as advised, sooner attempted, might perhaps have saved his army. This was to cross the river in the night, to Gloucester Point, where a small garrison of the British, commanded by Tarleton, were watched by the French under De Choise. Leaving his baggage, and the sick and wounded, whom in a letter to Washington, he recommended to his generosity, his army were to embark in three divisions. A part had already crossed and landed at Gloucester Point; a part were upon the river, the third division alone had not embarked; the air and the water were calm, and Cornwallis's hopes of escape were high. In a moment, the sky was overcast and a tempest arose, the ele-

ments were armed against him, as if again he was checked by that invisible power which seemed to watch over the destiny of the American people, and which before by the swelling of the waters had saved their army from his grasp. The wind and rain were violent, and his boats were driven down the river. The day appeared, and the besiegers discovering their situation, opened upon his scattered and weakened army, a destructive fire; and they were glad when the abating tempest allowed them to return to their almost dismantled fortifications.

Seeing now no hope of escape, his army wasting by the irresistible fire of the American works, Cornwallis no longer delayed to treat for a surrender. Before noon on the 17th he sent a flag to Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for 24 hours, and the appointment of commissioners to settle the terms of surrender. Washington fearing the arrival of British troops, refused to grant a truce longer than two hours; and signified that within that time he should expect the propositions of the British commander. Cornwallis wished to obtain liberty for the European troops to return to their homes upon their parole of not again serving in the American war; and he also wished to make terms for the Americans who had followed his fortunes. Both these conditions Washington refused, as the European soldiers would be at liberty to serve in garrisons at home, and the case of the Americans belonged to the civil authority. All that the most earnest persuasion could obtain from Washington on this point, was permission for a sloop, laden with such persons as Cornwallis selected, to be allowed to pass without search or visit to New York; he being accountable for the number of persons it carried, as prisoners of war. The whole remaining British force to be surrendered to the allies; the land army with its munitions to the Americans, the marine to the French.

Agreeable to the articles of capitulation, the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester were surrendered on the 19th of October. The prisoners exclusive of seamen amounted to more than 7000, of whom 2000 were sick or wounded. Five hundred and fifty-two of the British had fallen during the siege. Sixty pieces of cannon also fell into the hands of the Americans, principally brass. Two frigates and twenty transports with their crews fell into the hands of the French. General Lincoln, who had suffered at Charlestown the mortification of surrendering an American army, was, with peculiar delicacy, selected by the commander-in-chief to receive the submission of the British army.

The French and Americans added on this occasion the praise of generosity and humanity, to that of wisdom and valour. Their leaders vied with each other, in acts of kindness to the conquered officers, and every possible attention was paid to the accommodation of the soldiers.

On the day in which the capitulation was signed, Clinton passed Sandy Hook, with a powerful force, to go to the succour of Cornwallis; he appeared off the capes of Virginia on the 24th, where learning the surrender of the army, he immediately returned to New York.

This event caused a burst of joy and exultation throughout America. Nor did the people, or the civil rulers, amidst the honours which were showered upon the American and French commanders, forget to acknowledge their supreme obligations to the Great Commander and Ruler of armies and of nations.

Washington would gladly have detained the French

fleet to co-operate in a descent upon Charlestown; but De Grasse being under orders from the French court, to be in the West Indies on a certain day, dared not hazard the detention of his fleet; and made sail for those islands without delay.

General La Fayette, who had sought America in her adversity, left her as soon as prosperity dawned upon her fortunes. He embarked about this time for France, leaving deep in the hearts of a grateful people, the remembrance of his virtues and his services.

*Poverty of the American government—Trials and magnanimity of the treasurer—Sir Guy Carleton supersedes Clinton—Articles of peace signed at Paris—Disturbance among the officers of the army—Evacuation of New York—Resignation of Washington.*

The poverty of the United States, as a government, was again almost incredible. The great effort made by congress in the winter of 1780-81 enabled them to provide for the campaign of the ensuing season, and it was most fortunate for America that the result was favourable; for it seems impossible that another active and expensive campaign could have been sustained. There was no fault in the arrangements of congress, or remission of activity, prudence, and patriotism on the part of the treasurer. On the contrary, congress had made the most judicious arrangements early in the winter of 1781. They were aided in their deliberations by Washington, who, at their request, had stopped at Philadelphia, on his way from Yorktown, to his accustomed winter-quarters. They laid taxes, and apportioned them among the several states; and made such other regulations, that the commander-in-chief had sanguine hopes that every thing would be in readiness for an early campaign, as it was wisely considered that the way to obtain an honourable peace was to be in readiness for war. But the several state governments wholly failed of paying their quotas, alleging the utter inability of their constituents to support further taxation. Although by the judicious arrangements of Morris the public expenses were much diminished, yet they were necessarily great, and must so continue, although the means of meeting them thus unexpectedly failed. At the commencement of 1782 not a dollar remained in the treasury. "Yet to the financier," says Marshall, "every eye was turned; to him was stretched forth the empty hand of every public creditor, and against him, instead of the state authorities, were the complaints and imprecations of every unsatisfied claimant directed." The keen sense of the ingratitude of his country, experienced by this injured patriot, and at the same time his resolution not to abandon the cause of a people who were so unjust to him, were thus expressed in a letter to the commander-in-chief:—"With such gloomy prospects as this letter affords, I am tied here to be baited by continual clamorous demands; and for the forfeiture of all that is valuable in life, and which I hoped at this moment to enjoy, I am to be paid by invective. Scarce a day passes, in which I am not tempted to give back into the hands of congress the power they have delegated, and to lay down a burden which presses me to the earth. Nothing prevents me but a knowledge of the difficulties which I am obliged to struggle under. What may be the success of my efforts, God only knows; but to leave my post at present would I know be ruinous. This candid state of my situation and feelings I give to

your bosom, because you who have already felt and suffered so much will be able to sympathize with me."

The people of England, who felt severely the expenses of the war, on hearing the disasters which had attended their armies, particularly that of Cornwallis, no longer suppressed their discontent. They saw, that after the lives and property which had been expended, after all the intrigues of their government, nothing remained to them on the American shores but New York, Charlestown, and Savannah; and these posts could only be maintained by strong fleets and garrisons. All hope of reducing the Americans to subjection now vanished. Still the king, in his speech at the opening of parliament, showed his unwillingness to relinquish his sway over what he had during his life considered his patrimony; the people, however, persisted in their wishes for peace, and loudly demanded the removal of ministers, who advised the king to measures so much against the public interest.

The house of commons, about the last of February, moved by the general feeling, as well as by the eloquent speeches of General Conway and others, voted "that they should consider as enemies to his majesty and their country, all who should advise or attempt a further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of America." This vote was followed by the resignation of the office of prime-minister, by Lord North, and the appointment of an administration favourable to peace.

Sir Henry Clinton was now superseded in command by Sir Guy Carleton; whose conciliating conduct as governor of Canada, had gained him the esteem of the Americans. The general sentiment of all parties was now favourable to peace; and after this there were no hostile operations, except a few of inconsiderable importance in South Carolina. In one of these fell the young and gallant Colonel Laurens, lamented by Washington and the whole army.

Admiral Digby, who the summer before had arrived in New York with reinforcements for Clinton, was appointed with Carleton by the British ministry, to treat with the Americans for peace, on the ground of acknowledging their independence; but congress finding that parliament had not sanctioned this step of the ministry, refused to negotiate with their agents. Whether this was or was not, as many supposed, a snare which was set for the Americans, congress without doubt encountered one, which had for its object to destroy their alliance with France and Spain, by procuring the American government to treat separately from her allies; but this congress steadily refused.

That body, careful to be ready for the first honourable overtures which they should receive, had appointed John Adams, their minister at the Hague, as a commissioner for this purpose: with him they now associated Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Laurens. The latter, while crossing the ocean as minister to Holland, had been captured and confined in the Tower of London.

To meet these commissioners at Paris, the court of St. James sent Mr. Fitz Herbert and Mr. Oswald. On the 20th of January, 1783, preliminary articles of peace were signed at Versailles. The definitive treaty was deferred until the adjustment of affairs between England and France, and was not signed until the 3rd of September, 1783. The terms granted to America by this treaty, in respect to extent of territory and right to the fisheries of New England, were equal to the most sanguine expectations of her

friends. The English ministers then in power, seemed to be aware of the policy of making America independent in fact, as well as in name: probably the more so, as a contrary disposition was manifested by France. Both powers seemed aware, that if she remained in a state of dependence, it must, from the posture of affairs, be a dependence upon France, rather than upon England. The American negotiators were men of great ability and ardent patriotism, and well knew how to turn this state of things to the advantage of their country.

But in the general pacification, and amidst the protracted negotiations of the several parties, nothing was stipulated on the subject of neutral rights, which had been the moving cause of the coalition against England; and thus a door was left open for future contention and bloodshed.

The situation of the rising republic of America was, during these long negotiations, extremely critical. Had congress possessed the means of paying their officers and soldiers, there would have been nothing to apprehend from the disbanding of so patriotic an army. But the officers, aware of the poverty of the treasury, doubted whether it would be in the power of congress to fulfil the stipulation made in October, 1780, granting to them half pay for life.

While the independence of their country was uncertain, they had pressed forward to the attainment of that object; and, regardless of themselves, had sacrificed their fortunes, their possessions, and their health. Now that great object was attained, they began to brood over their own situation; and fears arose that should they disband before their country had done them justice, and lose their consequence as a body, themselves and their services might be forgotten.

Designing persons increased their discontent, by insinuating that their cause was not advocated with sufficient zeal by their commander.

On the 10th of March, while the army was lying at Newburgh, an anonymous paper was circulated, which embodied in the most glowing language the deep feelings of many hearts. The discontents of the army exploded, and murmurs rose to threats and open invective. This paper proposed a meeting of the officers on the ensuing day.

Washington, aware of the feelings of the army, had not availed himself of the suspension of hostilities to seek the pleasures of home, but had remained in the camp. He now saw that the dreaded crisis had arrived. Intent on guiding deliberations which he could not suppress, he called his officers to a meeting somewhat later than the one appointed in the anonymous appeal, to which, in his orders, he alluded with disapprobation. In the interim he prepared a written address. The officers met. The father of his country rose, to read the manuscript which he held in his hand. Not being able to distinguish its characters, he took off his spectacles to wipe them with his handkerchief. "My eyes," said he, "have grown dim in the service of my country, but I never doubted her justice." This was a preface worthy of the paper which he read. In this he alluded in the most touching manner to the sufferings and services of the army, in which he too had borne his share. He treated with becoming severity the proposition to seek, by unlawful means, the redress of their injuries. He assured them that congress, though slow in their deliberations, were favourable to the interests of the army; and he conjured them not to tarnish the renown of their

brilliant deeds, by an irreparable act of rashness and folly; and finally, he pledged them his utmost exertions to assist in procuring from congress the just reward of their meritorious services.

The officers listened to the voice which they had so long been accustomed to respect and obey; and the storm of passion was hushed. His pledge of using his influence with congress in behalf of the army, was performed in a manner which showed how deeply he had their cause at heart. "If," said he, in a letter to that body, "the whole army have not merited whatever a grateful people can bestow, then I have been beguiled by prejudice, and built opinion on the basis of error. If this country should not, in the event, perform every thing which has been requested in the late memorial to congress, then will my belief become vain, and the hope that has been excited, void of foundation. And if (as has been suggested for the purpose of inflaming their passions,) the officers of the army are to be the only sufferers by this revolution; if retiring from the field they are to grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt; if they are to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honour, then shall I have learned what ingratitude is; then shall I have realized a tale which will embitter every moment of my future life.

Moved by the remonstrances of Washington, and alarmed lest the danger they had so narrowly escaped should return, congress made every exertion in their power to do justice to the officers. They commuted the half-pay which had been pledged to them, for a sum equal to five years full pay. The army was disbanded without tumult, in November, 1783. They mingled with their fellow-citizens, ever through future years to be honoured for belonging to that patriotic band.

On the 25th of November the British troops evacuated New-York, and a detachment from the American army entered it.

On the 4th of December the separation of Washington from his officers took place at New York. The long and eventful period which they had passed together; the dangers they had mutually shared; the reflection that they parted to meet no more; and above all, the thought that they might never again behold the face of their beloved commander, filled their hearts, and the hardy veterans wept.

From New York, Washington hastened to Annapolis, where congress was then in session. He immediately waited on them for the purpose of resigning his commission. A public audience was appointed for that purpose on the 23rd of December, when, in the presence of a large, and deeply affected audience, he resigned his offices, and commended his country to the protection of God. He retired to Mount Vernon, followed by the benedictions of America, and the admiration of the world.

*State of the American finances—Rebellion in Massachusetts—In New Hampshire—Defects in the American form of government—Delegates meet from five states—Constitution framed at Philadelphia—Constitution—Adopted by eleven states—Geographical notices, &c.*

(1784.) At the close of the war, the United States, although they had burst the bonds of European thralldom, were in a most deplorable condition. A heavy debt encumbered the government; and a similar burden rested upon almost every corporation within it. Trade and manufactures had decayed

during the war, and many of the inhabitants were now nearly destitute of clothing and the necessities of life. Immediately after the peace was announced, the British sent over an immense quantity of cloths of an inferior quality, which were sold at a most exorbitant price; and thus almost all the money of the country was collected and carried abroad. The nation being in debt, and destitute of the means of payment, heavy taxes were necessarily imposed. This increased the discontent which already prevailed among the people to an alarming degree. The state governments resorted to various measures for the relief of their citizens. In Rhode Island the government issued a quantity of paper money, redeemable at a future day; this measure only involved them in all the difficulties which the general government had experienced from the same cause;—depreciation of their bills, and loss of public credit.

In Massachusetts a law was passed for making real and personal estate a tender in the discharge of executions and actions commenced at law. Other laws were also passed, considered oppressive; one for collecting former taxes not paid in certain specified articles; and another for rendering processes of law less expensive. The distress which prevailed in the country at length produced insurrections. In August, nearly 1500 insurgents assembled under arms at Northampton, and took possession of the court-house. Their object was to prevent the sittings of the court of common pleas, and of course, the issuing of executions under these obnoxious laws. The governor issued a proclamation, calling on the citizens to suppress such treasonable proceedings; but his proclamation was utterly disregarded. In the next month, a scene similar to that at Northampton was acted at Worcester. A body of men, exceeding 300, assembled, and compelled the court there sitting to adjourn.

Nor was Massachusetts the only state where a disposition to insurgency manifested itself. In New Hampshire a large body of malcontents assembled at Exeter, where the general assembly of the state was convened, and surrounding the house where they were in session, held them prisoners for several hours. The insurrection here was soon crushed by the energetic measures of the government. The leader of the malcontents in Massachusetts was Daniel Shays. At the head of 300 men, he marched into Springfield, where the supreme judicial court was in session, and took possession of the court-house. He then appointed a committee, who waited on the court with an order couched in the humble form of a petition, requesting them not to proceed to business; and both parties retired. The number of insurgents increased; the posture of affairs became alarming; and an army of 4000 men was at length ordered out for their dispersion. This force was placed under the command of General Lincoln. His first measure was to march to Worcester; and he afforded such protection to the court at that place, that it resumed and executed the judicial functions. Orders were given to General Shepard to collect a sufficient force to secure the arsenal at Springfield. Accordingly, he raised about 900 men, which were reinforced by 300 militia from the county of Hampshire. At the head of his force he marched, as directed, to Springfield.

On the 25th of January Shays approached at the head of 1100 men. Shepard sent out one of his aids to know the intention of the insurgents, and to warn them of their danger. Their answer was, that they would have the barracks, and they proceeded

to within a few hundred yards of the arsenal. They were then informed that the militia were posted there by order of the governor; and that they would be fired upon if they approached nearer. They continued to advance, when General Shepard ordered his men to fire, but to direct their fire over their heads; even this did not intimidate them, or retard their movements. The artillery was then levelled against the centre column, and the whole body thrown into confusion. Shays attempted in vain to rally them. They made a precipitate retreat to Ludlow, about ten miles from Springfield. Three men were killed, and one wounded. They soon after retreated to Petersham; but General Lincoln pursuing their retreat, they finally dispersed.

Some of the fugitives retired to their homes; but many, and among them their principal officers, took refuge in the states of New Hampshire, Vermont and New York.

Commissioners were appointed by the government of Massachusetts, empowered to promise pardon, on certain conditions, to all concerned in the rebellion. Several hundreds received the benefit of the commission. Fourteen only were sentenced to death, and these were afterwards pardoned.

A proposal was this year made to amend the articles of confederation. The present frame of government, although it had served during the pressure of danger to keep the several parts of the nation together, was now found inadequate for providing for the national exigencies. In forming the articles of confederation, great care had been taken to withhold any delegation of power, which might hereafter endanger the liberties of the individual states. Congress had no authority to enforce its ordinances; and now that the pressure of public danger was removed, they were contemned and disregarded. The treaties which the general government had formed with foreign nations, had been violated by some of the states, and some of them refused to adopt a system of import, which was devised by congress. It became evident that nothing could put a stop to evils of this description, but a more energetic form of government.

In 1783, John Adams, then in Europe, suggested to congress the expediency of strengthening the general government. In 1786, at the suggestion of Mr. Madison, in the legislature of Virginia, a convention of delegates from five of the middle states met at Annapolis, who came to the conclusion that nothing short of a thorough reform of the existing government, would be effectual for the welfare of the country. Congress approved their proceedings, and passed a resolution, recommending a convention of delegates, to be held at Philadelphia.

In May 1787, the convention met, and instead of amending the articles of confederation, they proceeded to form a new constitution. Their debates were long and arduous. A momentous political experiment was to be tried, and the destinies of unborn millions hung upon their deliberation. Respecting many articles of the constitution, much difference of opinion existed. In particular, where the strength of the new government came in question, an honest diversity of opinion, in men of equal patriotism, prevailed. On the one hand, it was considered, that if the government was made too weak, a state of anarchy and consequent revolution would ensue; on the other, that if it were made too strong, America would lose the blessings of liberty which she had bled at every pore to obtain, and only make an exchange of foreign for domestic oppression.

Some of these politicians thought the only safe mode of reasoning was from the experience of the past, and that all speculations not drawn from this source, should be condemned as impracticable, speculative, and visionary. These looked for an example to the constitution of England, as containing the best form of government actually existing.

Others believed that as the circumstances of the times changed, governments should accommodate themselves to the change. That the present state of the world, and the situation of America had no parallels in history;—and that therefore the track of no former nation could serve as the guide to their voyage: but like the discoverer of their continent, they must lay their course through the untraveller way, with nothing to guide them but the light of heaven, and their own observation.

The happy medium probably lies between the extremes of these two opinions; and the constitution framed, being a compromise between them, the form of government, which it prescribes is probably, on that account, more perfect than if either side had wholly prevailed.

Connected with these ideas concerning the greater or less degree of strength proper to give to the new government, was the subject of the consolidation or strict independence of the states. Those who wished for the general government to possess great strength, were charged by their opponents with wishing so to arrange it, that in the play of its parts, it would have broken down and subjected to itself the state governments. Those, on the other hand, who feared oppression more than anarchy, watched, with a jealous eye, every infringement of state rights.

Those in favour of holding the states strongly united, were called at this time federalists, and their opponents anti-federalists.

Other points of dispute arose still more dangerous, because they divided parties by geographical lines. The most difficult of these, regarded the representation in congress of the slave-holding states. The non-slave-holders contended that the number of representatives sent should only be in proportion to the number of free white inhabitants. This would bring some states whose whole population was great, upon a level with others where the number of inhabitants was comparatively small; and members from these states would not give their consent to such an appointment. This difficulty, like many others which perplexed the convention, was compromised; and the slaves were allowed to be reckoned, in settling the quota of representatives, as equal to three-fifths of an equal number of free white inhabitants.

That these great difficulties were compromised, holds up this convention, as an example to future times, of the triumph of strong patriotism and honest zeal for the public welfare, over party feeling and factious prejudice. If the time shall ever come when any American congress or convention shall fail to compromise amicably, disputes which conflicting interests must produce in this extensive republic; then will the day of its degeneracy have arrived, and its downfall be at hand: then will be experienced the triumph of party feeling and factious interest over patriotism and public zeal. The finger of history would point with scorn at such a body of men, while she contrasted them with the wise and honest patriots who framed the constitution which such a convention would have destroyed.

The federal constitution, at the time of its adoption, was far from receiving the entire confidence

which it now commands. It made the government too strong to please one party, and too weak to satisfy the other; and while, on the one hand, it was believed, that it would in its operation eventually overturn the liberty of America, on the other, it was pronounced to be a "rope of sand," and the date of its dissolution was again to be near.

This being a most important document, we incorporate it in our history.

*The Constitution of the United States of America, framed during the year 1787, by a Convention of Delegates, who met at Philadelphia, from the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia.*

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

#### ARTICLE I.—Section 1.

"All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

#### Section 2.

"I. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

"II. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of 25 years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

"III. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every 30,000, but each state shall have at least one representative; and, until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

"IV. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

"V. The house of representatives shall choose their Speaker, and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

#### Section 3.

"I. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

"II. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

"III. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained the age of 30 years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

"IV. The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

"V. The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

"VI. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

"VII. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law.

#### Section 4.

"I. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

"II. The congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

#### Section 5.

"I. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

"II. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

"III. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

"IV. Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other

place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

#### Section 6.

"I. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

"II. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

#### Section 7.

"I. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

"II. Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the president of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be re-considered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted), after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

"III. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

#### Section 8.

"The congress shall have power—

"I. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

"II. To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

"III. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.

"IV. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization.



tion, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States.

"V. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

"VI. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States.

"VII. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

"VIII. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

"IX. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court.

"X. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

"XI. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules, concerning captures on land and water.

"XII. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.

"XIII. To provide and maintain a navy.

"XIV. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

"XV. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

"XVI. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by congress.

"XVII. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—and

"XVIII. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

#### Section 9.

"I. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

"II. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

"III. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

"IV. No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

"V. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one state, be obliged to enter clear, or pay duties in another.

"VI. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

"VII. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign state.

#### Section 10.

"I. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

"II. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of congress. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

#### ARTICLE II.—Section 1.

"I. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:—

"II. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

"III. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list, the said house shall in like manner choose the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case,

after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them by ballot the vice-president.

"IV. The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

"V. No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president, neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of 35 years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

"VI. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

"VII. The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased or diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

"VIII. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—*I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States.*"

#### Section 2.

"I. The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

"II. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

"III. The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

#### Section 3.

"He shall, from time to time, give to the congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or

either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

#### Section 4.

"The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

#### ARTICLE III.—Section 1.

"The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

#### Section 2.

"I. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

"II. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

"III. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trials shall be held in the state where the said crime shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place, or places as the congress may by law have directed.

#### Section 3.

"I. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

"II. The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attained.

#### ARTICLE IV.—Section 1.

"Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

#### Section 2.

"I. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

"II. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

"III. No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

#### Section 3.

"I. New states may be admitted by the congress into this union, but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress.

"II. The congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

#### Section 4.

"The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

#### ARTICLE V.

"The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress: provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

#### ARTICLE VI.

"I. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

"II. This constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

"III. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required, as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States

#### ARTICLE VII.

"The ratification of the conventions of nine states, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

*"Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.*

"The constitution, although formed in 1787, was not adopted until 1789. The number of delegates chosen to this convention was 65, of whom ten did not attend, and sixteen refused to sign the constitution. The following 39 signed the constitution:—  
"New Hampshire.—John Langdon, Nicholas

Gelman.  
"Massachusetts.—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.  
"Connecticut.—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

"New York.—Alexander Hamilton.  
"New Jersey.—William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.

"Pennsylvania.—Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

"Delaware.—George Read, Gunning Bedford, jun., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

"Maryland.—James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

"Virginia.—John Blair, James Madison, jun.

"North Carolina.—William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

"South Carolina.—John Rutledge, Charles C. Pinkney, Charles Pinkney, Pierce Butler.

"Georgia.—William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON, President.

"WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary."

#### AMENDMENTS.

*The following articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States, having been ratified by the legislatures of nine states, are equally obligatory with the constitution itself:—*

#### ARTICLE I.

"After the first enumeration required by the first article of the constitution, there shall be one representative for every 30,000, until the number shall amount to 100, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that there shall be not less than 100 representatives, nor less than one representative for every 40,000 persons, until the number of representatives shall amount to 200, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that there shall not be less than 200 representatives, nor more than one representative for every 50,000 persons.

#### ARTICLE II.

"No law varying the compensation for the services of the senators and representatives shall take effect, until an election of representatives shall have intervened.

#### ARTICLE III.

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free ex-

ercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

#### ARTICLE IV.

"A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

#### ARTICLE V.

"No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

#### ARTICLE VI.

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

#### ARTICLE VII.

"No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

"In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

#### ARTICLE IX.

"In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

#### ARTICLE X.

"Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

#### ARTICLE XI.

"The enumeration in the constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

#### ARTICLE XII.

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

#### ARTICLE XIII.

"The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

#### ARTICLE XIV.

"The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot, for president and vice-president, one of whom at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name, in their ballots, the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots, the person voted for as vice-president, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for president, shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such a majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately by ballot, the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president.

"The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the vice-president—a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

"But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president, shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

#### ARTICLE XV.

"If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive, or retain any title of nobility or honour; or shall without the consent of congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office or emolument of any kind whatever, from any emperor, king, prince, or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them or either of them."

It was not without a struggle that the new constitution was adopted. Eleven of the states were, however, early in the year 1789, brought to decide in favour of its ratification. Rhode Island, who had refused to send members to the convention in which it was framed, now refused to accept it.

The first president under the new constitution, was Washington. His grateful countrymen were unanimous in bestowing upon him this high office. The first vice-president was that profound and honest statesman, John Adams.

*Geographical Notices of the Country at this Period.*

Population.	Population.
Maine..... 96,540	Virginia..... 442,117
New Hampshire 141,885	Kentucky..... 61,133
Vermont..... 85,589	Tennessee..... 77,262
Massachusetts.. 373,324	North Carolina 288,204
Rhode Island... 64,470	South Carolina 140,178
Connecticut... 232,374	Georgia..... 52,886
New York.... 314,142	Territory south
New Jersey.... 169,954	of the Ohio... 31,913
Pennsylvania 424,099	Territory north-
Delaware..... 46,310	west of Ohio 15,000
Maryland..... 319,649	

The principal towns had now become so numerous, that the reader is referred to the geographies of the present time, for their names and location.

The principal exports from the New England states were provisions, lumber, and pot and pearl ashes. Wheat was the staple commodity of the middle states; and Indian corn, tobacco, rice, and cotton, were exported from the southern states. The whole amount of exports from the United States in the year 1789, amounted to 16,000,000 dollars.

In commerce and manufactures;—the chief manufactories were those of iron, leather, skins and paper, which were extensively established in various parts of the United States. Woollen cloths were also manufactured in some of the states; and commerce to a considerable extent was carried on with Europe, and the East and West Indies.

The societies formed about this time were the following:—

(1779.) Massachusetts Charitable Society was incorporated.

(1780.) The American Society of Arts and Sciences was incorporated.

(1783.) The Society of Cincinnati instituted.

(1784.) The Boston Episcopal Charitable Society incorporated.

(1785.) The Agricultural Society of Philadelphia, the Humane Society of Massachusetts, and the Association of Manufacturers and Tradesmen in Boston, were formed.

(1786.) The Connecticut Society of Arts was instituted. The Scotch Charitable Society, and the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society incorporated.

(1788.) The Moravian Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen, was incorporated by the government of Pennsylvania.

*The following is a Catalogue of Eminent Men who died during the period extending from 1776 to 1789.*

(1776.) Cadwallader Colden, an eminent physician, botanist, and astronomer, author of a "History of the Five Nations of Indians."

(1777.) John Bartram, a celebrated botanist, who published a "Description of East Florida," and observations on the inhabitants, climate, soil, &c., made in his travels from Pennsylvania to Onondago.

(1778.) Butler Gwinett, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.

Nicholas Biddle, captain in the navy of the United States.

Philip Livingston, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.

(1779.) Francis Bernard, governor of Massachusetts

Thomas Lynch, jun., one of the signers of the declaration of independence.

John Winthrop, L.L.D., F.R.S., a distinguished philosopher, and astronomer.

(1780.) Thomas Hutchinson, governor of Massachusetts, author of a "History of Massachusetts."

(1781.) Richard Stockton, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.

(1782.) Charles Lee, major-general in the American army.

Robert Monckton, governor of New York.

(1783.) Samuel Cooper, D.D., an eminent divine. James Otis, a distinguished patriot and statesman, author of a "Dissertation on Letters," and the "Power of Harmony in poetic and prosaic composition."

(1784.) Anthony Benezet, a distinguished philanthropist.

(1785.) Jonathan Trumbull, a distinguished patriot, and governor of Connecticut.

William Whipple, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.

(1786.) Nathaniel Greene, a major-general in the American army.

(1787.) Charles Chauncy, D.D., a divine eminent for his learning and piety—publications numerous, chiefly theological.

Thomas Gage, the last governor appointed by the king.

(1788.) Thomas Cushing, LL.D., a distinguished patriot.

*Washington elected president—Hamilton's report on the public debts—Bill for duty on distilled spirits—A national bank established—Vermont admitted into the Union.*

The 4th of March, 1789, was the day upon which the new government was to commence its operations. But from necessary delays, the inauguration of the president did not take place until the 30th of April.

Washington, since his resignation, had busied himself in the peaceable and respectable pursuits of agriculture; and he was upon his farm, when the official intelligence of his appointment to be the head of the nation was announced to him. Washington signified his willingness to comply. He proceeded without delay to New York, where congress first convened. In his progress he was met by numerous bodies of the people, who hailed him as the father of his country, and triumphal arches were erected to commemorate his achievements. He approached New York by sea, attended by a deputation from congress: he was received by the governor, as he landed, amidst the firing of artillery and the acclamations of the people.

The ceremony of his inauguration was witnessed with inexpressible joy, by a great multitude of spectators. The novelty and the importance of the transaction, the benign dignity of Washington's character and manners, the remembrance of the sufferings by which America had won the right to govern herself, and which with a father's anxious solicitude he had shared; all conspired to make the pageant inexpressibly solemn and affecting.

In an address to both houses of congress, he modestly declared his incapacity for "the mighty and untried cares before him," and offered his " fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, whose providential aid can supply every human defect, that his benediction would consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for essential purposes; and would enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge." He remarked, that "the foundation of our national policy should be laid in the pure principles of private morality; and that no truth was more thoroughly established, than tha-

there exists an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous people, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity." An attention to these considerations, he enforced by the weighty reasons, "that the success of the republican form of government is justly considered as deeply, perhaps finally staked on the experiment entrusted to the American people; and that the propitious smiles of Heaven could never be expected on a nation that disregarded the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself had ordained."

The several departments of government were next to be arranged and filled. Mr. Jefferson was made secretary of state; Colonel Hamilton secretary of the treasury; General Knox secretary of war; Edmund Randolph attorney-general, and John Jay first judge of the supreme judiciary.

Congress made it their first object to establish a revenue sufficient for the support of government, and for the discharge of the debt contracted during the revolutionary war. For this purpose, they laid duties on the importation of merchandise, and on the tonnage of vessels; thus drawing into the public treasury funds which had before been collected and appropriated by individual states.

During this session of congress, a proposition was made to amend the constitution. Congress, after a long and animated discussion of the subject, agreed upon twelve new articles. These were submitted to the respective state legislatures; and being approved by three-fourths of these bodies, they became a part of the constitution.

On the 29th of September, the first session of congress closed; the secretary of the treasury being previously directed to prepare a plan for providing for the adequate support of the public credit, and to report the same at the next meeting of congress.

After the adjournment of congress, the president made a tour through New England, where he was received by the inhabitants with demonstrations of the most filial affection. They crowded around him. They vied with each other in the display of hospitable attentions. Parents brought their children, that they might view in him the living model of excellence, and that they might have in after-life, the satisfaction of reflecting that they had, with their own eyes, beheld the man whom the history of their country ranked as the first of her citizens.

The second session of the first congress began the 6th of January, 1790. At this session, Mr. Hamilton made his celebrated report with respect to the discharge of public debts contracted during the war of the revolution. With regard to the foreign debt, he remarked that no difference of opinion existed; all agreed that provision should be made for its discharge according to the terms of the contract; but with respect to the domestic debt, opinions were entirely opposite;—some advocating a discrimination between the present holders of public securities, and those to whom the debt was originally due. This subject opened a field of debate, which shook the government to its foundation, and may fairly be said to be the origin of that division of sentiment and feeling, which agitated so long and so violently the national councils, and which gave rise to the two great political parties, which, under the names of federalists and republicans, for 30 years arrayed one part of the American community against the other. The question was, shall the present holders of public securities, who have given but two or

three shillings on the pound, receive the full value of what appears on the face of the obligations, or only the amount which they gave? After much debate, Mr. Madison proposed that the present holder of assignable paper should receive the highest price such paper had borne in market, and the original holder receive the residue. These propositions were finally rejected.

During the war, the states had frequently exerted their resources under their own authority, independent of congress. Some had funded their debts; some had paid the interest, and some had done neither. All looked forward to the new congress to assume their debts. Mr. Hamilton recommended this assumption of the state debts; and also, that provision should be made for paying the interest, by imposing taxes on certain articles of luxury, and on spirits distilled within the country. These recommendations again opened a torrent of debate in congress. The republican party, who existed chiefly in the southern states, possessing an ardent attachment to the equal rights of man, warmly opposed Mr. Hamilton. They remembered him when a member of the convention, as being suspected of monarchical views. They feared that the assumption of these debts would render the government stronger, as its creditors would support it from interest, and that it would have a tendency to destroy the state governments. The federal party, existing principally in the northern states, supported with great ability the plans of the secretary; but they were rejected by a majority of two.

Disputes had taken place with respect to the temporary, as well as the permanent seat of government. It was understood that should it be fixed for ten years at Philadelphia, and afterwards at a place to be selected on the Potomac; and that some of the members of the house of representatives, from the Potomac, would withdraw their opposition to Mr. Hamilton. This was accordingly done, and his plans were adopted.

The debt funded amounted to a little more than 75,000,000 of dollars, upon a part of which an interest of three per cent. was paid, and on the remainder six per cent.

In May 1790, Rhode Island acceded to the new constitution.

Soon after the commencement of the third session of congress a bill was introduced for laying the taxes which the secretary had proposed for the payment of the interest on the assumed debt of the states. That for laying duties on distilled spirits was urged on the ground that the inhabitants beyond the Alleghany mountains, where no other spirits were consumed, would not otherwise bear an equal burden with those on the sea-coast, who consumed most of the articles on which an import duty was laid. The bill after much debate was carried.

In 1790 a termination was put to the war, which had for several years raged between the Creek Indians and the state of Georgia.

During the third session of congress, an act was passed accepting the cession of the claims of North Carolina to a district west of that state, and a territorial government was established by congress under the title of "The Territory of the United States south of the Ohio."

This year the states of Pennsylvania and North Carolina established their present constitution.

This year also Kentucky was erected into an independent state, receiving its name from its principal river.



A national bank was during this session recommended by the secretary. It met with a violent opposition from the republican party. They considered all banking institutions as useless, the present bill defective, and the power of establishing a bank not granted to congress. The supporters of the bill considered it as constitutional; and a national bank not only useful, but necessary for the operations of government. The president required the opinions of the cabinet in writing. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Randolph opposed, while Mr. Hamilton sanctioned the bill. After deliberate investigation, the president was convinced of its constitutionality and utility, and gave it his signature.

In 1791 Vermont adopted the federal constitution, and applied to congress to be admitted into the union. New Hampshire and New York had both laid claim to the territory of this state, and both had made grants of land within its limits. In 1777 the inhabitants refusing to submit to either, declared themselves independent. At the request of her citizens, Vermont was this year admitted a member of the union.

In 1791 the first census, or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States, was completed. They amounted to 3,921,326. The revenue amounted to 4,771,000 dollars, the exports to 19,000,000, and the imports to about 20,000,000.

In October the second congress commenced its first session. One of its first acts was that of apportioning the number of representatives according to the census. After much disagreement a bill passed fixing the ratio at one for every 33,000.

*Indian war in Ohio—Harmer defeated—Also St. Clair—Proclamation of Neutrality—Randolph succeeds Jefferson as secretary of state.*

While congress was agitated by party strife, and conflicting interests, an Indian war was opening in the north-western frontiers of the states. Pacific arrangements had been attempted by the president with the hostile tribes in Ohio, but without effect. On their failure General Harmer was sent with a force amounting to 1400 to reduce them to terms. He was successful in destroying their villages, and the produce of their fields; but in an engagement near Chillicothe he was defeated with considerable loss. Upon the failure of General Harmer, Major-general St. Clair was appointed to succeed him. He hastened to protect with his army the unfortunate inhabitants who were now left without defence, to suffer all the midnight horrors of Indian warfare. With a force amounting to nearly 2000 men, St. Clair marched into the wilderness in the month of October. On the 3rd of November he encamped within a few miles of the Miami villages, with his army, which was reduced by desertion and detachment to 1400. Here he intended to remain until reinforced. Notwithstanding the many melancholy examples of similar disasters in the armies of his country, St. Clair suffered himself to be surprised. The militia who were posted in front, were driven in great disorder upon the regulars. In vain did St. Clair attempt to rally the flying militia and repulse the savages. They appeared on all sides of the American army, and poured in such a deadly fire from the surrounding thickets, as strewed the field with the wounded, the dying and the dead. After a contest of three hours, General St. Clair, disabled by indisposition from the active duties of commander, ordered a retreat, which was effected, and the remnant of his army saved from total ruin.

The victorious Indians pursued closely about four miles, when they returned to share the spoils of the camp. General St. Clair retreated to fort Jefferson and afterwards to fort Washington. In this disastrous engagement, the numbers on each side were nearly equal. The loss of the Indians is not known; but that of the Americans was 630 killed and missing, and 260 were wounded; a slaughter almost unparalleled. The whole American camp and artillery fell into the hands of the enemy.

On receiving information of this disaster, congress resolved to prosecute the war with increased vigour, to augment the army by enlistment, and to put the frontiers in a state of defence.

In pursuance of the resolutions of congress, Washington endeavoured to put on foot an army sufficient for a vigorous prosecution of the war with the Indians; but the defeats of Harmer and St. Clair produced such a dread of the Indians, that a sufficient number of recruits could not be raised to authorize an expedition against them. There was a violent clamour against the war; and the president deemed it advisable to make another effort at negotiation with the unfriendly Indians. The charge of this business was committed to Colonel Harden and Major Freeman, who were both murdered by the savages.

Kentucky was this year admitted to the union.

Soon after the opening of the next session of congress, a motion was made to reduce the military establishment, but it did not prevail.

In 1792, a mint was established by congress, and the division and value of the money to be used throughout the country, regulated by statute.

General Washington was again elected president, and in March 1793, was inaugurated. Mr. Adams was also re-elected vice-president.

The president, intent on terminating the war with the Indians, had obtained the intervention of the Six Nations. Through their friendly agency, a treaty of peace had been negotiated with the Indians on the Wabash; and the Miamis had consented to a conference the ensuing spring.

About this time the French revolution, which had commenced in 1789, began seriously to affect the politics of the United States. A new government was at first established in France, which had for its fundamental principle, the universal equality of man. Hopes were entertained, that France would now enjoy the blessings of a free government; but the leaders of the revolution were selfish and unprincipled men, and their sanguinary measures soon blasted these hopes. Louis XVI. was executed, his family murdered or imprisoned, and all who were suspected as being hostile to their views, particularly the nobility, suffered decapitation by the guillotine.

The parties which had agitated the union were now raging with increased violence. The democratic or republican party beheld with pleasure the downfall of kings, and the dissemination of what they regarded as their own peculiar principles; and though they contemplated with horror the proceedings of those sanguinary leaders, Marat and Robespierre, they trusted that when the first commotions were assuaged, a republic of the most perfect kind would be established, and would remain as a proof to the world of the compatibility of good order with liberty. The federalists, regarding their country as connected with Britain by identity of origin, and the various ties of commercial interest, by resemblance of institutions—by similarity of language, of literature and of religion, shocked with the crimes,

of the French rulers, and alarmed at the system of disorganization which they had introduced, became more inveterate in their animosity to the democratic or republican party, whom they charged with fostering this spirit. Their public prints teemed with the most terrific visions of the future condition of the country, should the republican party gain the ascendancy. Law, religion, and good order, they foretold, would all be subverted; the churches sacrilegiously demolished, and the written word of God committed to the flames. The republican prints retorted with equal asperity, charging their political opponents with hostility to the republican institutions of their country, and with mean subserviency to the policy of Great Britain.

In April, 1793, information was received of the declaration of war by France against Great Britain and Holland. Washington was an American, and he did not choose to involve his country in the contests of Europe. He accordingly, with the unanimous advice of his cabinet, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox, and Randolph, issued a proclamation of neutrality. This measure contributed in a great degree to the prosperity of America. Its adoption was the more honourable to the president, as the general sympathy was in favour of the sister republic, against whom it was said Great Britain had commenced a war for the sole purpose of imposing upon her a monarchical form of government: but he preferred the welfare of his country to the popular applause.

Mr. Gerard, the French minister, who had been appointed by the king, was about this time recalled, and in April, Mr. Genet, who was appointed by the republic, arrived at Charlestown, South Carolina. The flattering reception he met with, induced him to believe that he could easily persuade the American people to embark in the cause of France, whatever might be the determination of government. This opinion of his was followed by the presumptuous procedure of fitting out privateers from the port of Charlestown, to cruise against the vessels of the enemies of France, nations, however, at peace with the United States.

Notwithstanding these illegal assumptions of power, he was welcomed at Philadelphia by the most extravagant marks of joy. Mr. Hammond, the British minister, complained of these proceedings. The cabinet unanimously disapproved of them, and determined to enforce the laws against those citizens who had committed the offence. Genet accused the executive of acting in opposition to the wishes of the people, and even threatened an appeal from the government to the people. This threat turned many against him, who had before been his advocates. When congress met in December, the proclamation of neutrality was approved, as well as the conduct of the administration towards Mr. Genet. France, at the request of the president, annulled his powers, and he was succeeded by Mr. Fauchet.

On the 1st of January, 1794, Mr. Jefferson resigned his office of secretary of state, and was succeeded by Mr. Randolph. The office of attorney-general was filled by Mr. William Bradford.

*Insurrection in Pennsylvania—Wayne defeats the Indians—Jay's treaty—Treaty with Algiers—With Spain—Mr. Monroe sent to France—And recalled—Washington's farewell address to the people.*

An insurrection of the western counties of Pennsylvania took place about this time. Great dissatisfaction had arisen from the laws of congress laying

duties on distilled spirits. A sheriff was killed in the execution of his duty. A meeting of the malcontents was held at Pittsburg, correspondencies were established among them, and an armed force, calculated to amount to 7000 men, was organized.

General Washington, after having vainly attempted persuasive measures, found himself compelled to resort to force. An army of 15,000 men was raised, and placed under the command of General (formerly Colonel) Lee. This powerful force had the intended effect,—inspiring such salutary terror that no opposition was attempted. Sixteen of the most active leaders were seized, tried, and convicted of treason, but afterwards pardoned.

At this session of congress an act was passed to raise a naval force, consisting of six frigates, for the purpose of protecting the American commerce against Algerine corsairs. Eleven merchant vessels, and upwards of 100 citizens, had been captured by these corsairs, and further preparations, it was understood, were making for a renewed attack upon the unprotected commerce of the United States.

A war with Great Britain was at this time apprehended. Since the peace of 1783, mutual complaints were made by the United States and Great Britain, for violating the stipulations contained in the treaty. The former were accused of preventing the loyalists from regaining possession of their estates, and British subjects from recovering debts contracted before the commencement of hostilities. The Americans complained, that certain military posts situated in the western wilderness, within the limits of the United States, were still retained, that the Indians were incited to make incursions upon the frontier settlements, and that injurious commercial restrictions had been imposed. By these restrictions, American vessels trading to the ports of France might be seized by English cruisers, carried into England, and there condemned. A bill passed, laying an embargo for 30 days, one for erecting fortifications, one for raising a provincial army, and another for organizing the militia. To avert, however, if possible, the calamity of another war, Mr. Jay was sent to England for the purpose of negotiating with the British government.

The Indians still continuing hostile, General Wayne had been appointed to succeed General St. Clair. Wayne having in vain attempted to negotiate with the savages, marched against them, at the head of 3000 men, and a battle was fought near the Miami of the Lakes. The Indians were totally routed, a vast number killed, and their whole country laid waste. This decisive victory disposed them to peace, and had a salutary effect on all the tribes north-west of the Ohio, as well as upon the Six Nations.

January 1st, Mr. Hamilton resigned his office of secretary of treasury, and was succeeded by Oliver Wolcott from Connecticut. At the close of this session, General Knox also resigned his office of secretary of war, and was succeeded by Timothy Pickering.

In the spring of 1795 Mr. Jay having negotiated a treaty with Great Britain, returned to America. This treaty having been laid before the senate, was, after considerable debate, ratified by that body. This treaty provided that the posts which the British had retained should be given up to the Americans, and compensation made for illegal captures, and that the American government should pay to the British 600,000 pounds in trust for the subjects of Great Britain to whom American citizens were indebted,

But it did not prohibit the right of searching merchant vessels claimed by the British; and was thus an abandonment of the favourite principle of the Americans, that "free ships make free trade." Meantime, while the senate were debating the subject with closed doors, a member had given an incorrect copy of it to a printer. It was circulated with rapidity, and produced much irritation. The president received addresses from every part of the union, praying him to withhold his signature; but Washington believing the treaty to be the best which, under existing circumstances, could be obtained, signed it in defiance of popular clamour: at the next session of congress an attempt was made by the republican party to hinder the treaty from going into effect, by refusing to vote for the necessary supplies of money. After a long debate, in which several members, particularly Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, displayed much eloquence, and the parties generally much heat and irritation, the appropriation was carried by a majority of three, and the treaty went into effect. The republican party, although in general confiding in their beloved president, considered that his sanction to this instrument was a proof that his judgment partook in some small degree of human fallibility. They believed the peace which it purchased, while the odious right of search was granted to England, would be short-lived and inglorious. Washington probably thought it was better than war, and that should war ultimately arise from the insulting and injurious exercise of that power, it were better deferred until the state had gained the strength and vigour of a few more years' consolidation.

A treaty was also made this season with Algiers, the commerce of the Mediterranean was opened, and the American captives were restored.

A treaty was also concluded with the Indians in the west; thus securing the frontiers from savage invasion.

A treaty with Spain soon after followed. Spain had endeavoured to cause the western boundary of the new republic to be fixed 300 miles east of the Mississippi. She denied the inhabitants beyond the Alleghany mountains access to the ocean through that river, the mouth of which was in her province of Louisiana. To adjust these differences, Thomas Pinkey was appointed envoy-extraordinary to the court of Madrid. In October a treaty was signed, allowing the claims of the republic, as to the western boundary; securing to the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi to the ocean, and the privilege of landing and depositing cargoes at New Orleans.

In 1796 Tennessee was admitted to the union.

The treaties of the last year met with no opposition in congress. The conduct of France still continued to be a source of disquiet to the American republic. Mr. Fauchet, ardently attached to his nation, and believing himself supported by a numerous party in America, gradually assumed an authoritative manner. He accused the administration of partiality to their former foes, enmity to their friends, and cold indifference to the cause of liberty. Mr. Morris, who had been sent minister to France, failing to secure the confidence of those in power, was at their request recalled. Mr. Monroe succeeded him. This gentleman possessed the ardour for liberty and the rights of man common to the republican party; and, with them, hoped that the French revolution would eventually lead to the establishment of a free government, in the room of the

ancient despotism of that country. He was received in the most flattering manner by the convention, who decreed that the flags of the two republics, entwined, should be suspended in the legislative hall as a symbol of their friendship and union.

Mr. Adet soon after succeeded Mr. Fauchet, and brought with him the colours of France, which with much ceremony were deposited with those archives of the United States, which are at once the memorials of their freedom and independence, and an honourable testimony of the existing sympathies and affections of the sister republics.

Notwithstanding the professions of friendship between the governments, France still wished to involve America in her European wars; but finding her maintaining a steady system of neutrality, she adopted measures highly injurious to American commerce. Her cruisers were allowed in certain cases to capture vessels of the United States, and while prosecuting a lawful trade, many hundreds were taken and confiscated.

Mr. Monroe, at this time, was suspected by the president of not asserting and vindicating the rights of the nation with proper energy. These suspicions were attributed by the republican party to the false insinuations of his political opponents. The president however recalled him, and appointed Charles C. Pinkney, of South Carolina, in his stead.

As the period for a new election of the president of the United States approached, General Washington determined to retire into private life. And he published the following farewell address on this interesting occasion.

#### "FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,—

"The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

"I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence, in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

"The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

"I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

"The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

"In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed, of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune, often discouraging in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

"Here, perhaps, I ought to stop: but a solitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be afforded to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the dis-

interested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel; nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

"Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

"The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken, in your minds, the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

"For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together: the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

"But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest: here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

"The north, in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The south in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the north, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The east, in like intercourse with the west, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication, by land and water, will more

and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must, of necessity, owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the west can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

"While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parties combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

"These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere?—Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations;—northern and southern;—atlantic and western: whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is, to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen in the negotiation by the

executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests, in regard to the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties; that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

"To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government: but, the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

"All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community: and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

"However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying, afterwards, the very engines which had lifted them to unjust dominion.

"Towards the preservation of your government,

and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you speedily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

"I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

"This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

"The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

"Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

"It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions.

Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched,—it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

"It is important likewise that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our own country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers, be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

"It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every



species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric.

"Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

"As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that, towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

"Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

"In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The govern-

ment sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

"So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation to another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

"As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the art of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us stop.

"Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

"Our detached and distant situation invites and

enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour, or caprice?

"'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

"Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

"Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is all illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

"In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations; but if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

"How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records, and other evidences of my conduct, must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

"In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22nd of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

"After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

"The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

"The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

"The inducements of interest, for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflexions and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

"Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after 45 years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

"Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"United States, 17th September, 1796."

*Mr. Adams elected president—X Y & Z mission—Capture of the L'Inurgente—Death of Washington.*

To fill the station which Washington had so eminently dignified, the two great political parties pre-

sented their leaders. The federalists claiming to be the sole adherents of the policy of Washington, and charging the opposite party with being under French influence, and having imbibed French principles, zealously endeavoured to elect John Adams. The republicans setting themselves up as the exclusive friends of liberty, and accusing their opponents with undue attachment to Britain and her institutions, exerted their influence for Jefferson.

In February, 1797, the votes for president and vice-president were opened. Mr. Adams had the majority of suffrages for president, and Mr. Jefferson for vice-president, for the four succeeding years.

Immediately on succeeding to the presidency, Mr. Adams received intelligence of an open indignity on the part of the French directors towards the United States. They had refused to accept Mr. Pinkney in exchange for Mr. Monroe, and declared their determination not to receive another minister, until the United States had complied with their demands. Mr. Pinkney further communicated to the president, that he had received a written mandate, directing him to quit France. Congress was immediately convened, and the dispatches containing this intelligence submitted to their consideration. They passed laws, increasing the navy, augmenting the revenue, and authorizing the president to detach, at his discretion, 80,000 men from the militia. To prevent war, however, and manifest his sincere desire of peace, Mr. Adams appointed three envoys extraordinary to the French republic, General Pinkney, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Gerry. These also the directory refused to receive; but an indirect intercourse was held with them by the minister through the medium of unofficial persons, who were instructed by Talleyrand, the minister of foreign relations, to make them proposals. These persons demanded, before any negotiation could be opened with the directory, that a considerable amount of money should be given to Talleyrand. This insulting proposal was indignantly rejected. It was, however, repeated, and letters were received upon the subject, signed X Y & Z. Hence this has been called the X Y & Z mission. The envoys at length succeeded in putting an end to such a degrading intercourse. After spending several months at Paris, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Pinkney were ordered to leave France, while Mr. Gerry was permitted to remain, and repeatedly importuned singly to enter into a negotiation.

This he declined, and was soon after recalled by his government. This treatment of the envoys induced Mr. Adams to declare, that "he would make no further overtures, until assured that his envoys would be received in a manner suited to the dignity of a great and independent nation."

These events were followed by depredations on American commerce, by the citizens of France; which excited general indignation throughout the United States. Civil discord appeared extinct; and this was the general motto:—"Millions for defence, not a cent. for tribute." The treaty of alliance with France was considered by congress as no longer in force; and further measures were adopted by congress, for retaliation and defence. A regular provisional army was established, taxes were raised, and additional internal duties laid. General Washington, at the call of congress, left his peaceful abode, to command the armies of the United States, while General Hamilton was made second in command. The navy was increased, and reprisals were made on the water. At sea, the French frigate *L'Insur-*

*gente*, of 40 guns, was captured after a desperate action, by the frigate *Constitution*, of 38 guns, commanded by Commodore Truxton. The same officer compelled another frigate of 50 guns to strike her colours; but she afterwards escaped in the night.

On hearing of these vigorous preparations, the French government indirectly made overtures for a renewal of the negotiations. Mr. Adams promptly met these overtures, and appointed Oliver Ellsworth, chief justice of the United States, Patrick Henry, late governor of Virginia, and William Van Murray, minister at the Hague, envoys to Paris, for concluding an honourable peace. They found the directory overthrown, and the government in the hands of Napoleon Buonaparte, who had not partaken of the transactions which had embroiled the two countries. With him negotiations were opened, which terminated in an amicable adjustment of all disputes. The provisional army was soon after disbanded by order of congress.

America was now called to mourn for the death of Washington. He calmly and peacefully expired at Mount Vernon, after an illness of 24 hours. The blackened newspaper announced to the people, "the father of his country is no more!" The bells of the nation tolled forth his requiem, and one general burst of grief broke from the filial hearts of the American people. Clad in black, they assembled in their churches to hear his funeral praises from the orator, and from the minister of God. The poet wrote his elegy, and the choir sung the solemn and pathetic dirge. The government mourned as was becoming, with more of the parade of grief, and with an equal share of its sincerity. The senate addressed a letter to the president, expressing in dignified, but pathetic language, their deepsense of the magnitude of their common loss, and of the resignation with which it became them to bow before the bereaving stroke of "Him who maketh darkness his pavilion." The house of representatives resolved that the speaker's chair should be shrouded in black; that the members should be clad in the vestments of sorrow, and that a joint committee of both houses should be appointed, to devise the most proper manner of paying honour to the memory of "the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." The committee reported a plan of funeral honours, by which Washington was mourned by the whole government, with a solemn and august pageantry.

Washington died on the 14th of December, 1799, in the 68th year of his age. His history is the history of his country, during the period of his public services. Commanding her armies, and presiding in her councils during the most interesting period of her existence, her history can never be delineated, but he must stand the most prominent figure on the foreground. What may be said of many of the worthies of the revolution, may be eminently said of him. In no instance has he rendered his country a more important service, than in leaving to her future sons his great and good example.

Other heroes have been praised for their love of glory. The true, distinguishing praise of Washington is, that he was above the love of glory. In no instance did he rashly adventure the cause confided to his care, lest he should suffer in his personal reputation. To assert that in no case did he commit an inadvertent error, or manifest the most trifling frailty, would be giving him that praise which belongs not to man; but judging from the general tenour of his conduct, we shall be justified in pronouncing, that his was the soul which was above all!

other approbation and all other fear, but that of God.

His mortal remains repose at Mount Vernon, near the scene of his domestic enjoyments. To that spot will every true son of America, in all future ages, be attracted, in mournful, filial pilgrimage; and thither from every clime, will the votary of the rights of man repair, to renew his vow of devotion, and to draw fresh inspiration in the sacred cause.

*Seat of government transferred to Washington—Election of Jefferson and Burr—Inauguration of Jefferson—Right of deposit at New Orleans—Louisiana purchased—Geographical and other notices.*

During the year 1800, the seat of government, agreeably to a law passed by congress in 1790, was transferred from Philadelphia to the city of Washington. A territory ten miles square, in which the permanent seat of government was located, had been ceded to the general government by the states of Virginia and Maryland. It was situated on both sides of the Potomac, a few miles from Mount Vernon. Public buildings had been erected, and in November of this year, congress for the first time held their session in that place.

Indiana was this year constituted a state; and Mississippi was erected into a territorial government.

The time had now arrived for electing a president. It was about this period that the feuds and animosities of the federal and republican parties were at their greatest height. When Mr. Adams was first made the opposing candidate to Mr. Jefferson, he was by no means obnoxious to the great body of the republican party, who voted against him. They recognised in him a patriot of the revolution, and they liked him well, although they liked Mr. Jefferson better. It was Mr. Hamilton, not Mr. Adams, who was the chief object of party aversion; and although a clamour was raised to serve party purposes, accusing Mr. Adams of being too much in favour of the British form of government; yet the real cause of dissatisfaction was, that he was supported by those, who they were persuaded had monarchical views. After the lapse of four years, when Mr. Adams was again to be a candidate for the presidency, he was opposed with far more bitterness.

In some of his measures he had been unfortunate, and the vigilant spirit of party was awake to make the most of the real or supposed errors of the nominal head of their opponents. In the early part of his administration the acts by which the army and navy were strengthened, and 80,000 of the militia subjected to his order, were represented by the republicans as proofs, that however he might have been a friend to the constitution of his country, he now either wished to subvert it, or was led blindfold into the views of those who did. The republicans scrupled the policy of a war with France, and denied the necessity, even in case of such a war of a great land force against an enemy totally unassailable except by water. They believed that spirits were at work to produce this war, or to make the most of the prospect of a disturbance in order to lull the people, while they raised an army which they intended as the instrument of subverting the republican, and establishing a monarchical government.

The president was stung by the clamours of the opposition, who imputed to him intentions which he never had. Attributing the evil to French emissaries; and moreover ascribing to too much liberty the horrible excesses of the French revolution, he gave his signature to two acts, which were con-

sidered by the body of the people as dangerous to, if not subversive of, the constitutional liberty of America. One of these, called the alien law, authorized the president to order any alien whom he should judge dangerous to the peace and liberty of the country, to depart from the United States on pain of imprisonment. The other, called the sedition law, had for its avowed object to punish the abuse of speech and of the press; and imposed a heavy fine and imprisonment for years upon such as should "combine or conspire together to oppose any measure of the government;" upon such as should "write, print, utter, publish, &c. any false, scandalous, and malicious writing against the government of the United States or either house of the congress of the United States, or the president, &c."

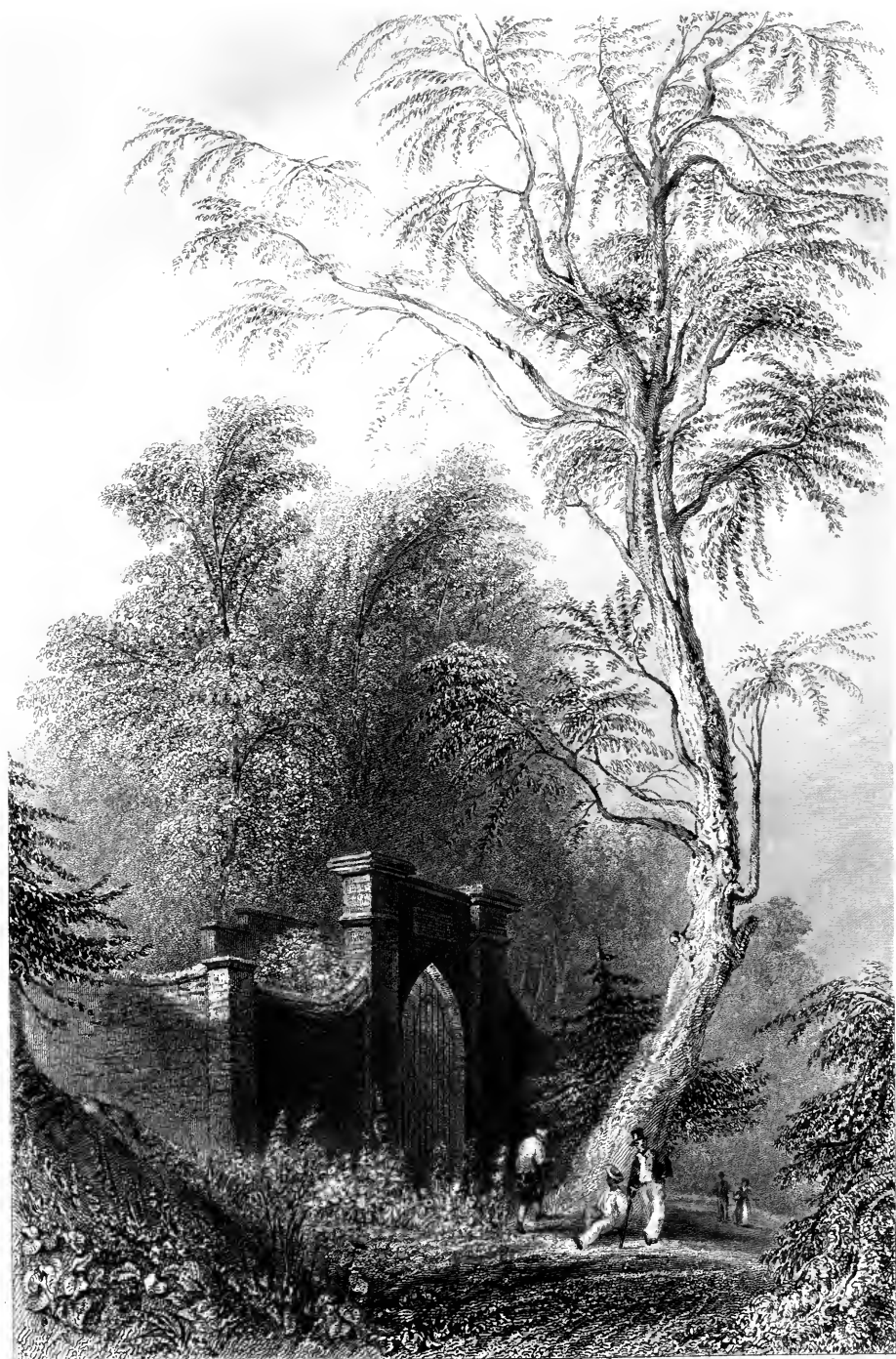
Under the sedition law several persons were actually imprisoned. The sympathies of the people were awakened in their behalf, and their indignation was aroused against those, by whose means they were confined. These were the principal causes why Mr. Adams was at this period unpopular, and that the federal party, as appeared by the election, had become the minority.

Immediately preceding his retirement from office, Mr. Adams appointed in pursuance of a law made by congress twelve new judges: these were called his midnight judiciary, from the alleged fact that they were appointed at twelve o'clock on the last night of his presidential authority.

From the constitution as it existed at that period, each elector voted for two men, without designating which was to be president; and he who was found to have the greatest number of votes was to be president, and the second on the list vice-president. An unlooked-for case now occurred. The republican electors, who had a very considerable majority over the federal, gave their votes to a man for Thomas Jefferson, and Aaron Burr, intending that Jefferson, the leader of the party, should be president, and Burr vice-president. These two men had an equal number of votes; the election must, according to the constitution, be decided by the house of representatives. The federal party, defeated themselves, considered that they might still defeat their opponents; and probably believing that they might find a grateful friend in Colonel Burr, while they knew that they had nothing to expect from Mr. Jefferson, they determined if possible to raise him to the presidential chair. On counting the votes in the house of representatives another singular event occurred, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr had an equal number of votes. Again and again the voting went round, and the votes remained the same.

The time had now nearly arrived when by the constitution the president must be elected. Otherwise the machine of government was run down, and the constitution contained no machinery by which to wind it up. News of what was passing in congress spread through the country, and the people became alarmed. Men armed and disguised entered the capital. Members way-laid in the dark, were accosted with a grasp of the arm and an imperative, "Give us a President." This fact has been asserted by those who well knew the transactions of those times; although, as it did not happen to many, it is not generally corroborated. At length after the members had voted 35 times, it was found on the 36th balloting that Mr. Jefferson had a majority of one state.

This transaction must go down to posterity as a dark passage in the American history. Whether or not the republicans would have continued to vote







until the constitution was destroyed rather than yield to their opponents a short-lived triumph, and take for four years as president the man themselves had selected as vice-president, can never be known; but if such had been the fact, posterity would have had cause to execrate their memories. Had such a catastrophe ensued, still less would America have had occasion of gratitude to the other party. The republicans might allege that they voted in obedience to the will of the people; but no one pretended that any freemen in voting for an elector, or any elector in voting for Mr. Burr, expected or wished that he should be president.

On the 4th of March, 1801, Mr. Jefferson was inaugurated. On his accession to office he departed from the example of his predecessors, and instead of a speech, delivered to the two houses of congress in person, he sent to them a written message, which was first read by the senate, and then transmitted to the house of representatives. The practice has been followed and sanctioned by his successors.

The message of Mr. Jefferson was worthy of the writer of the declaration of independence. It is preserved among the most precious relics of the Americans; and like the farewell address of Washington, must serve, according as the future course of America may be, for a light to guide her in the way to happiness and glory, or to discover the shame of her degradation.

The principal offices of the government were now transferred to the republican party. Mr. Madison was appointed to the department of state.

A bill was passed by congress, in accordance with the recommendation of the president, reorganizing the judiciary department, by means of which the twelve judges appointed during the last days of Mr. Adams's administration, were deprived of their offices. Another bill was passed enlarging the rights of naturalization.

The present constitution of Kentucky was adopted this year.

A second census of the United States was also completed; giving a population of 5,319,762, an increase of 1,400,000 in ten years. In the same time the exports increased from nineteen to 94,000,000, and the revenue from 4,771,000 to 12,945,000 dollars. This rapid advance in the career of prosperity, is unparalleled in the history of nations; and it is to be attributed to the industrious habits of the people, and their excellent political institutions.

During this year congress declared war against Tripoli.

In 1802, Ohio was admitted as an independent state into the union. The territory of this state was originally claimed by Virginia and Connecticut, and was ceded by them to the United States, at different times after the year 1781. From this extensive and fertile tract of country slavery was entirely excluded.

In 1802, the port of New Orleans was closed against the United States. The king of Spain having ceded Louisiana to the French, the Spanish intendant was commanded to make arrangements to deliver the country to the French commissioners. In consequence of this order, the intendant announced that the citizens of the United States should no longer be permitted to deposit their merchandises and effects in the port of New Orleans. By this prohibition, the western states were in danger of suffering the ruin of their commerce, and great agitation was excited in the public mind. In congress, a proposition was made to take the whole

country by force; but reposing just confidence in the good faith of the government whose officers had committed the wrong, that body caused friendly and reasonable representations of the grievances sustained, to be made to the court of Spain, and the right of deposit was restored.

Aware of the danger to which the United States would be perpetually exposed, while Louisiana remained in the possession of a foreign power, propositions had been made for procuring it by purchase. This was a subject of much discussion and feeling. But by a treaty concluded at Paris in 1803, Louisiana, comprising all that immense region of country extending from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean, was acquired by the United States, as well as the free and exclusive navigation of the river. The sum of 15,000,000 dollars was the price of these newly acquired rights. The minority were opposed to a ratification of the treaty, contending that the sum was exorbitantly large, and that the navigation of the river could have been secured without such heavy pecuniary sacrifices. Mr. Jefferson and the majority of congress viewed the subject in a very different light. They considered that compared with the importance of the object attained, the purchase money was trifling. That the prosperity of all the western states was dependent on the free and uninterrupted navigation of the waters of the Mississippi, and a safe depot at New Orleans; that by this treaty the western frontier would be protected and preserved from collisions with a foreign power, and that such was the happy organization of the American government, that it was fully adequate for the security and protection of its territories, however extensive they might be.

*Geographical Notices of the Country in 1803.*

	Population.		Population.
Maine.....	150,896	New York..	586,050
New Hampshire	183,858	New Jersey..	211,149
Vermont.....	154,397	Pennsylvania	602,545
Massachusetts..	422,630	Delaware....	64,273
Rhode Island..	69,122	Ohio .....	76,000
Connecticut..	251,002		

Indiana territory had now become settled, and the number of its inhabitants was .... 4,875

Michigan..... 3,206

Maryland..... 349,692

Virginia.... 534,396 whites, and 345,796 blacks

Kentucky.... 220,959 — 138,296

Tennessee... 92,018 — 13,584

South Carolina 345,591 — 59,699

Mississippi ter-

ritory.... 8,850;

Louisiana.... 42,375

Washington, in the district of Columbia, now made the capital of the United States, contained but 4354 inhabitants. For the principal towns, see geographies of the present day.

The following colleges were existing at this time:— Harvard, Yale, William and Mary's, Columbia, Nassau Hall, Rhode Island-college, the University of Pennsylvania, Washington-college in Chestertown, Maryland, Dickinson-college in Carlisle, St. John's in Annapolis, Cokesbury-college, Franklin-college in Lancaster, Pa., and the Roman Catholic-college in Georgetown, University of North Carolina, Burlington-college, Williams-college, Union-college at Schenectady, Grenville-college at Tennessee, Beaufort and Winsborough-colleges in South Carolina, Bowdoin-college in the district of Maine, the Transylvania University at Lexington, and Middlebury-college.

The following Societies were all formed during this period.

- (1790.) The Connecticut Society for the Abolition of Slavery.  
The Middlesex Medical Society, (Mass.)
- (1791.) The Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Arts, and Sciences, at New York.
- (1792.) The Massachusetts Agricultural Society.
- (1793.) The Marine Society of South Carolina.
- (1794.) The Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Boston Library Society.  
A Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, at New York.  
A Medical Society in Vermont.
- 1796.) The New York Missionary Society.
- (1799.) The East India Marine Society of Salem.  
The Missionary Society of Massachusetts.  
The North Carolina Medical Society.
- (1801.) The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
- (1802.) The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society.
- (1803.) The Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Christian knowledge.
- Catalogue of Eminent Men who died during the period extending from 1789 to 1803.*
- (1789.) Ethan Allen, a brigadier-general in the American army.  
John Ledyard, an enterprising traveller.  
John Morgan, M.D., F.R.S., a learned physician.
- (1790.) Joseph Belamy, D.D., a learned divine—author of a treatise entitled “True Religion Delineated.”  
James Bowdoin, LL.D., a distinguished philosopher and statesman, and first president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.  
David Brearly, distinguished as a lawyer and a statesman.  
Benjamin Franklin, LL.D., F.R.S., a celebrated philosopher and statesman.  
William Livingston, author of a poem called “Philosophical Solitude,” “Miscellaneous pieces in prose and verse,” &c.  
Israel Putnam, a major-general in the American army.
- (1791.) Lyman Hall, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.  
Francis Hopkinson, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.  
John Wesley, the great founder of Methodism.
- (1792.) Henry Laurens, president of congress, and a distinguished patriot.  
Arthur Lee, M.D., a distinguished statesman.  
John Paul Jones, a captain in the American navy.
- (1793.) John Hancock, president of congress, and a distinguished patriot.  
Roger Sherman, a distinguished patriot, and one of the signers of the declaration of independence.
- (1794.) Richard Henry Lee, president of congress.  
Frederic William Steuben, major-general in the army of the American revolution.  
John Witherspoon, D.D., LL.D., one of the signers of the declaration of independence, and president of Princeton college.

- (1795.) Josiah Bartlett, M.D, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.  
William Bradford, attorney-general of the United States.  
Ezra Stiles, D.D., president of Yale-college.  
John Sullivan, LL.D., major-general of the American army.
- (1796.) Samuel Huntington, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.  
David Rittenhouse, LL.D., F.R.S., a distinguished philosopher and astronomer.  
Anthony Wayne, major-general in the army of the United States.
- (1797.) Daniel Morgan, brigadier-general in the army of the United States.  
Oliver Wolcott, LL.D., one of the signers of the declaration of independence.
- (1798.) Jeffrey Amherst, a celebrated English general.  
Jeremy Belknap, D.D., eminent as a divine and historian—author of a “History of New Hampshire,” “American Biography,” &c.  
George Read, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.
- (1799.) Patrick Henry, a distinguished patriot and statesman.  
George Washington.
- (1800.) Thomas Mifflin, major-general in the army of the United States.  
Edward Rutledge, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.  
John Rutledge, a celebrated patriot, governor of South Carolina, and invested by that state with dictatorial powers.  
Artemas Ward, first major-general in the American army.
- (1801.) Benedict Arnold, in the early part of his life was distinguished for bravery, and was a major-general of the American army; but afterwards deserted the cause of his country.  
Jonathan Edwards, president of Union-college, Schenectady, N. Y.
- (1802.) George Richards Minot, an historian of Massachusetts, author of a “History of Massachusetts Bay.”

*War with Tripoli—Possession taken of Derne—A peace concluded—General Hamilton killed in a duel—Jefferson again elected president—Dispute with England—Colonel Burr's projects—His trial and acquittal.*

In the meantime, the semi-barbarous nations which inhabit the southern shores of the Mediterranean, had commenced depredations on the American commerce. Tripoli, in particular, had intimated to the government that the only method of securing their commerce, was the payment of tribute. This led to a war between that power and the United States.

In prosecution of this war, the United States had, during the year 1801, sent out Commodore Dale, with a squadron of two frigates and a sloop of war. By blockading the harbour of Tripoli, he prevented the piratical cruisers from leaving it, and thus afforded protection to the American commerce.

Early in the year 1803, congress, bent on more efficient operations against their barbarian enemy sent out Commodore Preble, with a squadron of seven sail. In October, one of his ships, the frigate Philadelphia, Captain Bainbridge, was sent into the

harbour of Tripoli to reconnoitre; and while in pursuit of a small vessel, he unfortunately proceeded so far that the Philadelphia was grounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy. The officers were considered as prisoners, and the crew treated as slaves.

As soon as the news of the capture of the Philadelphia reached the squadron, Stephen Decatur, who held a lieutenantancy under Commodore Preble, conceived the design of recapturing or destroying it. Having obtained the consent of the commodore, he armed a small ketch, the Intrepid, and sailed from Syracuse, February 1804, with seventy men. He entered the harbour of Tripoli undiscovered, and advancing boldly, took a station along-side of the frigate, which was moored within gun-shot of the bashaw's castle and of the principal battery. Two of the enemy's cruisers lay within two cables' length, and all the guns of the frigate were mounted and loaded. Decatur sprang on board, and his intrepid crew rushed, sword in hand, upon the astonished and terrified Tripolitans; killed and drove them into the sea and were soon masters of the frigate. The situation of Decatur and his crew became perilous from the artillery of the battery which now began to be poured in upon them. The corsairs in the harbour were approaching, and they had no time to lose in making their escape. They set fire to the Philadelphia, left her, and were soon out of the reach of their pursuers, having accomplished this daring enterprise without the loss of a single man.

In the month of August, Commodore Preble went three times into the harbour of Tripoli, and opened the broadsides of his fleet upon the shipping and the batteries of the city. Although the Americans destroyed some of the Tripolitan shipping, yet they failed of making any material impression upon the fortifications. Meantime, the barbarians treated the American prisoners with every degree of indignity and cruelty. Captain Bainbridge, who, with his crew, had remained in captivity since the capture of the Philadelphia, vainly endeavoured to obtain some mitigation of their sufferings. Their country deeply commiserated their distresses, and congress was ready to listen to any proposition which afforded a reasonable prospect of their relief.

In 1803, Captain William Eaton, on his return from Tunis, where he had been consul, represented to the government, that his joint operation with an elder and expelled brother of the reigning bashaw of Tripoli, might be useful. Permission was given him to undertake the enterprise, and such supplies granted as could be afforded, and the co-operation of the fleet recommended. In 1804, Eaton was appointed navy agent of the United States, for the Barbary powers. After reaching Malta, he left the American fleet, and proceeded to Cairo and Alexandria, where he formed a convention with Hamet, who hoped, by attacking the usurper in his dominions, to regain his throne. For this purpose, an army was to be raised in Egypt, where Hamet had been kindly received, and presented with a military command by the Mameluke Bey. Early in 1805, Eaton was appointed general of Hamet's forces. From Egypt, he marched with a few hundred troops, principally Arabs, across a desert 1000 miles in extent, to Derne, a Tripolitan city on the Mediterranean. In this harbour he found a part of the American fleet, which was destined to assist him. He learned, also, that the usurper, with a considerable force, was within a few days' march of the city. The next morning, he summoned the governor of

Derne to surrender, who returned for answer, "my head or yours." He then commenced an assault upon the city, and, after a contest of two hours and a half, took possession of it. General Eaton was wounded, and his army suffered severely, but immediate exertions were, notwithstanding, made to fortify the city. On the 8th of May, it was attacked by the Tripolitan army. Although the assailants were ten times more numerous than Eaton's band, yet, after persisting four hours in the attempt, they were compelled to retire. On the 10th of June, another battle was fought, in which Eaton was again victorious. The next day, the American frigate Constitution arrived in the harbour, and the Tripolitans fled precipitately to the desert. While the impression resulting from the bravery displayed at Derne, operated at Tripoli, and an attack upon that city was daily expected from the United States' squadron, Colonel Lear, the consul at Tripoli, thought it the best moment to listen to the terms of peace offered by the bashaw. He did so, and it was stipulated, that a mutual delivery of prisoners should take place; among whom were Captain Bainbridge, with the officers and crew of the Philadelphia; and, as the bashaw had a balance of more than 200 prisoners in his favour, he was to receive 60,000 dollars for them. It was also understood, that all support from Hamet was to be withdrawn, and hostilities were to cease. It was, however, stipulated, that on Hamet's retiring from the territory, his wife and children, then in the power of the reigning bashaw, should be given up to him. Thus ended the war in the Mediterranean.

In July, 1804, occurred the death of General Alexander Hamilton. He died in a duel fought with Aaron Burr, vice-president of the United States. Colonel Burr had addressed a letter to General Hamilton, requiring his denial or acknowledgment of certain offensive expressions contained in a public journal. Hamilton declining to give either, Colonel Burr sent him a challenge. They met, and Hamilton fell at the first fire. His death caused a deep sensation throughout the union. The city of New York paid extraordinary honours to his remains. General Hamilton was so much the idol of one of the great political parties, and the aversion of the other, and in such opposite terms is his political character delineated by the writings and men of his time, that impartial history scarcely dares as yet, to pronounce the estimate of his merits as a politician. As a man of great talents, of powerful eloquence, as a scholar, and as a gentleman, Hamilton stood pre-eminent.

In the meantime, Mr. Jefferson received his second presidential election; and such was his popularity, that out of 176 votes, he received 162. George Clinton of New York was chosen vice-president. They were sworn into office on the 4th of March 1805.

Mr. Jefferson on entering upon the discharge of the duties of the second term of his administration, although a decided majority in both houses of congress were friendly to the principles of government by which he was actuated, perceived himself to be placed in a more critical situation than at any former period of his public life. The manner in which European wars were conducted, created apprehensions in the minds of the American citizens, that their rights and liberties would not only be endangered, but sacrificed.

The wise policy of America had been eminently conspicuous in maintaining a steady system of neu-

trality, during the whole of those wars which broke out in consequence of the French revolution. Her neutrality enabled her to profit by the colonial commerce of France and Spain, as also the whole branch of European trade, which, in consequence of the general war, could not be transported with native ships. France, in the meantime, had become a nation of soldiers. She had repelled her invaders, and placed at the head of her republic a man whose vast mental powers and resources had acquired control over most of the European kingdoms. Buonaparte had made a stand against the maritime predominance of Britain, while that nation, with equal vigour, resisted his usurpations on land.

On two subjects Britain and America were also at issue. One was respecting what the former power denominated "the right of search;" by which, on various pretences, she assumed and exercised an authority to search the vessels of other nations. Another subject in dispute was, that of expatriation. England maintained that a man once a subject, was always a subject; and that no act of his could change his allegiance to the government under which he was born.

This difference in principles on the subjects of the right of search, and that of expatriation, produced the difficulties between the two nations, on the subject of the impressment of American seamen. Officers of British ships, in the exercise of the pretended right of search, entered American vessels, and impressed from thence certain seamen, whom they claimed as British subjects, because they were born in Great Britain; while the same men, having become naturalized in America, were regarded by that power as her citizens. The practice of impressment thus begun, did not end here, but proceeded to extremes that the Americans considered unjustifiable on any principles.

America, thus situated, was meditating measures for the defence of her commerce, when she received from both the belligerents fresh cause of provocation. Great Britain, under the administration of Fox, issued a proclamation, May 1806, blockading the coast of the continent, from Elbe to Brest. The French government, exasperated at this measure, retaliated by the decree issued at Berlin, November 21st, declaring the British Isles in a state of blockade. Thus each nation declared in effect, that no neutral power should trade with the other.

In 1807, the public attention was again directed to Colonel Burr. He had lost the confidence of the republican party, by his supposed intrigues against Mr. Jefferson, for the office of president, and excited the indignation of the whole federal party by his encounter with Hamilton. Thus situated, he had retired as a private citizen into the western states. It was at length understood, that he was at the head of a great number of individuals, who were arming and organizing themselves; purchasing and building boats on the Ohio. Their ostensible object was peaceful and agricultural. It was to form a settlement on the banks of the Washita, in Louisiana. Their boats, it was said, were calculated to accommodate families who were removing to their settlements. But the vigilant eye of government was upon their leader; and, as the nature and designs of his movements were suspected, he was closely scrutinized; prosecutions were instituted against him in Tennessee, Kentucky, and in the Mississippi territory, from which, as proof of guilt was wanting, he was discharged. At length, these suspicions gaining strength, he was apprehended on the Tom-

bigbee river, in Missouri territory, in February 1807, brought to Richmond under military escort, and committed in order to take his trial upon two charges exhibited against him on the part of the United States. First, for a high misdemeanor, in setting on foot within the United States a military expedition against the king of Spain, with whom the United States were at peace; second, for treason in assembling an armed force, with a design to seize the city of New Orleans, to revolutionize the territory attached to it, and to separate the Atlantic states from the western. It was supposed that he intended to make New Orleans the seat of his dominions, and the capital of his empire. In August, after a trial before Judge Marshall, the chief justice of the United States, evidence of his guilt not being presented, he was acquitted by the jury.

*The Chesapeake searched—Mr. Madison elected president—Erskine's treaty—Indians commence hostilities—Battle of Tippecanoe—Henry's secret mission.*

In June of this year (1807), an alleged outrage was committed upon the United States' frigate, the Chesapeake, by the British ship of war Leopard, which produced throughout the country a general burst of indignation. The Chesapeake, commanded by Commodore Barron, having been ordered on a cruise in the Mediterranean, sailed from Hampton Roads on the 22nd of June. She had proceeded but a few leagues from the coast, when she was overtaken by the Leopard. A British officer came on board, with an order from Vice-admiral Berkeley, to take from the Chesapeake three men, alleged to be deserters from the Melampus frigate. These men, it appears, were American citizens, who had been impressed by the British, but had deserted, and enlisted in the American service. Commodore Barron replied to the British officer in terms of politeness, but refused to have his crew mustered for examination, by any officers but his own. Commodore Barron was unprepared for an attack, not contemplating the possibility of meeting an enemy so near the Capes; but, during this interview, he noticed preparations on board the Leopard, indicative of a hostile disposition, and he immediately gave orders to prepare for action. But before any efficient preparations could be made, the Leopard opened a broadside upon the Chesapeake. After receiving her fire about 30 minutes, during which time the Americans had three men killed, and eighteen wounded, Commodore Barron ordered the colours to be struck. An officer from the Leopard came on board, and took four men, the three who had been previously demanded, and another, who, they affirmed, had deserted from a merchant vessel. Commodore Barron observed, that he considered the Chesapeake a prize of the Leopard. The officer replied, "No," he had obeyed his orders in taking out the men, and had nothing further to do with her. This event produced great excitement. That rancour of party which had so long embittered all the intercourse of social life, was lost in the general desire to avenge a common wrong. The president, by proclamation, commanded all British armed vessels within the harbours or waters of the United States, to depart from the same without delay, and prohibited others from entering. Mr. Monroe, the American minister in London, was instructed to demand reparation; and a special congress was called.

In November, Britain issued her orders in council, a measure declared to be in retaliation of the French decree of November 1806. These orders in council

prohibited all neutral nations from trading with France, or her allies, except upon the condition of paying tribute to England. This was immediately followed by a decree of Buonaparte, at Milan, which declared that every vessel which should submit to be searched or pay tribute to the English, should be confiscated if found within his ports.

Thus was the commerce of America subjected to utter ruin, as almost all her vessels were, on some of these pretences, liable to capture. The American government, after much discussion, resorted to an embargo on their own vessels, as a measure best fitted to the crisis. This would effectually secure the mercantile property, and the mariners now at home, and also those who were daily arriving; and, at the same time, it would not be a measure of war, or a just cause of hostility.

Mr. Monroe was instructed not only to demand satisfaction for the Chesapeake, but to obtain security against future impressments from American ships. But Mr. Canning, the British minister, objected to uniting these subjects, and Mr. Monroe was not authorized to treat them separately. Mr. Rose was sent envoy-extraordinary to the United States, to adjust the difficulty which had arisen on account of the Chesapeake. In 1808, Commodore Barron was tried for prematurely surrendering that frigate.

In 1809, Mr. Jefferson's second term of office having expired, he declared his wish to retire from public life, and Mr. Madison who had during Mr. Jefferson's administration held the important office of secretary of state, was elected president. Mr. George Clinton of New York was re-elected vice-president.

While all the citizens of America were indignant at the treatment of their country by the belligerent powers, a diversity of opinion prevailed with regard to the method adopted by government to prevent further aggression. The embargo convulsed the whole nation, and produced the most violent opposition. The commercial states inveighed against it as ruinous; bringing in its train poverty and distress. Individuals throughout the nation seized opportunities of infringing it, and its restrictions could not be enforced in the eastern states without the aid of a military force. Thus circumstanced, the government repealed the embargo, and substituted another law, prohibiting for one year all intercourse with France or Great Britain. A provision was made in this law, that should either of the hostile nations revoke her edict, so that the neutral commerce of the United States should be no longer violated, the president should immediately make it known by proclamation, and from that time the non-intercourse law should cease to be enforced as it regarded that nation.

On pretence of retaliating upon America for submitting to the outrages of England, Buonaparte issued his decree of Rambouillet, which authorized the seizure and confiscation of American vessels which were then in the ports of France, or might afterwards enter, excepting those charged with dispatches to the government.

In April a treaty was concluded with Mr. Erskine, the British minister at Washington, which engaged on the part of Great Britain, that the orders in council so far as they affected the United States should be withdrawn. The British ministry, however, refused to ratify this treaty; they denied the authority of that minister to make such a treaty, and immediately recalled him. His successor, Mr.

Jackson, insinuated in a correspondence with the secretary of state, that the American government knew that Mr. Erskine was not authorized to make the arrangement. This was distinctly denied by the secretary, but was repeated by Mr. Jackson. The president then declined receiving any further communications from him. In May 1810, the non-intercourse law expired, and government made proposals to both the belligerent powers, that if either would revoke its hostile edicts, this law should only be revived and enforced against the other nation. It had ever been the policy of America, to avoid becoming a party in the European wars, and to regard each belligerent as standing on equal ground. The law was applicable to both, and if it made a distinction in its operation between the belligerents, it must necessarily result from a compliance of one, with an offer made to both, but which would still be open to the acceptance of the other. France repealed her decrees, and the president issued a proclamation on the 2nd of November, in which he declared that all the restrictions imposed by the non-intercourse law should cease in relation to France and her dependencies. Great Britain was now called on to fulfil her engagement, by revoking her orders in council. She refused on pretence that the revocation of the French decrees had not actually taken effect.

The population of the United States by the third census of 1810, was 7,239,903.

Among the occurrences produced by British ships hovering off America, was an encounter near Cape Charles, between the American frigate President, commanded by Commodore Rogers, and the British sloop of war, Little Belt, commanded by Captain Bingham. The attack was commenced by the Little Belt, but she was soon disabled, and thirty-two of her men killed and wounded.

Menacing preparations, and the appearance of a combination had been discovered among the Indians on the western frontier, who watching the hostile feelings existing between the United States and Great Britain, considered this a favourable opportunity for them to commence their depredations. They accordingly collected on the Wabash, and under the influence of a fanatic of the Shawanese tribe, who styled himself a prophet, and of his brother, the famous chief Tecumseh, they committed the usual atrocities of their barbarian warfare.

Governor Harrison of the Indiana territory, was directed to march against them with a force consisting of regulars and the militia of the territory. On the 16th of November, Governor Harrison met a number of Indian messengers at Tippecanoe, their principal town, and a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon until next day, when an interview was to be had with the prophet and his chiefs.

On the meeting of General Harrison with the chiefs, occurred a noble flash of aboriginal eloquence. Tecumseh was not present when the council assembled. As he entered he was told that his father (meaning General Harrison) had reserved a seat for him next himself. "My father," said Tecumseh, "the Great Spirit is my father,—the earth is my mother, and upon her breast will I recline!"

In Tecumseh, we find much to remind us of Philip, of Mount Hope. Like Philip, he possessed in addition to the general characteristics of the American savage, a comprehensive mind capable of forming and persevering in a great and complicated plan; and, as with Philip, the love of country and the love of right, appear to have been blended in

nismind, with the thirst for human blood. The plan of Tecumseh, like that of Philip, was to unite the scattered tribes of his countrymen against the whites; and for this purpose, he visited and stirred up the Indians to war, by his savage and powerful eloquence.

Warned by the fate of so many American armies surprised and cut off by the savages, General Harrison formed his men in order of battle; and thus they reposed upon their arms. Just before day, the faithless savages rushed upon the Americans. But their war-whoop was not unexpected. The Americans stood, repelled the shock, and repulsed the assailants. Their loss was however severe, being about 180 in killed and wounded. That of the Indians was 170 killed, and 100 wounded.

Mr. Foster, who succeeded Mr. Jackson, as minister from England, arrived at Washington this summer. The controversy respecting the Chesapeake and President was finally adjusted. The British government agreeing to make provision for those seamen who were disabled in the engagement, and for the families of those who were killed. The two surviving sailors who were taken from the Chesapeake were to be restored. But no change of policy was exhibited by the British government. Their right to search American vessels, and to impress American seamen, if native-born Britons, was still maintained; and the orders in council were enforced with the greatest rigour. British vessels were for this purpose stationed before many of the principal harbours in the United States.

In consequence of the French decrees being annulled, commerce with France had again commenced. American vessels bound for French ports, and richly laden, were captured by the British. Not less than 900 had thus fallen into their hands since the year 1803.

It was evident that Great Britain now considered the United States as an unwarlike nation, and knowing the commercial spirit of the people, expected that restrictions equivalent to their own would be the only method of defence to which the government would resort. Forbearance under these repeated injuries was no longer a virtue, and served only to invite further aggression.

When congress assembled in November, the president laid before them the state of foreign relations, and recommended that the United States should be placed in an attitude of defence. The representatives of the people acted in accordance with their views. Provision was made for the increase of the regular army to 35,000 men, and for the enlargement of the navy. A law was enacted, empowering the president to borrow eleven millions of dollars; the duties on imported goods were doubled, and taxes were subsequently laid on domestic manufactures, and nearly all descriptions of property.

On the 25th of February, 1812, Mr Madison laid before congress copies of certain documents, which proved that on the 6th of February, 1809, the British government, by its agent Sir James Craig, governor of Canada, had sent John Henry as an emissary into the United States, for the express purpose of insidiously destroying its government, by effecting, if possible, the disunion of its parts. The service for which Henry was employed, was to intrigue with the leading members of the federal party, draw them into direct communication with the governor of Canada, and lead them, if possible, to form the eastern part of the union into a nation or province dependent on Great Britain.

Henry proceeded through Vermont and New

Hampshire to Boston, which was his ultimate destination; but he returned without effecting in any degree his purpose. This failure he attributed solely to the readiness which Mr. Madison had manifested to meet the conciliating propositions of Mr. Erskine, which took from his opponents the power of making him and his administration odious to the people, by representing to them that he was in the interest of France. Henry having vainly sought from Great Britain remuneration for this dishonourable service, disclosed the whole transaction to the American government, for which he was paid 50,000 dollars out of the contingent fund for foreign intercourse. This treacherous attempt made by England in time of peace, was regarded with abhorrence by the majority of both parties, and was among the causes which led to the war which soon ensued.

*War declared—An act of congress to raise 25,000 men—State of the revenue—General Dearborn commander-in-chief—Proceedings of the army of the north-west—Hull's operations—His proclamation—Affair at the river Aux Canards—Van Horn defeated at Brownstown—Mackinac surrendered—Dearborn's armistice—Hull abandons Malden—Battle of Maguaga—Captain Heald defeated—Hull capitulates—Is exchanged—His trial and sentence.*

In April 1812, congress laid an embargo for 90 days, upon all vessels within the jurisdiction of the United States. Although the government was continually making preparation for war, a hope was yet cherished, that some change of policy would take place in the British cabinet, which would render it unnecessary. But at length, finding no prospect of such a change, on the 18th of June, 1812, an act was passed, declaring war with Great Britain. In the manifesto of the president, the reasons of the war were stated to be, "the impressment of American seamen by the British; the blockade of her enemies' ports, supported by no adequate force, in consequence of which the American commerce had been plundered in every sea; and the British orders in council." Against this declaration, the representatives of the federal party, constituting a small minority in congress, entered their solemn protest.

Thus had England again compelled America to resort to arms. The circumstances of the country at the commencement of the present war, were, however, far different from those which attended the war of the revolution. A government had been established, which, unlike the congress of that period, could not only recommend, but enforce. The number of inhabitants had increased from about three millions to nearly eight millions; and the pecuniary resources of the republic had advanced in a ratio yet greater than that of its population. These were the advantages which America in 1812 possessed over America in 1775; but there were points in which the originators of the revolution were in a much more advantageous situation for war, than that in which their descendants, 37 years afterwards, found themselves placed. In 1775, the Americans were comparatively a warlike people. They had been obliged to be constantly on the alert, to defend themselves from their savage foes. A contest had just passed, which had given practical experience of the difficulties and hardships of war, and consequently, the ability to face its dangers and endure its fatigues. This war was also eminently calculated, both by its misfortunes and successes, to im-



part sound maxims in the military art. The shameful inertness and disasters of the first campaign of the French war, the energy and brilliant successes of the last, the disgrace of Braddock, and the glory of Wolfe, were fresh in men's minds; and it was amidst these scenes that the military character of the leader of the revolutionary army, and that of many of his officers, was formed.

On the contrary, in 1812, a season of 30 years of peace and prosperity had enervated the nation. Most of the officers of the revolution slept in honoured graves. There were, however, a few veterans of that noble band remaining; but they were not of those who had stood in its foremost rank, and they had already passed the vigour of manhood; whose best energies are required for the momentous duties of a high military command. Thus, for the army to be raised in 1812, there were no officers in whom entire confidence could be placed. But with the best of officers, very great difficulties must have been encountered, from the condition of the troops.

During Mr. Jefferson's administration, economy was the order of the day. Every possible retrenchment of national expenditure was adopted; and among other measures of this nature, was the curtailing of the army and navy. Although a spirit of prudence in money affairs is highly commendable, and though it was at that period popular, and in many respects useful to the country, yet it may now be doubted, whether in this instance it did not degenerate into that penny-wisdom and pound foolishness, which is as little consistent with the best interests of a nation, as with those of an individual. The national debt, it is true, was by these measures reduced from 75,463,467 dollars, to 36,656,932 dollars; but by the increased expenditures of the war of 1812, 1813 and 1814, it amounted in 1816 to 123,016,375 dollars; a sum exceeding by 47,552,908, its original amount. It is probable that many of the misfortunes of the country might have been spared, by maintaining during peace a better state of preparation for war, and a sum of money eventually saved, far greater than the amount of the retrenchment.

In 1808, the regular army consisted of only 3,000 men. During that year, the government, alarmed by the increasing aggressions of the European powers, increased it to 9000. In January 1812, congress voted to raise an additional force of 25,000. This act was, however, passed so short a time previous to the declaration of war, that not more than one-fourth of the number were enlisted at that time; and those were of course raw and undisciplined.

In addition to the regular army, the president was authorized to call on the governors of the states for detachments of militia, to an amount not exceeding 100,000, and to accept the services of any number of volunteers, not exceeding 50,000. This species of force, although of great use in defence, has been found not efficient in offensive field operations. Thus the actual efficient force at the commencement of the war in 1812 was small, and the troops were wholly inexperienced.

Nor had the army that high tone of public feeling, which animated the soldiers of the revolution. The occasion, though important, was not so overpoweringly momentous. Indeed, the administration reluctant to change its pacific and economical policy, had suffered the highest state of public excitement for the injuries of Britain to pass away, before the declaration of war. This was the period immediately

succeeding the outrage upon the Chesapeake; for which Britain had now made satisfaction. The nation felt itself so keenly wounded by that insult, that it would then have moved simultaneously to the vindication of its rights. But while the government delayed and temporized, the warmth of public feeling in a measure abated. That money-loving spirit which the administration had formerly too much courted, was now offended by the operation of its restrictive system; and its political enemies had taken advantage of every subject of discontent, to excite opposition to its measures.

The state of the revenue, in 1812, was far from being favourable to the prosecution of an expensive war. Derived almost solely from duties on merchandise imported, it was abundant in a state of commercial prosperity; but in time of war and trouble, the aggressions of foreign nations, which in their operation produced an increase of public expenditure, almost destroyed the means of defraying it. In this emergency, congress in 1812 authorized a loan of 11,000,000 of dollars, and increased one hundred per cent. the duties on imported goods and the tonnage of vessels.

The condition of the navy was in some material respects better than that of the army. The situation of the United States, as a maritime and commercial nation, keeps her provided with seamen, who in time of war, being transferred from merchant to warlike vessels, are already disciplined to naval operations.

The recent contest with the Barbary states had given to the officers and men of the little American navy, experience in war; and their successes had inspired them with confidence in themselves and in each other. Many enterprising individuals of the republic converted their merchant ships into privateers; but the vessels belonging to the government at the commencement of the war consisted of only ten frigates, ten sloops, and 165 gun-boats. This was all the public force which America could oppose to the thousand ships of the proud mistress of the ocean.

Commodore Preble is regarded by some as the main spring of the prosperity of the American navy. It is said that the officers who gained so much fame for themselves and for their country, were almost all formed under his instructions.

Among the few survivors of the revolutionary war, was Henry Dearborn of Massachusetts, who was appointed major-general and commander-in-chief of the American army. His headquarters were at Greenbush, on the Hudson river, opposite Albany. Forces acting under his direction, mostly composed of New York militia, were stationed at Plattsburgh, and on the Niagara frontier: those at the latter place were, at the commencement of the war, under the command of Generals Porter and Hall.

About a year before the declaration of war, William Hull, governor of the Michigan territory, had, in his letters to the government, given a view of the situation of the country in the vicinity of the upper lakes. He reminded the administration that they possessed in that region three military posts, viz., Michilimackinack, (usually called Mackinaw,) Chicago, and Detroit. He asserted that the British forces at Amherstburg, (otherwise called Malden,) and at St. Joseph's, were about equal to those of the United States at the three stations mentioned, and that should the militia of Upper Canada in case of war, take a part, they were twenty to one superior to those of Michigan, the province containing

100,000, the territory only 5000 inhabitants. The adjacent states, he said, were thinly inhabited, and needed their forces for their own defence. In addition to the superiority in population on the British side, General Hull warned the government that they must expect that the numerous Indian tribes, of whose services the humane policy of America forbade her acceptance, would, in the event of war, (which was the state in which they most delighted,) unite with her foe. He urged the importance of Detroit, as being the key of the northern country, and the only spot from which the Indians could be kept in check. He stated that a wilderness nearly 200 miles in extent, and infested by savages, separated it from any point from which it could draw supplies, and advised the administration to prepare a naval force on Lake Erie, superior to the British, and sufficient to preserve their communication. If the government should not think proper to listen to this advice, Governor Hull suggested as the next most expedient measure, immediately on the declaration of war, to invade Upper Canada by a powerful army from Niagara, which should co-operate with a force from Detroit; and thus take possession of the whole province. And he gave it as his opinion, that unless one or the other of these measures should be adopted, the posts of Detroit, Mackinaw, and Chicago, must inevitably fall into the hands of the enemy. To these suggestions of Hull may in part be traced the plan of the campaign which was formed at Washington, and which seems to have had the conquest of Montreal for its ultimate object. But instead of concentrating the force and moving directly to this point, the American troops were scattered along the extensive northern frontier. It was intended to invade simultaneously at Detroit and Niagara, with the expectation that the armies from these places would move in the direction of Montreal, and be joined on the way by the force stationed at Plattsburg.

The army, destined for Detroit, was collected at Dayton, in Ohio, sometime before the declaration of war. The president of the United States had made a requisition of 1200 men on the governor of that state. This number was immediately filled by volunteers, who were divided into three regiments, commanded by Colonels McArthur, Cass, and Findlay. These troops were joined by the fourth regiment of infantry, and a few other regulars, amounting in the whole to about 300, under the direction of Colonel Miller. These, together with a few straggling volunteers, who followed the army, and were included in the return, composed the whole of this force, the command of which was given to Governor Hull, who had served with reputation in the army of Washington, and who had been for several years the governor of Michigan. But although he had been a brave man in his youth, age had now paralyzed his energies; nor is it probable, that nature ever gave to him the firmness, decision, and activity, necessary to the military commander; who must often in war reverse the maxims of peace, as he often finds himself in situations, where, to be long in deliberation, and slow in action, is a fatal imprudence.

The general, having been ordered by the government to proceed to Detroit, and there to wait for further orders, the army left Dayton about the middle of June, and, passing through Stanton, and Urbana, traversed the uncultivated region between the latter place, and the rapids of the Maumee, or Miami of the lakes. The army had been obliged to

remove obstructions, and make their own road. They had built four block-houses, and garrisoned them with the disabled. They reached the Rapids on the 30th of June. On the 26th, four days previous, General Hull had received by express, a letter from Mr. Eustis, the secretary of war, written on the morning of the day in which war was declared. This letter merely reiterated former orders, and contained expressions which indicated that war would soon be declared. Expecting to be informed, by express, when the declaration actually occurred, and not dreaming that the British could be in possession of such important intelligence from the American government earlier than himself; Hull, for the purpose of disencumbering his army, and facilitating their march, hired a vessel, which had sailed as a packet, to convey to Detroit his sick, his hospital stores, and a considerable part of his baggage. This vessel, which sailed on the first of July, fell into the hands of the British near Malden, who had been two or three days in possession of the information that war was declared. With Hull's private baggage, his aid-de-camp unfortunately had placed on board the vessel a trunk of public papers, by means of which the enemy became possessed of his correspondence with the government and the returns of his officers, showing the number and condition of his troops.

The intelligence of the declaration of war, General Hull received on 2nd of July, in a second letter from Mr. Eustis, of June 18th, which was not sent by express, but by mail.

The fortress of Malden or Amherstburg, garrisoned by 600 men, and commanded by Colonel St. George, was the strong hold of the British, and their Indian allies for the province of Upper Canada. It is situated on the Detroit river, near its entrance into Lake Erie. On the opposite American bank, is the Indian village of Brownstown, through which passes the road from Ohio to Detroit; a communication on which Hull, in the event of the British keeping possession of the lake, must depend for the supplies of his army. But they would be liable to be cut off, as the British, having command of the waters, could, at any time, land detachments on the opposite side. Thus, for Hull to proceed from the Rapids to Detroit, was to advance and leave an enemy's fortress in his rear. The orders of the secretary of war were, however, explicit, nor do we learn that at the time the American general remonstrated with the government, although he afterwards considered this as the fatal order which caused his misfortunes. Pursuant to this mandate, he continued his march, and reached Detroit on the 5th of July. Here he permitted his army to rest for a few days, from their toilsome march through the wilderness, the fatigues of which they had borne with exemplary patience. The Americans were here employed in cleaning and repairing their arms, which were at the commencement of the march in a bad condition, especially those of the Ohio militia. An impatience prevailed to cross the river, and invade Canada immediately. General Hull, on the 9th, called a council of his officers, in which he explained to them, that his directions from the government were to remain at Detroit, and await further orders, and, on that account, he could not then invade Canada. They, however, thought he ought, notwithstanding, to take immediate possession of the opposite bank of the river.

On the same day, soon after the breaking up of the council, General Hull received a letter from Mr. Eustis, authorizing him to commence offensive opera-

tions, and saying, that "should the force under your command be equal to the enterprise, and consistent with the safety of your own posts, you will take possession of Malden, and extend your conquests as circumstances will allow." General Hull in his answer on the same day states to the secretary, that he did not think his force equal to the reduction of Malden; that the British commanded the water and the savages; yet he said he should pass the river in a few days. On the 10th, he again wrote to the government, saying, "the communication must be secured, or this army will be without provisions. This must not be neglected. If it is, this army will perish by hunger." On the 11th he wrote to Governor Meigs of Ohio a similar communication. From this statement of General Hull, and from the tenour of his former communications, the government ought to have considered this army in a perilous situation, and to have taken measures for its preservation; at the same time, so long as Hull had no assurances of reinforcements, his order being to invade if he considered his own force sufficient; and as he had no pledge from the government, that any provision was making to relieve him by taking possession of the lakes or keeping open the communication to Ohio; it would seem that he should not have acted in so momentous a concern, on the presumption that on account of his former advice, these things would have been done. Consistently with his own expressed opinions, he should have made use of the discretion granted him to remain on the defensive, until he had sufficient reason to believe that those measures which he had stated to the government as being essential to the safety of the post, were in a state of actual accomplishment; in the mean time taking all due pains to keep the sentiments of the army in his favour, and warmly soliciting the aid of his government. Had he pursued this course, consequences could not have followed so wounding to the honour of his country, as those which accrued. Another course of bolder policy also presented itself in accordance with the views of most of his officers. This supposed, that the army of Hull was of itself competent to the reduction of the enemy's country, and that prompt and vigorous measures would place at his command the fortress of Malden, the key of Upper Canada, and the great obstruction in the way of his own supplies. Had this policy been consistently pursued, its result, though it might not have been successful, would certainly have been honourable. Hull appears to have vacillated between the two, and thus he failed of securing the advantage of either.

General Hull crossed into Canada on the 12th of July, and directing his march southerly, took post at Sandwich, and issued from that place his famous proclamation. This was a bold and imposing composition, and backed by the presence of an invading army, had all the effect which the Americans could have desired. The Indians were awed into neutrality, and the Canadians favourable to the American cause, either remained quietly at home, or joined their ranks. In it, he placed before the inhabitants of Canada the advantages of uniting with the United States rather than remaining as an appendage of Britain; and promised, in the name of his country, protection to their persons, property and rights, if they remained quietly at home; but on the contrary, if they united with the savages against America, he threatened them with a war of extermination. "Had I," continues the proclamation, "any doubt of ultimate success, I should ask your

assistance; but I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will break down all opposition, and that force is but the van-guard of a much greater;" alluding here to the expected invasion from Niagara. If Hull intended this proclamation as a stratagem of war, in the commencement of a set of desperate measures, entire success might have justified it; to ensure which, his sword should have been as prompt as his pen, and his military manœuvres as energetic as his language. To rise so high as the tone of this proclamation, so soon to sink to the degrading surrender of a whole army, without a sword drawn, was a mortification to which he should not have subjected his country. Knowing, as appears by his memoirs of this campaign, how many causes existed which might have led him to fear that he should ultimately be overpowered, he ought to have considered the effect of this proclamation, in raising false hopes and expectations in the minds of his own army, and the people of the United States. Dissatisfaction that the expected achievements had not been performed, would naturally arise, and the blame fall on the commanding general. Neither the government nor General Dearborn could, without some secret explanation, have regarded it as the language of an officer who considered his army already in the desperate predicament of a "severed limb," requiring their utmost care to assist in uniting it to the body.

Some of the officers were ardent to proceed immediately to the attack of Malden, but General Hull deemed it expedient to wait for his heavy artillery, which was preparing at Detroit; and in this opinion he was supported by the majority of a council of war, which he called on the 14th of July.

The army continued at Sandwich, while occasional parties scoured the adjacent country, and collected some provisions. On the 15th, Colonel Cass, with a detachment of 280 men, left the camp, having obtained the general's permission to reconnoitre the ground between Sandwich and Malden. Within four miles of Malden, the river Aux Canards presented an obstruction to the approach of the American troops to the British fortress. Colonel Cass attacked the party stationed as a guard, and after killing ten of their number, took possession of the bridge. This attack was made without orders from the commander. Colonel Miller, who accompanied Cass, agreeing with him that this pass was important to the Americans, they sent to ask of the general to make provision for guarding and retaining it; but in his opinion, an attempt to maintain the conquered position would bring on a general action, which he thought would be unwise, as Colonel M'Arthur was then absent with a considerable detachment, and it had been determined to wait for artillery. He sent orders, not positive, however, but discretionary, to abandon the bridge and return to the camp, which the party accordingly did.

Governor Meigs, of Ohio, to whom General Hull had sent for supplies, had dispatched Captain Brush, with a quantity of provisions. Early in August, Hull had been informed that this detachment had proceeded to the river Raisin, and that a party of British and Indians had been sent from Malden to Brownstown, to intercept it. On the 4th of August, General Hull, at the request of the Ohio officers, detached about 200 men under Major Van Horn to open the communication, and escort Captain Brush to the camp. The detachment arrived at Brownstown on the 8th, and although warned of their danger, they suffered themselves to be surprised by an Indian

ambuscade. Being fired upon, the Americans at first returned the fire, but soon after fled in disorder to Detroit, leaving eighteen dead upon the field, and having twelve wounded.

About the 1st of August, General Hull received the unwelcome intelligence of the fall of Mackinaw. It had been attacked on the 17th of July, by a party of British and Indians, principally the latter, amounting in the whole to 1024. Lieutenant Hawks, who commanded at this fort, had only 57 men under his command; nor had he been informed of the declaration of war when he received the summons to surrender. On learning the strength of the enemy, he capitulated, by the unanimous advice of his officers; stipulating, however, that his garrison should march out of the fort with the honours of war. This event filled Hull with surprise and consternation. He had nothing now to expect, but that these hordes of northern savages would come down upon him.

This alarm was increased by an intercepted letter from a gentleman belonging to the British North West Company, at Fort William, from which he received the intelligence, that this enterprising association, by whose means Mackinaw had been taken, were still employed with great activity and success in inciting the Indians against the Americans, and that several thousands in those regions were already in arms. The Indian tribes in his more immediate vicinity, he found were also rising against him. Of these the Wyandots were the most formidable; as his supplies from Ohio must pass through their country.

By the defeat of Van Horn, he found himself already cut off from his supplies. On the 5th of August, he again called a council of officers, to deliberate on the expediency of proceeding to the attack of Malden without the artillery, which had not been made ready, but was expected in two days. After deliberation, it was agreed to wait two days, and if not then ready, to attack without it.

Accordingly, the 8th was the day fixed on for the assault; but intelligence received between the 5th and 8th, induced the general to alter his plan. Letters were received from Generals Porter and Hall, who commanded on the Niagara frontier, informing him that the enemy were leaving their posts in that direction, and were bending all their forces against him; and that he had nothing to expect from a diversion at Niagara. He was further informed, that a considerable number of these troops had already reinforced the garrison at Malden.

General Dearborn, the commander-in-chief, had been directed by the government to invade Canada from Niagara, and co-operate with Hull. While tardily engaged in preparations to execute this order, Colonel Baynes was sent from Montreal by Sir George Prevost, the governor-general of Canada, with a flag to the American commander at Greenbush. He carried dispatches to the government, which contained the repeal of the British orders in council. But the main object of Prevost appears to have been, to procure (under pretence that this would probably produce a peace,) the consent of General Dearborn to an armistice, in which Hull should not be included, that thus he might be able to turn his whole force against the only invader of the British territory. In this he was successful.

The partial armistice was to take place on the 8th of August. It was, however, stipulated by General Dearborn, that if the president of the United States should disapprove it, hostilities should com-

mence after four days' notice. But the transmission of the dispatches to and from Washington, and the stipulated notice, would give to the governor of Canada all the time which he wished. The president did disapprove the armistice, but before the commencement of hostilities, the objects of Sir George Prevost were effected.

General Hull had no intimation of the armistice, although he experienced its effects. The letters which he had received from Generals Porter and Hall, destroyed the reasonable confidence which he had entertained of co-operation from General Dearborn, and also the unauthorized expectation that something would be done by the American government to obtain possession of the lake. He felt the necessity of opening a communication with his supplies by the way of Ohio. It had been urged in the council held on the 5th, that to take Malden would be the most certain measure to effect this; as Malden, the defence of the British forces and the refuge of the Indians, was itself the source of its obstruction. This view of the subject was overruled by the consideration, that as the British commanded the waters between Malden and the Ohio road, the Americans, although in possession of that fortress, would still be cut off from their desired communication. He believed that amidst so many savage foes, a defeat would prove the destruction of his whole army. As the governor of the territory, he had long been accustomed to watch for the safety of the people, and to guard them from Indian outrages, to which the destruction of the army would leave them exposed without defence; and the idea of their burning habitations, their murdered women, perhaps his own daughter, and their mangled children, rose to his imagination, and the father and civil governor triumphed in his bosom over the military commander; and although he had pledged himself to lead his army to the attack,—although his long delayed artillery was now ready for the expected assault,—he gave, on the afternoon of the 7th, the positive order for his army to return to Detroit.

Whether the views which induced the retreat of Hull from Malden were correct or not, can never be ascertained; because the issue of a battle was not tried: but posterity will not doubt that he acted from the best dictates of his judgment, although it was a judgment warped by womanly tenderness, and the too cautious fears of age. The man and the warrior should have stirred within him at the thought of the glory he might have acquired for himself and his country;—the disgrace which would attend his retreat, and his desertion of those Canadians, who allured by his high promises, had trusted to his protection.

If Hull intended a contest with the enemy, with the force under his command, it would seem that every reason was in favour of his encountering it at Malden, rather than going to await it at Detroit; for, with his views of the numerous force which was gathering against him, he ought to have calculated that he should be followed, and have the war brought to his own door. The delay gave the British time to concentrate their forces, which, not being yet united, he might have defeated in detail. The variance of his views with those of his officers, has already been noticed. Neither party adopting those of the other, discontent and dissatisfaction arose between them. This was manifested on the part of Hull, who probably felt that he had been drawn by their advice into his present situation, by taking the resolution to retreat from Malden without consulting

them; and, on their part, not only by the murmuring and reluctance with which they obeyed his orders, but by a plan which was in agitation to deprive him of the command, and choose a more energetic leader. The soldiers were as little satisfied as their officers. Having understood from their general's proclamations, that they were a force which could "break down all opposition," having expected the attack on Malden, with all the confidence of success, it is not surprising that this unexpected order of their commander should fill them with disappointment and chagrin.

It was on the 8th of August, that the American army re-crossed the river, and once more took post at Detroit. On the same day, General Hull dispatched the flower of his army, amounting to 600 men, under Colonel Miller, to open the communication to the river Raisin, the service which had been vainly attempted by Van Horn. At Maguaga, near Brownstown, Colonel Miller met, on the 9th, a body of troops, consisting of British, Canadians, and Indians, who, having received information of his approach, had crossed over from Malden, and were drawn up in the woods in regular order of battle. After a severe contest, the enemy were compelled to retreat. Colonel Miller pursued them about two miles. They embarked under cover of their armed vessels, and returned to Malden. In this engagement, Tecumseh, the celebrated Shawanese chief, was the hero of the British force. He, with his Indians, kept his ground, while the regular troops gave way. He was wounded in the battle, and about 40 of his Indians were found dead upon the field. The American loss, in killed and wounded, was about 80. As soon as General Hull had received a communication from Colonel Miller, he sent to that officer a reinforcement of 100 men, under Colonel M'Arthur, with a supply of provisions. A severe storm of rain intervening, to which the troops were exposed without covering, General Hull was induced to order the return of both parties to Detroit. Arrangements were now made to open a communication where they would be less exposed to incursions from Malden. To this measure he was led by a letter from Captain Brush, who informed him, that he should endeavour to reach Detroit by a circuitous route. Colonels M'Arthur and Cass volunteered for this service, and were directed by Hull to select the choicest troops of their regiments. They took about 350 men, and left the fort on the 13th of August.

On the return of Hull to Detroit, he manifested, by his measures, his fears for the safety of his post. He sent, on the 9th, an order to Captain Heald, the commander at Chicago, to evacuate that place, and conduct the garrison to Detroit. Accordingly, on the morning of the 15th, he set out with about 70 Americans, and 50 friendly Indians, escorting several women and children. At a small distance from the fort, they were attacked by a party of between 400 and 500 savages. The little band made a desperate resistance, but being overpowered by numbers, 36 of the men, two women, and twelve children, being slain in the engagement, they at length surrendered, under promise of protection from "Black-bird," an Indian chief of the Pottowattamie nation.

After Colonel Miller's return, and before the detachment under Cass and M'Arthur left Detroit, Hull suggested to his officers the propriety of removing his army to some place near the Rapids of the Miami. His reasons were, that the whole force from

Niagara east, from the upper lakes, and from Michigan, were collecting at Malden; that lake Erie was closed against the Americans; that the road from Ohio was obstructed by hostile Indians; that their country had not, as he could learn, any force prepared for their relief; that their provisions were nearly exhausted, and that isolated as they were they could not procure a supply. This measure which his own judgment dictated, he failed of carrying into effect, because his officers did not approve it; and he was told that the Ohio militia would desert if he attempted it.

On the 13th, five days after the armistice on the Niagara frontier was to take effect, and about the same hour that Colonel Cass and M'Arthur marched, General Brock, the most active and able of the British commanders in Canada, arrived to take the command of the British forces. Previous to his arrival, a party of the British under Colonel Proctor, who had succeeded Colonel St. George in the command at Malden, had taken a position on the river opposite Detroit, and proceeded to fortify the bank, without interruption from the Americans. On the 14th, General Brock arrived at Sandwich, and on the 15th he sent a flag, bearing a summons to the American general to surrender. "It is far from my intention (this is the language of General Brock's note,) to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences." To this General Hull answered, "I have no other reply to make, than that I am prepared to meet any force which may be at your disposal, &c." General Brock immediately opened his batteries upon the town and fort, and several persons within the fort were killed. The fire was returned by the Americans with some effect. General Hull, greatly alarmed, sent out an express, commanding the immediate return of the detachment under M'Arthur and Cass.

Early in the morning of the 16th, the British landed under cover of their warlike vessels, at Spring Wells, three miles below Detroit. Between six and seven o'clock, they had effected their landing and were marching towards the fort. Hull was perplexed and agitated. He believed that the territory was invaded by a force which it would be in vain to resist, that victory itself would be but a temporary advantage, whose ultimate result would be to deliver the inhabitants to the undistinguishing barbarities of an Indian massacre. Yet he was not insensible to the disgrace of surrendering without an effort, and even at this critical moment he was wavering and indecisive in his operations, neither pursuing with consistency the policy of bravely defending his post, nor that of prudently putting his army in the best posture of defence, and then making honourable terms of capitulation. At first his army were drawn up in order of battle without the fort, his artillery was advantageously planted, and his army waited the approach of the British full of the confidence of victory. The latter were within 500 yards of their lines, when suddenly an order from General Hull was received, directing his forces to retire to the fort. The indignation of the Americans broke forth, and all subordination ceased. They crowded into the fort, and without any order from the general, stacked their arms, some dashing them with violence upon the ground. Many of the soldiers wept. Even the spirit of the women rose indignant at this unexpected disgrace, and they de-

clared in the violence of their impotent wrath, that the fort should not be surrendered. Hull, perceiving that he had no longer any authority in his own army, and believing that the Indians were without in large numbers ready to fall upon the inhabitants, was anxious to put the place under the protection of the British. A white flag was hung out upon the walls of the fort. Two British officers rode up. Negotiations were immediately commenced; and a capitulation was concluded by Hull with the most unbecoming haste. His officers were not consulted; nor did he make any stipulations for the honours of war for his army, or any provision for the safety of his Canadian allies. All the public property was given up; the regular troops were surrendered as prisoners of war; the militia were to return to their homes, and not to serve again during the war, unless exchanged.

One of the reasons stated by Hull for his precipitate measures, was the absence of the detachment under M'Arthur and Cass, which weakened his army, as they constituted one full quarter of his effective force, and their situation exposed them to be entirely cut off. At his particular request, they were included in the capitulation; as was also the party with provisions under Captain Brush.

Cass and M'Arthur arrived immediately after the capitulation, and surrendered agreeably to its conditions. Captain Brush, having learned the circumstances of the surrender from some Ohio militia, took the resolution not to regard its stipulations; and accordingly marched his party back to Ohio.

The number of effective men at Detroit, at the time of its surrender, is stated by General Hull in his official report, not to have exceeded 800; while the force of the enemy is said to have been at least double the number. General Brock in his report to Sir George Prevost, states his force to have been 1300, of whom 700 were Indians.

General Hull being exchanged, was prosecuted by the government of the United States, and arraigned before a tribunal, of which General Dearborn was president. He was by this tribunal acquitted of treason, but sentenced to death for cowardice and officer-like conduct. The criminal under sentence of death was not, however, imprisoned, but sent without a guard from Albany, where the court-martial assembled, to his residence in the vicinity of Boston, to await there the decision of the president of the United States; to whose mercy the court, in consequence of his revolutionary services, recommended him. The president remitted the punishment of death, but deprived him of all military command.

*Successes of the Americans at sea—Situation of the forces on the New York frontier—Affair of Queenstown—Harrison takes command of the north-western army—Hopkins' expedition—The Americans invade Canada—The capture of the Frolic—And other vessels.*

On the 19th of August, three days after the disgraceful surrender of Detroit, an event occurred, which, in a measure, healed the wounded pride of the Americans. This was the capture of the British frigate *Guerrière*, under the command of Captain Dacres, by the American frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Hull. The captain of the British frigate, previous to the rencontre, had challenged any American vessel of her class, and the officers, in various ways, manifested their contempt of "the Yankees." On the approach of the *Guerrière*,

Captain Hull gave orders to receive her occasional broadsides without returning the fire, and his crew calmly obeyed his orders, although some of their companions were falling at their guns. Having his enemy near, and his position favourable, Hull commanded his men to fire broadside after broadside, in quick succession. This was done, and with such precision and effect, that in 30 minutes the *Guerrière* had her masts and rigging shot away, and her hull so injured, that she was in danger of sinking. Sixty-five of her men were killed, and 63 wounded. Knowing that a few more broadsides would carry his ship to the bottom, Captain Dacres struck his colours. The *Constitution* sustained but little injury. Her loss was seven killed and seven wounded. The American frigate had a small superiority in the number of her guns, yet by no means in proportion to the superior advantage she obtained. The captured vessel was so much injured, that she could not be got into port, and was burned. Every mark of honour and distinction was paid to the gallant crew by their grateful countrymen. Several of the officers were promoted by congress, and 50,000 dollars were distributed among the crew as a recompense for the loss of the prize.

Soon after, another naval victory was announced. On the 7th of September, Captain Porter, of the United States frigate *Essex*, entered the Delaware, after a successful cruise, in which, among other prizes, he had captured a British sloop of war. This was the *Alert*, commanded by Captain Laugharne, which was encountered off the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, and taken after an action of eight minutes, the British having three men wounded.

The operations of the frontier of New York were, as has been remarked, under the direction of General Dearborn, the commander-in-chief, whose headquarters were still at Greenbush. Brigadier-general Bloomfield commanded the force at Plattsburg; and Brigadier-general Smyth was now in command at Buffalo. The militia of the state of New York, then in the service of the United States, amounting to about 5000 men, under General Van Rensselaer, were mostly stationed on the Niagara frontier. Bodies of regulars and militia were also stationed at Black Rock, Sackett's Harbour and Ogdensburg.

General Van Rensselaer made his headquarters at Lewiston, on the Niagara river. The militia demanded to be led against the enemy, and the general determined to gratify them by attacking Queenstown, a fortified post of the British, on the opposite side of the river. On the 11th of October, he attempted to cross the Niagara, but the weather being tempestuous the attempt was defeated. In the evening of the 12th, the army was reinforced by 300 regulars, under the command of Colonel Christie. On the morning of the 13th, the attempt was again made to cross the Niagara, and succeeded. One division of the troops was commanded by Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer: the other was the division of Colonel Christie, and consisted of the same number of regulars. These were to be followed by Colonel Fenwick's artillery, and the residue of the army. The first party which effected a landing, was that of Colonels Van Rensselaer and Christie, which had crossed about four o'clock in the morning, just before the dawn of day. As soon as the detachments landed, they were formed by order of Colonel Van Rensselaer, (Colonel Christie not having crossed with his men,) for the purpose of storming the heights of Queenstown.

While waiting for orders to ascend the heights,



the American troops were attacked by the enemy on either flank. They were however met and repulsed; but they still kept up a fire which enflamed the ranks of the Americans, of whom a considerable number were killed and wounded. The brave Colonel Van Rensselaer was wounded severely; it was then supposed mortally.

Captain Wool, on whom, as senior officer of the regular troops, the command devolved, was also wounded by a ball, which striking him sideways, passed between his thighs. Seeking the disabled Rensselaer, Wool represented to him the critical situation of the troops; and, notwithstanding his wound, volunteered for any service which might relieve them. Colonel Van Rensselaer directed, as the only effectual measure, the one first proposed, that of storming the British battery upon the heights. Wool conducted his force silently and circuitously, leaving the battery to his right, until he had passed it and attained an eminence which commanded it. The British finding that resistance would be in vain, left it to the Americans, and retreated down the heights to Queenstown.

Elated with their success, the Americans had fallen into disorder, when they again beheld their foe advancing. The intrepid Brock was at their head, with a reinforcement of about 300 men from fort George. An officer raised a white flag, in token of surrender: Wool indignantly pulled it down. To keep the British at bay until he could form his men, he dispatched a body of 60 men, who advanced, but retreated without firing a gun. The British followed, and drove the Americans to the brink of the precipice. One soldier was about to descend: Wool ordered him to be shot; but as the musket was levelled, he returned.

Thus prohibiting either surrender or retreat, and being ably seconded by his officers, Wool rallied and led on his troops to the attack. The British in their turn gave way, and retreated down the hill. Brock attempted to rally them amidst a galling fire from the Americans; but in the attempt this brave and gallant officer was mortally wounded. His party no longer attempted resistance, but fled in disorder.

Soon after, General Van Rensselaer, Colonel Christie and the other officers who had been expected, joined their forces to the gallant band under Captain Wool. That officer, faint with the loss of blood from his wound, crossed the river. Several others who were wounded, and also some prisoners taken in the battle, were carried over. The Americans on the heights considered the day as their own, when they were attacked by a body of British and Indians, probably amounting to 1000, under General Sheaffe, who had followed the energetic Brock at a slower pace, from fort George. The battle becoming warm, and the Americans being hard pressed, General Van Rensselaer recrossed the Niagara, for the purpose of bringing over the militia, who were on the opposite bank.

But those who in the morning had evinced so much courage and ardour in the prospect of a battle, having looked upon the blood of their wounded companions who had been brought over, now became utterly regardless of the commands, nay, even the most urgent entreaties of their general, to go to the relief of their brethren.

Two thousand five hundred of the militia remained idle spectators of the combat; and to their cowardice may be attributed the defeat which ensued. For their conduct they had since morning found an excuse by declaring it to be unconstitutional to oblige the

militia to make offensive war; and they now fancied it would be wrong for them to cross the national boundary.

The troops already on the Canadian shore defended themselves bravely, but were at length overpowered and obliged to surrender. Sixty of the Americans were killed, 100 wounded, and 700 surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

Ohio and Kentucky, particularly the latter, had aroused at the call of Hull for assistance, and an army on its march for Detroit was in the southern part of Ohio, when the news met them of the surrender of that post. This news rather stimulated than repressed the ardour of the brave and patriotic inhabitants of the west. They continued their efforts in raising troops, until Kentucky is said to have put on foot 7000, and Ohio nearly half that number. These had volunteered; nor were they all who had stepped forward, and offered their blood and toil for the honour of their country. Pennsylvania and Virginia also sent their bodies of volunteers to the aid of their brethren in the west. But the experience and skill of the officers, the discipline and subordination of the troops, were not equal to their zeal and courage.

On the 24th of September, William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana territory, and brigadier-general in the army, who possessed more than any other man the confidence of the western citizens, was appointed by congress to the command of the whole of these forces. They had already advanced to the north-western part of Ohio; their general plan of operation being to protect the country against the incursions of hostile savages, and to regain the ground lost by Hull's surrender.

The main division, consisting of 3000, commanded by Harrison in person, was at this time at the river St. Mary's. Another division, under General Winchester, consisting of 2000, had penetrated as far as fort Defiance; but they were in want of provisions, and had sent to Harrison for relief. That general immediately marched with a considerable part of his troops, and on the 3rd of October joined General Winchester at fort Defiance. He returned the next day to St. Mary's, having previously ordered General Tupper, with 1000 of the Ohio militia, to proceed to the rapids of the Miami, to dislodge the enemy, and take possession of that place. A want of experience on the part of the officers, and of proper subordination on that of the troops, produced a failure in this, and another attempt made by the same officer; and the British still retained possession of that post.

The Indians in the Indiana territory were, in the meantime, manifesting a hostile spirit. On the 4th of September, fort Harrison, on the Wabash, was attacked by several hundred of these savage foes. Captain Taylor, with a garrison of 50 men, only fifteen of whom were effective, it being a time of sickness, repelled the assailants with great intrepidity, killing a considerable number, while he lost only three of his own men. The savages, irritated at this defeat, surprised and massacred a settlement consisting of 21 persons, men, women, and children, at the mouth of White river.

Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, issued an address, calling for an additional number of mounted volunteers, for the defence of the territories of Indiana and Illinois. On the 2nd of October, more than 2000 had assembled at Vincennes. This body was placed under the command of General Hopkins. On the 10th they arrived at fort Harrison. Here the destruc-

tion of the Kickapoo and Peoria towns was proposed, and the plan meeting with general approbation, the troops set forward for its execution. On the fourth day of the march, the army being in an extensive prairie of dried grass, perceived suddenly alarming volleys of smoke and flame advancing with the wind. The Indians had set fire to the long thick grass of the prairie. The Americans immediately resorted to the only expedient which could save the army. They set fire to the grass in an opposite direction, whose flames the wind carried from them, and then marched on to the ground thus cleared of combustibles. This operation is called setting a back fire, and is frequently necessary. The Indians often resort to this measure to distress an enemy.

The militia became mutinous, and a major, named Singleton, apparently wishing to bring on a quarrel with the general, rode up to him as the troops were resting, and ordered him, in a peremptory manner, to take up his line of march, or his battalion would instantly leave him. Hopkins called a council of the officers, who agreed to take the sense of the army as to the propriety of returning. The majority were in favour of that measure; but Hopkins, who entirely disapproved the measure, notwithstanding the vote of the army, put himself at their head, and commanded them to follow him, promising to lead them in one day more to the accomplishment of their object. But they turned their faces in the opposite direction, and marched towards home, the general following in the rear. Thus, in consequence of insubordination, this expedition, which commenced with so much individual patriotism, produced nothing in the event but public disservice.

Another expedition, for a similar object, conducted with better success, by the same officer, was undertaken. With a force of 1000 men, mostly regulars and militia, he left fort Harrison, and, on the 19th of November, destroyed the Prophet's town, and a Kickapoo village, four miles distant; these places having been previously evacuated by the inhabitants. A skirmish took place between a party of the militia and an ambuscade of Indians, in which eighteen of the militia were killed. General Hopkins endeavoured to draw on a general action, but failing in this, he returned to Vincennes.

Colonel Russell, in a similar incursion, with 300 regulars, surprised and destroyed a town called the Pimertams. He drove the Indians into a swamp, killed twenty of them, and brought off 80 horses.

About the same time, another expedition was undertaken by Colonel Campbell, of the regular army, with 600 men. On the 17th of November, he marched against the towns of the Mississenema, succeeded in destroying them, and overawing the Indians.

No operations of very great importance were undertaken by the northern army, during this campaign. In September, a detachment of militia from Ogdensburg, attacked a party of the British, who were moving down the St. Lawrence, and defeated them. They were reinforced, and, in their turn, compelled the militia to retire. In retaliation, the British attempted the destruction of Ogdensburg, on the 2nd of October; but they were repulsed by General Brown, the energetic commander at that station.

On the 22nd of October, Major Young, who commanded a detachment of the New York militia, at French Mills, made an attack upon the British at the Indian village of St. Regis. The Americans, without the loss of a man, killed five of the British, and took 40 prisoners.

On the 16th of November, the army at Plattsburg moved towards the Canada frontier, and encamped at Champlain. On the 18th, General Dearborn took the command. Soon after, Colonel Pike, with his regiment, made an incursion into the territory of the enemy, surprised a party of British and Indians, and destroyed a considerable quantity of public stores.

It had been expected that the army in this direction would invade Canada, but the failures on the Niagara frontier and at Detroit, prevented the co-operation of these armies; and, on the 23rd, the troops at Plattsburgh went into winter-quarters.

On the 12th of November, General Alexander Smyth, who succeeded General Van Rensselaer, in the command of the army of the Centre, issued an inflated address to "The Men of New York," assuring them that, in a few days, he should plant the American standard in Canada, and inviting them to "come on," and share the glory of the enterprise. A considerable number volunteered, probably however, more from their confidence in the character of General Porter, who was to be associated with Smyth, and who was to command the volunteers, than from the effect of that general's ridiculous and bombastic appeal. Preparatory to crossing the army, General Smyth sent two parties, on the night of the 27th of November, one under Colonel Børstler, and the other under Captain King, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Angus, of the navy, with a small but valiant band of marines; the whole under the direction of General Winder. The party under Børstler whose object was to destroy a bridge, went several miles down the river, dispersed the enemy, made several prisoners, but returned without having accomplished their object. That under King, who were ordered to attack the batteries opposite Black Rock, performed the service in a most gallant manner. Nine out of twelve of the naval officers who embarked in the affair, and half the seamen, were either killed or wounded. They had dispersed the enemy, rendered useless their artillery, and prepared the way for the safe landing of the army who had been ordered to embark at Revelle; but delays occurred, and they were not embarked till noon. General Smyth, at this time, ordered them to disembark to dine. It was then found that there were not sufficient boats to carry over 3000 men at once, as had been the order of the secretary of war; and the General, amidst the murmurings of the army, concluded to postpone the invasion. Most of the brave men who crossed, succeeded in returning; but some were made prisoners, among whom was Captain King. Not finding boats enough to cross over his whole party, he sent all his officers and part of his men, but would not desert the remainder, and was captured with them.

On the 30th of November, General Smyth again ordered the troops to embark the next morning, for the purpose of fulfilling his pledge of planting the standard of America on the shores of her enemy. They did not go on board the boats as early as was expected, and again the general failed of embarking three thousand at once. The fate of the day at Queenstown, (honourable to America in comparison with this,) seems to have been in his mind, and he had no confidence that those who remained behind would cross at all, if those who went over should be in danger. He, therefore, disgracefully abandoned, without an effort, the enterprise he had so boastingly pledged himself to perform; ordered his troops to disembark, the regulars to go into winter-quarters, and the volunteers to return to their homes. A scene of riot and confusion ensued. Four thousand

men, indignant, and perfectly uncontrolled, were discharging their muskets in every direction, made this a more dangerous field than they would probably have formed on the territory of the enemy.

On the 18th of October, the American sloop of war, *Wasp*, commanded by Captain Jones, encountered the British sloop of war, *Frolic*, under the direction of Captain Whynates, off the island of Bermuda. Both vessels had suffered injuries from a recent storm, but the British was superior in weight of metal. The American at first received the fire of her enemy, at the distance of 50 or 60 yards, but gradually lessening this distance, she fired her last broadside so near, that her rammers, while loading, were shoved against the side of the *Frolic*. Captain Jones then boarded her, but he trod her deck amidst the dead and dying, without finding a private in arms to oppose him. Three officers and the seamen at the wheel were all that were found alive on deck. Of the whole crew, consisting originally of 120, all, except twenty, were either killed or wounded. The Americans had five killed and five wounded. Captain Jones did not long enjoy his bloody triumph. Two hours after the battle, a British 74, the *Poictiers*, took both the *Victor* and his prize, and carried them both into Bermuda. On the return of Captain Jones and his officers, they were hailed by their countrymen with the most distinguishing marks of honour. His crew received 25,000 dollars, and himself the command of a frigate, the captured *Macedonian*.

On the 25th of October, the frigate *United States*, commanded by Decatur, whose conduct in the Mediterranean had already made him regarded as one of the first officers of the American navy, captured the British frigate *Macedonian*, commanded by Captain Carden. The engagement took place, where the 29th of north latitude intersects the 29½ degrees of west longitude, and continued an hour and a half. The *Macedonian* being to the windward, had the advantage of choosing her own distance, which, for the first half hour, was so great, that the cannonades of the American frigate were useless. When the *Macedonian* came to close action, the rapid and well-directed fire of the *United States* proved fatal to her men, swept her masts and spars, and left her an "unmanageable log;" and the British captain reluctantly ordered the broad flag of his nation to be furled. When he offered his sword to Decatur, that officer refused to take it "from one who knew so well how to use it," but asked instead, to receive the friendly grasp of his hand. The loss in killed and wounded, on the side of the Americans, was only twelve, while that of the British was 104.

The naval campaign of this year closed with another American victory, equal in brilliancy to any which had preceded. On the 29th of December, the fortunate *Constitution*, now commanded by Commodore Bainbridge, desiered off the coast of Brazil, the British frigate *Java*, of 49 guns, and 400 men, commanded by Captain Lambert. The action continued nearly two hours. The *Constitution* had nine-teen men killed, and 25 wounded, but she had shot away the masts of the *Java*, killed 60 of her men, and wounded 101. The British colours, which, after every spar was gone, had been nailed to the stump of a mast, were at length torn down.

Nor were these successes confined to armed vessels. The swift sailing privateers, which issued from every American port, succeeded in capturing vessels of a superior force, and in harassing and destroying the English commerce. Nearly 250 British vessels

were captured, and 3000 prisoners were taken, while but comparatively few of the American privateers fell into the hands of their opponents.

In reviewing the results of the campaign of 1812, we find on land a series of disgraceful failures on the part of the Americans. This disgrace is however relieved by occasional flashes of valour, the most remarkable of which was that exhibited by Captain Wool, upon the heights of Queenstown. These failures were the more mortifying to the Americans, because their superiority in numbers, over the small British force in Canada, was known to be great; and they confidently expected, that at least all Upper Canada, would fall into their hands during the first campaign.

But the ill success of the Americans on land was counterbalanced by a series of naval triumphs, equally unexpected, and more injurious to their opponents, than even their land defeats were to the United States.

*America makes overtures of peace—Connecticut and Massachusetts refuse to furnish troops—Congress assembles—Acts passed—Madison re-elected president—Plan of the campaign—Massacre at French Town—Fort Meigs besieged—The Six nations declare war against Canada—Fort Stephenson besieged—Proctor repulsed.*

In the civil and political transactions of belligerent powers, we find the causes of their military movements.

On the 23rd of June, five days after the declaration of war, the British government repealed the orders in council.

No sooner had the United States declared war against Great Britain, than Mr. Monroe, secretary of state, in his letter of June 26th, directed Mr. Russell, chargé d'affaires at the court of St. James, to state to the British government, that America had entered upon this contest with reluctance, and was ready to make peace as soon as the wrongs of which she justly complained were redressed. Mr. Russell was authorized to negotiate an armistice by sea and land, on the condition, that the orders in council should be repealed; the impressment of American seamen discontinued, and those already impressed restored: and as an inducement to discontinue their practice of impressment, the American government pledged themselves to pass a law, prohibiting the employment of British seamen, either in the public or commercial service of the United States.

These propositions being made by Mr. Russell, Lord Castlereagh, the British minister, on the 29th of August, communicated to him their rejection by his government; at the same time, informing him that measures had been taken to authorize Sir John Borlase Warren, the British admiral on the American station, to propose to the United States an immediate and reciprocal cessation of hostilities; and in that event, to assure them that full effect should be given to the provisions for repealing the orders in council. On the subject of impressment, Lord Castlereagh said the British government were ready, as heretofore, to receive from the government of the United States any proposition which might check the abuse of the practice, but they could not consent to suspend the exercise of a right, upon which the naval strength of the empire materially depended, until they were fully convinced other means could be devised and adopted, by which the object to be obtained by impressment could be secured.

While this correspondence was going on in England, negotiations were also carried on in America. The advantage which was taken by Sir George Prevost, of the arrival of the intelligence that the British had repealed their orders in council, in procuring from General Dearborn the partial and temporary armistice of the 8th of August, has already been noticed in treating of the causes of the misfortune and disgrace of General Hull.

General Dearborn doubtless supposed, that the object of the British was "to seek peace in the spirit of peace," not gain an advantage in carrying on the war. This appears from his letter to the secretary of war, of which the following is an extract:—

"SIR:—Colonel Baynes, adjutant-general of the British army in Canada, has this day arrived at this place, in the character of a flag of truce, with dispatches from the British government, through Mr. Foster, which I have enclosed to the secretary. Colonel Baynes was likewise bearer of dispatches from Sir George Prevost, which are herewith enclosed. Although I do not feel myself authorized to agree to a cessation of arms, I concluded that I might with perfect safety agree that our troops should act merely on the defensive, until I could receive directions from my government; but as I could not include General Hull in such an arrangement, he having received his orders directly from the department of war, I agreed to write to him, and state the proposition made to me, and have proposed his confining himself to defensive measures, if his orders and the circumstances of affairs with him would justify it. Colonel Baynes has written similar orders to the British officers in Upper Canada, and I have forwarded them to our commanders of posts, to be by them transmitted to the British commanders."

From this it appears that the views of the general were truly pacific; but it also shows, in connexion with the events of the history, that he was doubly deceived. He himself sent the orders of Colonel Baynes to the British officers in Upper Canada; orders which gave them the information that they had no enemy to fear on the New York frontier, but were at liberty to bend their whole force against Hull.

On the 30th of September, Sir John Borlase Warren, then on the Halifax station, addressed a letter to Mr. Monroe, apprising him of the revocation of the orders in council, proposing a cessation of hostilities, and threatening in case of a refusal, that the obnoxious orders should be revived. The American government had, in the mean time, been made acquainted with the failure of Mr. Russell's negotiation; and Mr. Monroe replied to Sir J. B. Warren, that America could not hope for a durable peace, until the question of impressment was settled. "The claim of the British government," says Mr. Monroe, "is to take from the merchant vessels of other countries British subjects. In the practice, the commanders of the British ships of war often take from the merchant vessels of the United States, American citizens. If the United States forbid the employment of British subjects in their service, and enforce the prohibition by suitable regulations and penalties, the motive for the practice is taken away. It is in this mode that the president is willing to accommodate this important controversy with the British government, and it cannot be conceived on what ground the arrangement can be refused. He is willing that great Britain should be secured against the evils of which she complains; but he

seeks, on the other hand, that the citizens of the United States should be protected against a practice, which, while it degrades the nation, deprives them of their rights as freemen, takes them by force from their families and country into a foreign service, to fight the battles of a foreign power, perhaps against their own kindred and country."

The British admiral having no powers to enter on the question of impressment, nothing further remained to America, but to exchange the pen for the sword.

The warmth of party feeling had increased throughout the Union. Notwithstanding much bravery had been exhibited by individual officers and soldiers, still the army had failed in the accomplishment of any important object. The enemies of the administration declared, that the ill success of the war was owing to the inefficient measures of the government in providing means for its prosecution; while its friends attributed the failure to the interference of the opposite party. Both were right in degree; as the government, wholly inexperienced in providing for the exigencies of war, probably failed in many respects of making judicious and seasonable provisions; and all its difficulties were increased by the ungenerous and almost treasonable opposition which it encountered. But had the expectations which, previous to the war, were entertained with regard to the efficiency of the militia system, been realized, and had the affairs of the army been managed well by the agents of government, its provisions, notwithstanding the inveteracy of its opponents, would have been sufficient to produce very different results from those which were actually experienced. It ought to have been remembered, that the United States were undergoing the trial of a great political experiment. Their constitution, which had succeeded in peace, had not been tested in war; and many had predicted that it would then be found inadequate for public safety, and that the unwieldy mass of its incongruous parts would fall asunder.

The government, in respect to the efficiency of the militia, were in nowise to blame for expecting what the wisest of the American patriots, and the great body of the people did expect before the war, the events of which have given rise to the general impression, which has since prevailed, that the militia, although they may be useful for defence, and annoy an enemy in desultory warfare, are not calculated for offensive operations or field engagements. But before we too much depreciate the militia system, we should consider that an army organized on any plan, totally undisciplined, and both officers and men wholly inexperienced, could not be expected to stand their ground at first, or operate successfully against experienced officers and veteran troops.

The most alarming opposition to the national government, was not, however, that arising from mere individual clamour.

The states of Massachusetts and Connecticut had been officially requested by the president, to furnish detachments of their militia, and place them under General Dearborn, for the defence of the maritime frontier. The constitution gives to congress power to demand the services of the militia, "for the execution of the laws, the suppression of insurrections, and the repelling of invasions;" and also declares, "that the president shall be commander-in-chief of the militia of the several states, when called into the service of the United States." These states refused to furnish the required detachments, on the

ground that the state governments ought to determine when the exigencies of the nation require the services of their militia. They also decided that it was unconstitutional for the president to delegate his power to any officer not of the militia, and who was not chosen by the respective states. This construction of the constitution was favoured by the decision of the supreme court of Massachusetts; and as, in their opinion, exigencies did not exist which required the service of the militia, they refused to obey the call of the president. The sea-coast of these states, and, also, of Rhode Island, which state subsequently adopted the same views, was thus deprived of an important means of defence; and public feeling was agitated with apprehensions of a civil, as well as a foreign war.

It was probably owing to this feeling, more than to any other cause, that, notwithstanding the ill success of the army, the result of the election of president was not only favourable to Mr. Madison, but showed a diminution of the federal, and an increase of the republican party.

Congress assembled on the 4th of November, after an unusually short recess.

The increase of the army and navy early occupied their attention. As a greater inducement to enlist, an act was passed on the 21st of November, by which an addition of two dollars per month was made to the pay of the non-commissioned officers and privates; by which, also, they were exempted from arrest for debts contracted either before or after enlistment. By another act, 25 dollars were given in addition to the existing bounty, to each recruit who would enlist for five years.

On the 30th of November, a bill was reported to the senate, and soon after passed that body, authorizing the construction of four ships, carrying each 74 guns, and six frigates, each of 44 guns. This species of armed vessels was strongly recommended by Captains Hull, Stewart, and Morris. Subsequently on the 22nd of February, a supplementary act was passed, authorizing the increase of the navy on the lakes.

(1813.) On the 14th of January, a bill passed, authorizing the president to increase the military force, by increasing such a number of regiments of infantry, not exceeding twenty, as the service might require. As but little benefit had resulted from the employment of volunteers, the law was repealed which authorized the acceptance of their services. By the same act, the force was increased for the protection of the frontier.

On the 26th, a bill passed, authorizing a loan of 16,000,000 dollars, for the year 1813, and, the following day, another was passed, giving to the president power to issue treasury notes to an amount not exceeding 5,000,000 dollars.

On the 29th, congress passed a law, declaring, that no seaman should be employed in American vessels but native citizens of the United States, or those who had become naturalized. This law was to be carried into effect at the close of the war.

The regular force of the United States now amounted to nearly 55,000 men. An act was passed on the 13th of February, by which, in addition to the officers of an inferior grade, six major-generals and six brigadiers were appointed.

On counting the votes, it was found that James Madison had been re-elected president, and Elbridge Gerry chosen vice-president, for the ensuing term of four years; and they were accordingly, on the 4th of March, inaugurated into office.

The scene of military operations during the year 1813, comprehended the whole extensive northern frontier of the United States. At the opening of the campaign, the army of the west, under General Harrison, was placed near the head of lake Erie; the army of the centre, under General Dearborn, between the lakes Ontario and Erie; while the army of the north, under General Hampton, occupied the shores of lake Champlain. The invasion of Canada was still the object of the American armies; and the force which Sir George Prevost, the viceroy of Canada, could bring to oppose them, was comparatively small. The defence of the upper provinces was committed to Colonels Proctor and Vincent, while the command of the troops of Lower Canada was given to General Sheaffe, who was, however, to act under the more immediate direction of the governor himself.

The head-quarters of General Harrison were at this time at Franklinton, in Ohio. General Winchester had proceeded in advance of the main army, and hearing that a party of British were stationed at Frenchtown, he attacked and dispersed them. He remained at Frenchtown with a part of his troops encamped in the open field, the remainder being behind a breastwork. On the morning of the 22nd of January, he was surprised by a combined force of British and Indians, under the command of Colonel Proctor, and the Indian chiefs Roundhead and Split-log. That part of the American force which encamped in the open field, were soon thrown into disorder. General Winchester and the other officers in vain attempted to rally. Many of them, unable to make their escape, were killed by the Indians. General Winchester and Colonel Lewis were taken prisoners. The American troops, however, continued fighting with great intrepidity, until they received General Winchester's order to surrender. That general had sent this mandate, on being assured by Colonel Proctor, that if the Americans would surrender, they should be protected; otherwise he should not be responsible for the conduct of the Indians. The promised protection was not, however, granted. Colonel Proctor marched for Malden, leaving behind him and without a guard, the wounded prisoners. The merciless savages soon returned, set fire to the town, dragged the wounded from the houses, scalped them in the streets, and left their mangled bodies in the highway.

In this melancholy affair the Americans lost in killed and wounded about 500; a number equal to the slaughtered were made prisoners of war. They were principally volunteers from the most respectable families of Kentucky; and this bloody day clothed that state in mourning.

The loss of the British, as stated by Colonel Proctor, was 24 killed, and 158 wounded.

General Harrison now removed his head-quarters from Franklinton, to a fort which he had built at the rapids of the Miami, named in honour of the governor of Ohio, fort Meigs. He was here besieged on the 1st of May, by Colonel, now General Proctor, with a force of 1000 regulars and militia, and 1200 Indians. The American army, occupying a commanding position and strongly intrenched, resisted the efforts of the besieging army. Their fate, however, hung in suspense, when on the morning of the 5th, an officer arriving at the fort, announced the intelligence that General Clay, from whom he came, was with 1200 Kentuckians, descending the Miami, and at that moment was but a few miles distant. Conceiving that the British

army was now in his power, Harrison sent orders to land one half of the advancing force on the side of the river opposite to the fort, to co-operate with him in forcing the British batteries. Colonel Dudley, with a party of 800, was charged with this service; and he performed it with so much spirit, that in a few minutes he was in possession of the batteries of the besiegers, and had taken several prisoners; but his troops, unduly elated, pursued the British until they were drawn into an ambuscade prepared for them by the Indian Tecumseh. The whole party, with the exception of 150, were cut off. Dudley strove in vain to rescue his troops; and when mortally wounded, he still continued the contest, and killed an Indian warrior before he fell himself.

In the mean time a sortie from the fort, under Colonel John Miller, brought on a general engagement, in which the British were defeated. The Indian warriors, either displeased at their want of success, or desirous to display their trophies to their several tribes, and to gratify their thirst for blood by the immolation of a portion of their captives, now withdrew from the army of Proctor, notwithstanding the entreaties of Tecumseh, who was himself ever faithful to the cause which he espoused. Thus situated, Proctor, on the 9th of May, raised the siege of fort Meigs and retreated to Malden. General Harrison returned to Ohio, leaving General Clay in command.

In July, the Six Nations declared war against the Canadas. About the same time, the United States accepted the services of some of the other tribes. The American government at the commencement of the war, deprecating the policy of employing savage allies, and considering the power which employed them as responsible for their known barbarities, had refused the services of such as had offered, and had uniformly advised them to remain neutral. This advice had in many cases given offence to the savages, being construed as implying a disrespect of their valour. It had been found that such was their fondness for war, that the only alternative for the administration was to receive their hostile efforts upon the heads of their own inhabitants, or turn them upon their enemy; and from these reasons, the Americans at length consented that they should "take hold of the same tomahawk," and make common cause with them.

On the 20th of July, Proctor, having again collected about 500 of his Indian allies, with about as many regulars, marched against fort Stephenson, on the Sandusky river. On the 2nd of August he invested it, and demanded a surrender. Major Croghan, a gallant youth of 21, with a garrison of 160, took the resolution of defending the fort to the last extremity, notwithstanding the threat, which in former instances had been found so potent, that after the contest had commenced, the Indians could not be restrained. By his judicious measures, and the courage and promptness of the officers and men, Proctor was repulsed with a loss of 150; the Americans losing only one killed and seven wounded; and the English general returned to Malden; and no military operation of consequence was undertaken, until the Americans, having command of the lakes, were able to act offensively.

*Attack on Ogdensburg—Chauncey prepares a fleet on lake Ontario—York attacked by the Americans—General Pike killed—York surrenders—Chandler and Winder captured—Perry's victory on lake Erie*

*—Battle of the Thames—Delaware and Chesapeake bays in a state of blockade—Admiral Cockburn carries on a predatory warfare—New York and New London harbours blockaded.*

We now go back several months to give a view of the operations of the contending armies on the New York frontier.

Early in February, Major Forsyth, an enterprising partisan officer, who commanded some American troops stationed at Ogdensburg, crossed the St. Lawrence with a party of his riflemen and some volunteers, surprised the guard at Elizabethtown, and took 52 prisoners, together with a quantity of arms and ammunition.

On the 22nd of February, (1812,) Sir George Prevost, who had recently arrived at Prescott, directed an attack upon Ogdensburg, which was made on the same night by a corps of 500 regulars and militia, under Major Macdonald. The Americans refused to surrender at their summons, and notwithstanding they were much inferior in numbers, they fought with great bravery for an hour, when they were compelled to retire, and abandon their artillery and stores to the British. Two schooners, two gunboats, together with the barracks, were committed to the flames.

Pursuant to the law passed by congress, early efforts were made to build and equip fleets upon the lakes. The preceding year the Americans did not possess a single armed vessel on lake Erie, and none on lake Ontario save the brig Oneida, of sixteen guns. On the 8th of October, 1812, the gallant Captain Elliot, with 100 men, embarked in two boats, crossed the Niagara from Black Rock, and took two British brigs from under the guns of fort Erie, from which a heavy fire was kept up upon his party. One of these brigs, called the Detroit, was burned; the other, the Caledonia, was added to the American naval force.

It was in 1812 that Commodore Chauncey was sent by the government to take the command on the lakes. He arrived at Sackett's Harbour on the 6th of October. By great exertions he had succeeded in preparing a flotilla to aid in the operations of the ensuing campaign. Its first important service was that of transporting General Dearborn from Sackett's Harbour to York, the capital of Upper Canada, which that general, by the advice of General Pike, a much valued officer, had determined to attack. He embarked with 1700 men, and on the 27th of April arrived before York. The force of the enemy consisted of 700 regulars and militia, and 100 Indians, under General Sheaffe. These troops had collected near the place of debarkation, which was nearly a mile and a half from the fort. Major Forsyth was the first who landed. General Pike, to whom the command of the attack had been given, soon followed with the remainder of the troops. After a severe contest of half an hour, the British retreated to their works. The Americans formed, advancing in columns. They had destroyed one of the batteries, and were within 60 yards of their main works, when the tremendous explosion of a magazine, at 200 yards' distance, filled the air in every direction with huge stones and fragments of wood, which falling, caused a dreadful havoc among the troops. One hundred of the Americans and 40 of the British were killed. General Pike fell mortally wounded. Finding resistance unavailing, General Sheaffe with the regulars retreated towards Kingston, leaving the commanding officer of the militia to make the best terms in his power. The



Americans soon recovered from the shock produced by the explosion, and proceeded under Colonel Pearce to take possession of the enemy's barracks. The outlines of a capitulation were soon agreed on, and the Americans took possession of the town. General Pike survived his wounds but a few hours; and General Dearborn in person now took the command of the troops. The loss of the British was 90 killed, 200 wounded, and 300 prisoners, besides 500 militia released upon parole. A great quantity of stores was likewise found here, as York was the naval and military depôt for all Upper Canada. General Sheaffe's baggage and papers fell into the hands of the Americans.

On the 8th of May, General Dearborn evacuated the capital of Upper Canada, and having crossed the lake for the purpose of leaving the wounded at Sackett's Harbour, again set sail and disembarked his troops at Niagara.

The army at Niagara having been reinforced, General Dearborn re-embarked, and on the morning of the 27th of May proceeded to attack fort George. The landing was warmly disputed by the British under Colonel Vincent, but the coolness and intrepidity which the American troops displayed, led on and encouraged by General Boyd, soon compelled the enemy to give way in every direction. Commodore Chauncey had made the most judicious arrangements for silencing their batteries near the point of landing. Colonel Vincent, perceiving that the fort would soon become untenable, set fire to his magazine, spiked his guns, and abandoned the place; not, however, until he had sustained a loss of 300 men. The loss of the Americans was seventeen killed and 45 wounded.

The capture of fort Erie speedily followed that of fort George. Lieutenant-colonel Preston took possession of this fort on the 28th, it having been previously abandoned by the British, and the magazine blown up.

The British governor had not been an idle spectator of these successes. Having arranged his plan of operation with Commodore Yeo, the commander of the British fleet on lake Ontario, he embarked at Kingston on the 27th of May, appeared before Sackett's Harbour on the 28th, and landed 1200 men. General Brown immediately rallied the militia, and compelled Sir George to abandon the enterprise and return to Canada.

After the fall of fort George and fort Erie, Colonel St. Vincent had retired with his army to Burlington Heights, near the head of lake Ontario. He was pursued by a force which General Dearborn had detached for the purpose, under Generals Chandler and Winder. Colonel St. Vincent having reconnoitred their position, formed his plan of attack. At the dead of night he stole unperceived upon the Americans, drove in the pickets, and with the roar of artillery and the dreadful yell of the Indians, rushed upon the camp. A scene of confusion and carnage ensued. The Americans could not distinguish friend from foe. General Chandler noticing a party of men in apparent confusion, approached and attempted to rally them. They were British troops, and immediately secured him as their prisoner. General Winder shared, by a like mistake, a similar fate. The Americans however maintained their post, and forced the British to retire. The loss of the latter was supposed to exceed that of the Americans, and was probably between 200 and 300 in killed and wounded. Colonel Burns, on whom the command of the American force now devolved, finding him-

self in an embarrassing situation, from the capture of the two generals and the failure of ammunition, retreated from Stony Creek, the place of the battle, to Forty Mile Creek, the former position of this force.

The last operation on this scene of hostility, previous to the retreat of the Americans, was the affair at Beaver Dams. On the 23rd of June, Colonel Bœstler was ordered by General Dearborn to march from fort George, and disperse a body of the enemy, which had collected at this place. The Americans were attacked within two miles of the Beaver Dams, and after an action, Colonel Bœstler's ammunition being exhausted, he surrendered his whole detachment, which consisted of 570 men. Soon after, General Dearborn received orders to retire, and the command of the army at fort George devolved on General Boyd.

Commodore Chauncey left Sackett's Harbour on the 27th of July, to cruise upon the lake. On arriving off Niagara, he learned that the British had a considerable quantity of stores at Burlingtonbay. Colonel Scott volunteered his services to aid in their destruction. They set sail with about 200 infantry, but finding a force double their own strongly intrenched and defended by eight pieces of cannon, they abandoned the attempt. They proceeded to York, took a few prisoners, and destroyed or carried away five pieces of cannon, eleven boats, and a considerable quantity of ammunition.

The autumn of this year witnessed the novel scene of a naval battle on one of those inland seas which separated the possessions of the contending parties. The American fleet, which had been wholly formed during the last summer, was under the command of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry. It now consisted of the Niagara and Lawrence, each mounting 25 guns, and several smaller vessels, carrying on an average two guns each. The British fleet was considered of equal force. Commodore Barclay, the commander of the latter squadron, was a veteran officer. The conflict commenced on the part of the Americans about twelve o'clock, and soon became general and desperate. Commodore Perry's flagship, the Lawrence, being disabled, he embarked in an open boat, and amidst a shower of bullets, carried the ensign of command on board the Niagara, and once more bore down upon his enemy with the remainder of his fleet. The action was severe; and at four o'clock, the whole British squadron, consisting of six vessels, carrying in all 63 guns, surrendered to the Americans.

This success on lake Erie opened a passage to the territory which had been surrendered by General Hull; and General Harrison lost no time in transporting the war thither. On the 23rd of September he landed his troops near fort Malden, but to his surprise, instead of an armed force, he met at the entrance of the town, the matrons and maids of Amherstburg, who, in their best attire, had come forth to solicit the protection of the Americans.

General Proctor had previously evacuated the town, and burned the public storehouses and fort. The next day the Americans marched in pursuit of Proctor and his troops, and on the 29th entered and took possession of Detroit.

General Proctor had retired to the Moravian village on the Thames, about 80 miles from Detroit, his force at this time consisting of 2000 men, including Indians, who composed more than half his army. He was overtaken by the American general on the 5th of October. The British army, although

inferior in numbers, had the advantage of choosing their ground, and were strongly posted, their left resting on the Thames, and defended by artillery; the right extended to a swamp which ran parallel to the river, and was supported by the brave Tecumseh and his warriors, who were stationed in a thick wood which skirted the morass. General Harrison, placing great reliance on Colonel Johnson's mounted regiment, ordered them to charge the British centre, with the intention of penetrating their lines, and getting into their rear. The Kentuckians advanced valiantly to the charge, and so far succeeded as to throw the British into confusion; but their horses were unused to such perilous service, and they failed to penetrate the lines. In this situation they did not suffer themselves to be thrown back upon the advancing army, but wheeled to the right and left, fell upon the enemy's flanks and poured upon them a destructive fire. The venerable Governor Shelby led on his militia, and was found in the hottest of the fray. Colonel Johnson with his battalion was encountered by the Indians under Tecumseh; and these two heroes of the contending armies, by a chance which often happens in romance, but seldom in real warfare, met each other in a strife which, from the character of both, must be deadly to one. Johnson, perceiving in a certain part of the field that the battle was hot and the troops hard pressed, turned the steps of his conspicuous white horse thither. The Indians saw in him an officer of distinguished rank, and a shower of bullets met him as he approached. Five of them pierced his body. His noble charger reeled to his fall. Tecumseh, himself wounded, drew up his majestic figure, raised his bloody tomahawk, but stood one moment as if in pity to his victim. The Kentuckian drew a pistol from his holster, and ere the uplifted arm fell, fired, and Tecumseh lay dead at his feet. Johnson fell also, but his wounds were not mortal. The defeat of the mighty savage was the defeat of the army.

This celebrated aboriginal warrior fell in the forty-fourth year of his age. In person he was above the middle size; extremely active, and capable of sustaining fatigue in an extraordinary degree. His carriage was erect and lofty—his motions quick—his eye penetrating—his visage stern—with an air of hauteur in his countenance, arising from an elevated though savage pride. His rule of war was neither to give nor accept quarter. He had been in almost every battle with the Americans; and received several wounds, and always sought the hottest of the fire. His ruling passion was glory; wealth was beneath his ambition, and although his plunderings and subsidies must have amounted to a large sum, he died poor. The Americans had a kind of ferocious pleasure in contemplating the contour of his features, which was majestic even in death.

Proctor perceiving that all was lost, fled from the field with 200 dragoons. The remainder of his army immediately surrendered. Nineteen regulars were killed, 50 wounded, and 600 made prisoners. The Indians left 120 on the field. The American loss in killed and wounded, was upwards of 50. Among the trophies of the field, were six brass field-pieces, which had been surrendered by Hull; on two of which were inscribed the words "Surrendered by Burgoyne, at Saratoga." Several of the Indian tribes now sent deputations to General Harrison, and the Ottawas, Chippewas, Miamis, and Potowattamies, made treaties of alliance, agreeing "to take hold of the same tomahawk with the Ame-

ricans, and strike at all the enemies of the United States, whether they be British or Indian."

General Harrison, having witnessed the accomplishment of his objects in Michigan and Upper Canada, left General Cass in command at Detroit, and embarked for Buffalo. The Kentucky infantry, on their march homeward, collected the bleaching bones of their countrymen, massacred at Frenchtown, and deposited them in one common grave.

In the early part of this year, the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware were declared by the British government to be in a state of blockade; and to enforce this edict, Admiral Warren was stationed off the American coast, and Rear-admiral Cockburn was sent up the Chesapeake, to make the inhabitants and the government sensible of the danger of arousing the British nation. A squadron, under Admiral Beresford, also entered the Delaware, and, on the 10th of April, proceeded to Lewistown. The British demanded provisions of the inhabitants, which being refused, they commenced an attack upon the village. After a bombardment of several days, they were at last compelled to retire. Other attempts were made by them to land their troops, but they always met with a successful opposition. After destroying some of the smaller American vessels, the squadron sailed for the Bermudas, where Admiral Warren was, with his fleet, preparing for an attack upon the sea-coast during the summer.

Admiral Cockburn was, in the mean time, prosecuting a most relentless warfare in the Chesapeake. He took possession of several small islands in the bay, and from these made descents upon the neighbouring shores, whenever, and wherever there was a probability of finding the inhabitants unprepared and defenceless. The militia were hastily collected, and stationed along the coast, and though they often repulsed the enemy, yet their opposition was but of little avail against hundreds of these marauders.

Their first attacks were upon the small villages of Frenchtown and Havre de Grace. They took possession of these towns, and the stores in them which could not be removed, were destroyed. They then proceeded to lay waste the adjacent country; and their route was marked by devastation. On the 16th of May, they returned to the fleet.

Their next descent was upon Fredericktown and Georgetown, situated nearly opposite to each other, on the Sassafra river; and in these places great excesses were committed.

Not long after, Admiral Warren appeared in the bay, with his fleet reinforced and carrying 2000 troops, under Sir Sydney Beckwith. This force excited the fears of the inhabitants of the cities and larger towns. On receiving this intelligence, Commodore Cassin made arrangements for opposing them. A frigate was stationed at the mouth of Elizabeth river, on which Norfolk is situated, and 10,000 Virginia militia were collected near this place.

On the 22nd of June, an attempt was made by 4000 British troops on Craney's island, which was the only obstacle to a direct attack on Norfolk. Another party attempted to land on the main shore; but here they were met by the Virginia militia, while their landing on the island was opposed by the officers of the frigate; and thus they were forced to abandon the attempt.

On the 25th, Cockburn and Beckwith directed their forces, amounting to 2500, against the village of Hampton. At first they were compelled to withdraw, by the exertions of 400 militia, who were

stationed at the place; but another effort was made, and they gained possession of the town. Their troops were chiefly of the vilest description, being prisoners taken from the French armies in Spain, and they committed great outrages.

To the north of the Chesapeake these excesses were not committed, though the effects of the war were felt in the strict blockade which was kept up at New York. Three ships of war on leaving that port in May, were chased into New London harbour, and there blockaded for several months, by the British fleet under Commodore Hardy.

*Chauncey captures a British squadron—Battle of Williamsburg—Affair of Chateaugay—Newark burnt—The British take possession of fort Niagara—Naval engagements—The Hornet and the Peacock—Chesapeake and the Shannon—The Argus and the Pelican—The enterprise captures the Boxer—Creek war.*

Although Commodore Chauncey had not been inactive on lake Ontario, still he had failed to bring Sir James Yeo to a decisive engagement. This he successfully manœuvred to avoid, his squadron being inferior in force but superior in sailing to that of his antagonist. On the 5th of October, however, Commodore Chauncey encountered a fleet of seven sail, which was bound for Kingston, with troops and provisions. Five of these he captured, one of them was burned, and the remaining vessel escaped.

General Wilkinson, who had commanded the army on the Mississippi, was this year appointed to the command of the army of the centre, and arrived at Sackett's harbour on the 20th of August. The chief object of his instructions from the government, was the taking of Kingston; yet the reduction of Canada, by attacking Montreal, appears to have been the object of the remainder of the campaign.

The forces on which Wilkinson depended for the accomplishment of this object, were an army of 5000, at fort George; a force of 2000 under General Lewis, at Sackett's harbour; and the victorious troops of General Harrison, whom General Wilkinson expected would unite with his army, and proceed with him down the St. Lawrence. General Hampton, who had been appointed to command the northern army, was to penetrate by the way of Champlain, and form a junction at some place on that river. To aid in this project, General Armstrong, who had lately been appointed secretary of war, arrived at Sackett's harbour on the 5th of September. General Wilkinson waited on him for orders; and notwithstanding his former instructions, he now favoured that general's proceeding immediately to Montreal, without attacking Kingston. Grenadier island, near the northern outlet of lake Ontario, was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous. Owing to tempestuous weather, the troops did not arrive before the last of October; and on the 30th they set sail.

On the 6th of November, they arrived within a few miles of Prescott. The stores were landed on the Canadian side, and the troops under General Boyd disembarked, to proceed by land in order to avoid the fire of the British batteries. The flotilla under General Brown, sustained a heavy cannonade on passing the fortress.

The British governor had anticipated the designs of the American government in sending this force against Canada, and had ordered a corps of observation from Kingston to follow the movements of General Wilkinson's army. With this force they

continually menaced his rear. Colonel Macomb, with an élite corps of about 1200 men, was detached to disperse the militia who were collected on the shores. On the 8th, he was reinforced by General Brown. On the 10th, having arrived at a long and dangerous rapid, the troops, excepting a sufficient number to navigate the boats, were ordered to march under General Boyd, while General Brown was detached still further down the river. Generals Wilkinson and Lewis were both confined to the boats by indisposition.

On the 11th, the troops arrived at Williamsburg, and were about to re-embark, when the British were discovered in their rear. General Boyd, who was joined by Generals Covington and Swartout with their brigades, marched upon them in three columns, and commenced an attack. The action was sustained for more than three hours with great bravery, the adverse lines alternately yielding and advancing, when by a movement of the British, the American infantry, who had been left to cover their retreat, were dislodged, and the former gained the victory. The loss of the Americans was 339; that of the British 180. The American force engaged did not exceed 1200, while that of the British was certainly more.

The next day communications were received from General Hampton, in which he declined joining his forces to those of General Wilkinson, stating that his stock of provisions was not sufficient for both armies; he intimated, however, that he should retire to the Plattsburg road, and would join him lower down the river. A council of war was now called by Wilkinson, who decided to abandon the attack on Montreal, and to go into winter-quarters at French Mills.

In the meantime, General Hampton with an army 4000 strong encamped at Plattsburg. He received orders for invading the British territory by the way of Champlain, and took post at that place on the 25th of September. Here he met an order to proceed to Chateaugay, and penetrate to Montreal by the way of Chateaugay river. Leaving his encampment at Chateaugay Four Corners on the 21st of October, he crossed the line, and proceeded down the river to Ormstown. Here he ascertained that the British, about 600 strong, occupied a position six miles below him, on his route to Montreal. For the purpose of destroying it, he detached Colonel Purdy on the night of the 25th, with 2000 of his forces. For the want of proper guides Purdy was unable to accomplish his object. A little after sunrise on the morning of the 26th, within one mile of the position of the enemy, the other division of the army under Hampton overtook Purdy, being, however, on the opposite side of the river. General Hampton placed the greater part of his force under General Izard with orders to attack the British immediately, which he accordingly did, and after some unsuccessful attempts to dislodge them, he treated from the field of battle. During this attack upon the left bank, Colonel Purdy remained on the right bank, without any exertions on his part to aid General Izard, his men being exhausted by the last night's march. The British discovering them, supposed them to be only a small detachment sent over for guarding the bank of the river, and sent a few troops for the purpose of capturing them. Without being observed, they had gained his rear and commenced an attack, when his whole division without firing a musket fled to the river in the greatest confusion. The British finding their force greater than

they had expected, retreated. The American army encamped on the night of the 26th, and remained until the 28th, when they returned to Four Corners, where Hampton dispatched to General Wilkinson the letter which has been mentioned. Receiving the intelligence that the attack on Montreal was abandoned, he took up his line of march for Plattsburg, where he established his winter-quarters. He soon resigned his commission, and was succeeded in command by General Izard.

General Harrison did not arrive at Buffalo until the 24th of October, and was not ready to join General Wilkinson until he had gone into winter-quarters. He then proceeded to Sackett's harbour, leaving the Niagara frontier defenceless, except that a few militia remained under General McClure, who commanded at fort George. Sir George Prevost, being relieved from his apprehensions of an attack on Montreal, ordered his forces under General Vincent and General Drummond to proceed to Niagara. General McClure fearing their approach, and misunderstanding the orders which he had received from government, on the 10th of December caused the village of Newark to be burned. This act was subsequently disavowed by the American government, but the British had commenced measures for its retaliation. On the 19th of December 400 troops under Colonel Murray crossed at Niagara, and surprising the sentries of the fort obtained immediate possession. The garrison, consisting of 300, were mostly put to the sword. The commander, Captain Leonard, was absent at his farm about two miles distant, and was consequently accused of treachery; but a court-martial acquitted him of this charge.

The British now increased their forces, and under General Rial proceeded to Lewistown. Here they were opposed by the militia under Major Young, who after maintaining his ground for some time was at last compelled to retreat. Major Mallory, from Schlosser, with 40 Canadian volunteers, made a gallant resistance. But the exertions of a few scattered troops were ineffectual against a large body of British regulars and 700 Indians. They laid waste Lewistown, Manchester, and the Tuscarora villages.

General Hall advanced from Batavia with all the forces which he could collect, for the defence of the frontier. On the night of the 29th of December, the British under General Rial crossed at Black rock. Owing to the darkness of the night, the militia were unable to repulse their attacks. General Hall arrived from Buffalo early on the morning of the 30th; at the same time a large division of British and Indians were crossing the river. The Americans poured a destructive fire upon them in their boats, but they repulsed them and effected a landing. They commenced a spirited attack upon the Americans under General Hall, who was driven from his batteries and pursued to Buffalo, a distance of two miles. Here Hall attempted again to face them; when of 2000 militia, only 600 could be prevailed upon to stand their ground. They fled to the woods, and many of them were cut off in the pursuit. The villages of Buffalo and Black Rock were set on fire the same day, and the British proceeded into the interior, laying waste the whole of the country on the American side of the Niagara for several miles. "The concluding scenes of the campaign of the present year," says Baines, "assumed the character of a war of extermination; a species of contest abhorrent to every civilized

mind, and fit only for the savage auxiliaries of the two exasperated belligerents."

Having given a sketch of the military operations of the campaign, and as connected with these the naval affairs of the inland seas; a view of the engagements which occurred on the ocean during 1813, next follows. The first affair of this kind was that between the Peacock and Hornet, and it was in its termination the sixth successive naval victory by which America manifested her rising influence in maritime warfare.

On the 29th of February, as the United States ship Hornet, Captain Lawrence, was returning from a cruise off the coast of Brazil, she fell in with and captured the British sloop of war Peacock, commanded by Captain Peake. The action lasted but fifteen minutes. The loss of the British in killed and wounded was about 40, that of the Americans five. The Peacock unfortunately sunk with thirteen of her crew, while engaged in removing the wounded. She had on board three impressed American seamen, who, notwithstanding their earnest solicitations, had been compelled to fight against their country. One was killed in the engagement, and two were found among the prisoners.

In the career of naval triumph the Americans now suffered a severe check. On the 1st of June, as the United States frigate Chesapeake was lying in Boston harbour, the British frigate Shannon appeared in full sight off the harbour, inviting her to a contest. Captain Lawrence, who for his gallant services in the affair of the Peacock had been promoted to the command of the Chesapeake, felt himself bound in honour to accept the challenge. His officers and crew were strangers to him, and the seamen were in a state of dissatisfaction on account of not having received their pay. Lawrence, however, put to sea, and prepared for action. A furious engagement ensued, and in a few minutes every officer on board the Chesapeake capable of taking the command, was either killed or wounded. Captain Lawrence received a mortal wound, and the Chesapeake being much disabled, he was asked "if the colours should be struck," he replied, "No, they shall wave while I live." Becoming delirious, he continually cried, "Don't give up the ship." At the moment of his being carried below, Captain Broke boarded the Chesapeake, and the British lowered the Shannon's colours. They did not, however, achieve this victory without loss. They had 24 killed and 56 wounded. The loss of the Americans was 70 killed and 63 wounded. The defeat was unexpected, and the greatest grief prevailed for the fate of the heroic Lawrence. He survived four days. The Shannon had carried her prize into Halifax, and there he was interred with every mark of honourable distinction: and the oldest captains in the British navy bore his pall.

Another naval disaster to the Americans soon followed the loss of the Chesapeake. On the 14th of August the United States sloop of war Argus, commanded by Lieutenant Allen, was captured after an action of nearly an hour, in St. George's channel, by the British sloop of war Pelican, commanded by Captain Maples. The loss of the Americans was 40, that of the British only eight. Lieutenant Allen died in England. He was treated with every degree of attention by the English, who buried him as they would have buried a brave officer of their own nation.

On the 4th of September the American seamen were victorious. The brig Enterprise, sailing from Portland harbour, fell in the same day with the Bri

tish brig Boxer. Captain Blyth, the commander, when he descried the American, fired a shot as a challenge, and raised three British ensigns, which he caused to be nailed to the mast. Soon after the action commenced, Lieutenant Burrows, who commanded the American brig, was mortally wounded, but he refused to be carried below. In his last agonies he raised his head, and requested that his flag might never be struck. Lieutenant M'Call, on whom the command devolved, gave orders to board the enemy; but Captain Blyth had fallen, and the British brig had become unmanageable, and the crew surrendered. The bodies of the British and American commanders were received at Portland with tokens of the highest respect: masters of vessels rowed them ashore with the funeral stroke of the oar, while minute guns were fired by the vessels in the harbour; and their last obsequies were performed by the civil and military authorities of the place.

On the 26th of September Commodore Rodgers returned to America from a long cruise, in which he circumnavigated the British isles, and explored the Atlantic. He did not gain any signal victory, but rendered essential service to his country by harassing the British commerce. He captured twelve merchant vessels and took many prisoners.

The lands of the Creeks lying within the territory of the United States, about this time were secured to them by the American government. Great exertions had been made by benevolent individuals, as well as by the government, to instruct them in the arts of civilized life. These exertions had been attended with considerable success; and they were advancing to a more refined state of society. Their early habits and prejudices were not however entirely rooted out; and some of them wished to return to their former state. A visit from Tecumseh, in 1812, tended to increase this disposition. This highly gifted savage used all the powers of his eloquence to persuade them to shake off the oppressions of civilized life, and return to their former condition of wild and fearless independence. A civil war raged among them. The party hostile to the United States increased, and they commenced a harassing and vexatious warfare against the whites. Alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs, the settlers in the most exposed situations had taken refuge in forts which were erected for their security. No event of any importance however, occurred, until the summer of 1813.

(1813.) Fort Mims had been erected in the Tennessee settlement, nearly opposite to Fort Stoddert. This fort was now filled with the inhabitants of the surrounding settlements. Major Beasley, the commander, had received repeated warnings of an intended attack on the fort by the Indians, but had delayed to make preparations for its security. On the 30th of August, at noon-day, the garrison was surprised by about 600 Indians. At first they stood their ground and repulsed the savages; but again they returned, drove the besieged into the houses, and set fire to them. A dreadful massacre followed. Only seventeen escaped out of 300 men, women and children, to bear the sorrowful tidings to the surrounding inhabitants.

A desire of revenge spread through the neighbouring states. Two thousand men from Tennessee, under General Jackson, and 500 under General Coffee, joined their forces on the 12th of October, and marched to the Ten Islands in the Coosa river, where General Jackson, who took the command, established his head quarters. On the 2nd of No-

vember, he detached General Coffee, with 900 cavalry and mounted riflemen, to destroy a body of the Creeks at Tallushatches. A desperate engagement ensued, which ended in victory to the Americans. Two hundred savages were found dead, and 84 women and children were taken prisoners. Not one escaped. General Coffee's loss in killed and wounded was 46.

On the 7th General Jackson hearing that a party of friendly Creeks at Talladega were surrounded and in danger of being destroyed, marched with 1200 men to their relief. Having made the most judicious arrangements for surrounding the enemy, he advanced and commenced an attack. A bloody battle followed, in which 290 of the Indian warriors were slain. Fifteen whites were killed, and 85 wounded.

The militia from Tennessee under General Cocke were encamped at fort Armstrong. On the 11th of November, he detached General White with a portion of his army, against the Hillabee towns. After burning two Indian villages on their route, they entered the towns at daylight, on the morning of the eighteenth. Here were about three hundred inhabitants; 60 warriors were killed, and the remainder made prisoners.

The last of November, the governor of Georgia sent General Floyd to protect the frontiers of that state. With 250 militia, and nearly 400 friendly Indians, he marched into the most flourishing part of the Creek country. On the 29th, his troops were drawn up for battle at Autossee, their sacred ground, to approach which, the superstitious natives considered as inevitable destruction to any white man. The Indians were collected from eight towns for its defence, and fought with desperate bravery; but they were defeated, and their towns, consisting of 400 houses, were burned. Two hundred of their warriors were killed, among whom were the Autossee and Tallasee kings. The loss of the Americans was 50 in killed and wounded; and among the latter was General Floyd.

On the 23rd of December, General Claiborne, who commanded the Mississippi volunteers, gained an important victory over the Creeks, under their famous prophet Weatherford, at Eccanachaca or holy ground, on the Alabama river.

The term of service for the Tennessee militia had now expired, and becoming mutinous, they were disbanded and ordered to march for their homes.

On the 14th of January, General Jackson was reinforced by eight hundred volunteers. Their term of service was only 60 days; and as fort Armstrong was threatened with an attack, and General Floyd was about to enter the enemy's country, he determined to make a diversion in their favour, by marching against a considerable force who were collected near the mouth of Emucfau creek. On the 17th, he took up his line of march, and on the 18th, was joined at Talladega by between 300 and 400 friendly Indians. On the 21st, as appearances indicated their approach to an Indian settlement, he formed his men at night in order of battle, as he expected an attack. At dawn on the morning of the 22nd, he was assaulted on the left flank; but after a severe contest of half an hour, the Indians were repulsed. General Jackson then acted on the offensive. A general charge was made with great vigour upon the enemy's lines. General Coffee attacked their left, while 200 friendly Indians co-operated with him on the right. The savages were unable to resist, and they fled to their post. About 50 of them

were slain. On the 23rd, General Jackson commenced his return to fort Strother. On the same night he encamped at Enotachopo; and the next day, his army were attacked in a narrow defile by the Indians, whom they repulsed after a severe contest. The loss of the Americans in these several engagements was twenty killed, and 75 wounded.

On the 27th of January, General Floyd was assailed in his camp, west of the Chatahoucic, by a numerous body of savages; but a steady and incessant fire from the artillery and riflemen, compelled them to retire. General Floyd was severely wounded, and many of his soldiers killed.

The hostile spirit of the Creeks, notwithstanding their numerous defeats, still remained unsubdued. Determined to make a desperate effort to prevent the destruction of their tribe, they strongly fortified the bend of the Tallapoosa, called by the Indians Tohopeka, and by the whites Horse-shoe-bend. Nature and art had rendered this a place of great security. They had erected a breastwork, from five to eight feet high, across the peninsula, thus enclosing nearly 100 acres of ground. This could not be approached, without being exposed to a double and cross fire from the Indians who lay behind. About 1000 warriors had collected on this spot. Here General Jackson determined to attack them. On the 26th of March he encamped within six miles of the place, and having learned the shore was lined with canoes, he sent General Coffee to the opposite side of the river to surround the Bend in such a manner that none could escape by crossing the river. With the remainder of his force, he attacked their fortifications in front. A brisk fire was kept up for two hours, when General Coffee crossed to the peninsula to his aid, and commenced a spirited fire upon the enemy, who lay behind the breastwork; but they were still unsubdued. General Jackson determined to storm their fortifications. The regulars, led on by Colonel Williams and Major Montgomery, advanced to the charge. An obstinate contest ensued; in which the combatants fought through the port-holes, musket to musket. At this time, Major Montgomery, leaping on the wall, called to his men to mount, and follow him. Scarcely had he spoken, when a ball struck him on the head, and he fell lifeless to the ground. Yet the Americans obeyed his command, and, following his example, soon gained the opposite side of the works. Though the Creeks fought with a bravery which their desperate situation alone could have inspired, yet they were entirely defeated, and cut to pieces. Five hundred and fifty were killed on the peninsula, and many were drowned or shot in attempting to cross the river. General Jackson's loss, including the friendly Indians, was 54 killed, and 156 wounded. This decisive victory ended in the submission of the remaining warriors, and terminated the Creek war. Among those who threw themselves upon the mercy of their victors, was Weatherford, who was equally distinguished for his talents and cruelty. "I am in your power," said he, "do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. There was a time when I had a choice. I have none now; every hope is ended. Once I could animate my warriors to battle; but I cannot animate the dead. They can no longer hear my voice; their bones are at Tallushatchee, Talladega, Emucfan, and Tohopeka. While there was a chance of success, I never supplicated peace; but my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation and myself."

During the summer, a treaty of peace was concluded with the conquered Creeks, on conditions advantageous to the United States. General Jackson returned to Tennessee, and was soon after appointed to succeed General Wilkinson in the command of the forces at New-Orleans.

*Mediations of peace—Extra session of congress—Embargo and non-importation act—Unsuccessful attempt at La Colle—Attack on Oswego—Expedition to the river Thames—British ascend Connecticut river.*

During the spring of 1813, the Emperor of Russia offered his mediation in the quarrel between the United States and Great Britain. On the part of the republic, the offer was promptly met, and three among the most highly honoured of her citizens, John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, and James A. Bayard, were despatched to Russia, to meet and negotiate with such commissioners as Great Britain might choose to appoint. England, however, had declined the mediation of Alexander, but offered to treat for peace directly with the United States. In pursuance of this proposition, to which the American government acceded, Messrs. Adams, Gallatin, and Bayard, in the month of August, proceeded to Ghent, the place of meeting agreed on, and there met Lord Gambier, Henry Goulbourn, and William Adams, commissioners on the part of Great Britain. On the part of America, Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell were added to the gentlemen already mentioned.

"After the fall of Napoleon, it was held in this country, (England,)" says Baines, "with lamentable ignorance of the real state of the feelings and energies of the United States, that Britain, so long the undisputed mistress of the ocean, would soon be able to sweep from the seas the ships of America; and that those troops, which had acquired so much glory when contending with the veteran armies of Europe, would no sooner show themselves on the western side of the Atlantic, than the panic-struck soldiers of the United States would be driven far within their own frontiers. These pleasing illusions were heightened by the hope, that England would soon be able to dictate peace in the capital of the republic; or at least, that the splendour of British triumphs, and the pressure of American embarrassments, would induce and encourage the inhabitants of the northern states to form a separate government under the protection of the crown of Great Britain, if not actually under the sway of her sceptre.

"During the early part of the year 1814, the war with America was suffered to languish; but no sooner was Europe restored to peace, by the dethronement of Buonaparte, than the British government resolved to prosecute the contest with increased vigour, and to obtain in the field a recognition of those maritime rights, which had hitherto been so strenuously resisted in the cabinet. Two distinct modes of prosecuting the war seemed to have been determined on by the British ministry: first an invasion of the coast of the United States, and, second, after the protection of Canada had been secured, the conquest of so much of the adjoining territory as might, in the event of a future war, effectually guard that province from all danger. The peace of Paris was scarcely ratified before 14,000 of those troops, which had gained so much renown under the Duke of Wellington, were embarked at Bordeaux for Canada; and about the same time a strong naval force, with an adequate number of troops, were collected, and dispatched for invading different parts of the coast of the United States."



On account of the critical state of the country, the American congress had deemed it expedient to hold an extra session; and had, accordingly, met on the 24th of May, 1813. Their most urgent business was to provide means of replenishing the exhausted treasury; and, notwithstanding the clamours of the party opposed to the war, they proceeded with firmness and decision in the execution of their duty. After considerable debate, they agreed on a system of internal duties, and laws were passed laying taxes on lands and houses, distilled liquors, refined sugars, retailers' licences, carriages, sales at auction, and bank notes. By these means, it was expected to raise a revenue of 5,500,000 dollars, and a loan of 7,500,000 was authorized. Congress adjourned on the 2nd of August.

On the 2nd of December they convened again, as usual. Among other important subjects embraced in the President's message, was that concerning the right of expatriation, on which Great Britain and America had been so long at issue, and from which the most tragical consequences were at that period apprehended. Forty persons, natives of Britain, but who by a long residence had become naturalized in America, had been taken in arms against the British nation, and were sent to Great Britain to undergo a trial for treason against their country. The American government, feeling itself bound to protect them, had put in close confinement an equal number of British soldiers, with a notification that if violence was done, the same in kind and degree should be inflicted in return. In retaliation for this step, the British government put in confinement, with a similar threat, double the number of American officers of the lower grades. This measure had also been retaliated, and an equal number of British officers selected. In this alarming position did this affair stand at the delivery of the president's message. The subject was however adjusted by the exchange of all prisoners, except the first sent for trial; and on proceedings having been instituted against them, the American government reserved a right to retaliate, in case any violence should hereafter be done them.

Another message was soon after received from the president, recommending an embargo upon exports; with a view to deprive the British of supplies from the ports; and with a design to protect the American commerce, a more complete prohibition of British manufactures was enforced. These measures, which after the most spirited debates were adopted by congress, were considered by the opposition as measures of greater annoyance to America than to her foe, and condemned as unconstitutional and oppressive. These commercial restrictions were not however of long continuance. Mighty changes were taking place in Europe, with which was changed the policy of America. Her measures had been taken with a view to withdraw her commerce from both belligerents, and threaten them with offensive operations, in case her rights were not regarded. The result of this was, as we have seen, peace with France and war with England. America had continued her restrictions with Britain, because the power of Buonaparte closed from her commerce so many of the ports of Europe, that it was detrimental to her to be deprived of that of America also. But Buonaparte was now a powerless exile at Elba; and the ports of Europe were now open to England. Under these circumstances, the American government judged it expedient to repeal their restrictive laws; and accordingly, in the month of April, the embargo and non-importation act were both discontinued.

The condition of the army required and received the attention of congress. A bill was passed early in the session, giving to those who should enlist for five years, or during the war, the unprecedented bounty of 124 dollars; and to any person who should procure an able-bodied recruit, was given further the sum of eight dollars. Little addition was, during this session, made to the naval force. An appropriation of 500,000 dollars was however made, for the building of one or more floating batteries, to be propelled by steam.

General Wilkinson had remained inactive at French Mills, until early in February 1814; when having received orders from the secretary of war, he detached General Brown, with 2000 troops, to the Niagara frontier; and having destroyed his barracks, he retired to Plattsburg. The enemy taking advantage of this movement, on the 21st of February, made an incursion as far as Malone, and destroyed the arsenal and public stores kept there, which had belonged to the cantonment of French Mills.

Movements of General Wilkinson, which had the appearance of an attempt again to invade Canada, induced 2000 of the British under Major Hancock, to fortify themselves at La Colle Mill, near the river Sorel. General Wilkinson advanced on the 30th day of March, for the purpose of dislodging them. Having dispersed skirmishing parties of the British, he arrived at La Colle, and so arranged his troops, as to cover the guns of a small battery, and cut off the retreat of his enemy. A cannonade followed; during which, a sortie was made from the building, but it ended in the repulse of the assailants. Finding this battery insufficient to penetrate the thick stone walls of the mill, Wilkinson retired with his forces, having lost 100 in killed and wounded. Such a succession of unsuccessful measures brought public censure upon this general. He was tried before a court-martial at Troy, but nominally acquitted of the charges brought against him.

The whole force of Lower Canada now withdrew from the St. Lawrence, and were stationed near St. John's, for securing the entrance of their fleet into lake Champlain.

During the autumn and winter, Commodore Macdonough had laboured with great industry to provide a naval force on lake Champlain, equal to that of the British. The flotilla was lying in the Otter river, at Vergennes; and it was the object of the British to destroy it, before it should make its appearance on the lake. Apprised of this, Commodore Macdonough caused a battery to be erected at the mouth of the river. On the 12th of May, the British fleet entered the lake, and were repulsed in an attack upon this battery by water. They were also unsuccessful in attempting to gain the rear of the battery by land, being driven off by a detachment of Vermont militia. Thus repulsed, they abandoned their object, and moved down the lake.

On lake Ontario, both the Americans and British were actively employed in constructing large ships, before again contending on its waters for supremacy, which however at this time leaned to the side of the British. They attacked several places on the American shore, and made attempts which were generally unsuccessful, to destroy the unfinished ships, and the stores which were to furnish them. Oswego was a deposit for naval stores. It was defended by a fort, which mounted only five guns, and was garrisoned by 500 men, under Colonel Mitchell. To destroy this place, was the first attempt of the Bri-

fish. On the 5th of May, their whole fleet with 1500 troops under General Drummond, appeared before it, but could not effect a landing. On the 6th, they renewed the attempt, and landed their men. Colonel Mitchell, after maintaining his ground for half an hour, retired to the falls of Oswego, about twelve miles distant, to which place he had caused the stores to be removed. Destroying the bridge in his rear, the British were cut off from their object, and evacuated the town. The fleet returned to Kingston, leaving only a few gun-boats on the lake.

Shortly after, Major Appling and Captain Woolsey were appointed to convey the naval stores from Oswego to Sackett's Harbour. On the 28th of May, when off Sandy Creek, sixteen miles south-west of Sackett's Harbour, perceiving themselves covered by the British boats, they entered the creek. Here they landed, and formed an ambuscade. The British followed, were completely surprised, and surrendered after an action of ten minutes.

The Americans had now completed the Superior, a vessel capable of mounting 64 guns. Commodore Chauncey soon after fitted her out, and sailed in view of Kingston; but Sir James did not choose to hazard an engagement until his own vessel of equal size should be completed.

(1814.) At the commencement of this year, the Americans were in possession of all their former territory to the west, except fort Mackinaw.

On the 21st of February, Captain Holmes was detached from Detroit with 180 men, to dislodge a party of British who were stationed on the river Thames, about two days' march from that place. When within fifteen miles of their position, he received intelligence that about 300 of the English were within one hour's march of him. He immediately retired five miles, to a more favourable position, and sent forward a small body of rangers to discover their strength; but they returned, followed by the British. Wishing to draw Captain Holmes from his position, they feigned an attack, and then retreated. He followed for five miles, when he found the main army preparing for action. He hastened back to his former position, and being attacked on all sides, a severe contest followed. The Americans gallantly defended themselves for an hour, when the British ordered a retreat. The loss of the Americans was only six killed and wounded, while that of their enemy was 69.

The idea had hitherto prevailed among the British, that the northern states might easily be induced to break off their alliance with the other states, and again become a part of their empire; while they considered the southern states as being more firmly attached to the government, and consequently more difficult to subdue. Hence the northern sea-coast experienced little molestation until the spring of 1814. The British then commenced their attacks by ascending the Connecticut river to Pettipaug, otherwise called Essex, where they destroyed shipping to the value of 200,000 dollars. The coasting trade suffered severely from the Liverpool Packet, a British privateer. Commodore Lewis succeeded in chasing her off. Taking under his convoy about 50 vessels, which he found lying at Saybrook, he passed the squadron blockading New London, and escorted them safely to sea.

*killed—British works destroyed—Unsuccessful attempt to re-take Mackinaw.*

General Brown, as has been related, conducted 2000 of the army of General Wilkinson from French Mills to Sackett's Harbour. His force consisted of two brigades, the first under General Scott, the second under General Ripley. These able officers were diligently occupied during the first part of the campaign in disciplining their troops, and preparing them for action.

General Brown marched his army to Buffalo, expecting to invade Canada. Here were added to his army Towson's artillery, and a corps of volunteers commanded by General Porter, making in the whole about 3500 men. On the 2nd and 3rd of July, they crossed the Niagara, and immediately invested fort Erie, where the garrison, amounting to 100 men, surrendered without resistance.

On the 4th, the brigade under General Scott, with Towson's artillery, advanced from fort Erie along the bank of the Niagara, to where it is intersected by a small brook, called Street's Creek, which falls into the river from the south-west. Here, being within a mile and a half of the British, he halted. General Brown, with the remaining brigade, arrived at the same place at midnight, and General Porter, with the volunteers, at sunrise. The British occupied a strong position at the mouth of the Chippewa. They were 3000 strong, commanded by General Riall. They consisted of a portion of those troops which, since the pacification of Europe, Great Britain had sent to conquer America. The camp of the Americans being annoyed by flying parties of the enemy, General Porter, with 800 volunteers and Indians, and 80 regulars under Captain McDonald, by the orders of General Brown, advanced from the rear, and taking a southerly direction along the Creek, surprised and attacked a body of Indians about two miles from the American camp. The Indians retreated skirmishing towards the British intrenchment. The noise of the firing brought a large reinforcement to the Indians; and the enemy, in their turn, obliged General Porter, after a warm engagement, to retire.

It was now found that the main body of the British were advancing, and General Brown put his whole camp in motion. General Ripley was sent to the left to the aid of General Porter, while General Scott, crossing the creek, drew up his brigade in order of battle, to receive the charge of the king's regiment, and that of the royal Scots. They outnumbered the republican troops more than one-third; and they were the veterans who had fought by the side of Wellington, and conquered the conqueror of Europe; and of whom many of the English had predicted, that they would recolonize America. The officers and soldiers of the republic had, at the most, but two years' experience; and many of them had never before been in battle. Here then they met in fair and open fight.

General Scott led on his men, while his officers nobly seconded his heroic exertions. The conflict was bloody—but the genius of America prevailed. The veterans gave way, and retreated; Scott pursued, defeating them at every point, until at length their retreat being changed to a disorderly rout, they sought the shelter of their intrenchments. So decisive had been the movements of General Scott, that the British were totally defeated before the brigade of General Ripley was brought into action. General Brown now ordered up the artillery to batter

*General Brown crosses the Niagara—Battle of Chippewa—Battle of Bridgewater—General Riall captured—Fort Erie besieged—Colonel Drummond*

their works; but the day was spent, and their batteries appeared so strongly fortified, that he desisted from the attempt, drew off his forces, and returned to his camp.

In this engagement, Colonel Gordon, of the royal Scots, and Colonel the marquis of Tweedale, late aid-de-camp to the duke of Wellington, were both severely wounded. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was 514; that of the Americans, 328.

In the mean time, a large body of British troops, commanded by General Drummond, were situated at the head of lake Ontario, near Burlington Heights, and at York. Soon after the battle of Chippewa, General Riall fell back to fort George. On the 10th of July, the American camp was removed from Street's Creek to Queenstown, and from thence General Brown marched to invest fort George; but finding unexpected difficulties, he retired from that position, and, on the 23rd, took post at Chippewa. He had, however, previously sent his wounded and heavy baggage across the strait to Schlosser, near the Falls, intending, at the time, to advance upon the enemy at Burlington Heights. The British, stung by their defeat at Chippewa, were making vigorous exertions to retrieve the fortune of the war; and General Drummond, with all the forces from Burlington and York, had marched to fort George. Kingston and Prescott had also sent their forces across lake Ontario to the same point. An army of about 5000, including 1500 militia and Indians, was thus collected to oppose the force of General Brown, which, instead of augmenting, had been lessened by the desertion of the Indians. The army, under General Drummond, advanced, and on the morning of the 25th, General Brown received information from General Swift, who had the care of the wounded, that they were at Queenstown, and that a detachment threatened his stores at Schlosser. At this intelligence, General Brown sent General Scott with his brigade and Captain Towson's artillery to make a movement on the Queenstown road, as if to attack the enemy, and thus divert their attention from his stores. General Scott left the camp at four in the afternoon, moved along the river, and passed the grand cataract, in ignorance that the enemy were near. Having proceeded a short distance beyond the falls, he learned that the British army, in great force, were encamped behind a wood, about 300 yards to the north, and that they intended to attack the Americans the next day. Scott immediately transmitted this intelligence to his commander, and moved rapidly forward through the wood, till he perceived the British strongly posted on an eminence defended by nine pieces of artillery. He halted, and drew up his men in order of battle, on a level ground near Lundy's lane, and in front of the British position. The artillery under Towson commenced a brisk cannonade, which was returned by the British battery; and a warm engagement commenced. The British general, probably ignorant of their real situation, did not put forth his strength, or he might have surrounded and crushed the Americans. In this case, a heavy censure would have fallen on their commander for his tumerity in bringing on the action. As it is, he has been charged with wasting the blood of his countrymen; but that blood was not wasted, which served to make the rights of his country respected, by obliterating the stain of cowardice, with which too many of the early transactions of this war had tarnished it. It was late in the afternoon when this engagement com-

menced. The sun had now gone down, and darkness came on. No reinforcement appeared to the Americans, but they still maintained the battle, although an officer reminded the general that the rule for retiring was accomplished, more than one-fourth being killed or wounded. Many of his officers were among the number. The brave Colonel Brady had been the first to form his regiment, and on that the loss fell heaviest. Himself twice wounded, he was entreated by those who observed him pale from the loss of blood, to quit the field; "Not while I can stand," was his reply. At that critical moment a reinforcement appeared. General Ripley had been ordered to form his brigade on the skirt of a wood to the right of General Scott. But, finding that this position was not favourable for annoying his enemy, he took the responsibility of moving nearer to them before he formed. For this purpose, he was about to pass the brigade of Scott, but coming between him and the British, he found that he was suffering severely from their battery, and then truly conceived what must be his situation. Ripley then conceived the bold thought of storming the formidable battery. "Colonel Miller," said he, "will you take yonder battery?" "I'll try," said the latter: and, at the head of the 21st regiment, he calmly took his course, and bayoneted the men while firing, and possessed himself of their guns. Ripley had moved at the same time, at the head of the 23rd regiment, to the attack of the infantry, and drove them from the eminence which was the key of their position. Here Ripley formed his brigade. General Porter, with his volunteers, was on the right, and the artillery of Towson in the centre. The British, mortified and enraged, rallied and advanced to regain their position and artillery. The Americans perceived that they were coming on, but could not distinctly ascertain from what point. The moon had risen, but there were dark clouds, and the light was fitful. Sounds came indistinctly mingled from every quarter. The roaring of the cataract, the shrieks and groans of the wounded and dying, the discharge of artillery, were all heard, as well as the rush of the enemy's attack. In this situation, Ripley gave his troops the order to wait till the enemy's bayonets touched their own, and take aim by the light from the discharge of their muskets. The aim of the Americans was good. Numbers of their brave enemy fell. They closed up their ranks, and came on with the bayonets. The republicans stood the charge, and sturdily pushed back the thrust. For twenty minutes this deadly strife continued, when the veterans of Wellington retreated in disorder. Three times, in the course of that bloody night, the same scene was repeated. Four times were the British met with the bayonet, and repulsed by the Americans. At length, about midnight, they relinquished the conflict, leaving their position and artillery to the Americans.

Although the brunt of battle was on the eminence, other efforts were making in different parts of the field. The brigade of General Scott, shattered as it was, having formed anew, was not content to look idly on, while their brethren, who had stepped between them and death, were now bleeding in their turn. General Scott charged at their head, through an opening in Ripley's line; but in the confusion and darkness of the scene, he passed between the fires of the combatants. He afterwards engaged in the battle, taking his post on General Ripley's left. In another quarter, Colonel Jessup, with only 200 men, advanced upon the enemy, brought them to close action, drove them from their ground, and cap-

tured General Riall, with other officers and soldiers, to an amount almost equal to his own.

In this sanguinary contest, the total loss of the British was 878. Generals Drummond and Riall were among the wounded. The Americans lost in killed, wounded, and missing, 860. Of these, eleven officers were killed, among whom were Major M'Farland and Captain Ritchie. Fifty-six officers were wounded, among whom were Generals Brown and Scott; it was not however until towards the close of the action that the two generals highest in command were disabled. General Brown, on receiving his wound, gave notice to General Ripley that he was left in command, but ordered him to collect the wounded, remove the artillery, and retire to the camp at Chippewa. The Americans lost the advantage of removing the captured artillery, as they had no means of conveying it away; and General Ripley was obliged to leave it upon the field of battle. The British, on learning that the Americans had abandoned the field, re-occupied it immediately. Both sides claimed the victory.

The American army now reduced to 1600, retired to fort Erie, and proceeded to intrench themselves strongly in that position. The enemy to the number of 5000 followed them; and on the 4th of August commenced a regular siege. On the 5th, General Gaines arrived at Erie from Sacket's Harbour, and took the command. Anticipating an attack, the Americans prepared themselves to receive it.

On the morning of the 15th, the enemy advanced in three columns, commanded by Colonels Drummond, Fischer, and Scott; the columns to the right and left repeatedly attacked, and were as often repulsed. The centre column under Drummond, after a sanguinary conflict, succeeded in scaling the walls, and taking possession of a bastion. While Drummond was denying quarter to the conquered Americans, from some cause not well understood, a barrel of powder beneath him was ignited. There was a sudden crash, and bastion, assailants, and assailed, were blown together into the air. Those of the British who survived, fled in dismay, but their numbers were thinned as they passed the American artillery. According to the British official report, their loss on this day was 57 killed, amongst whom were Colonels Scott and Drummond, 319 wounded, and 539 missing. The total loss of the Americans was but 84; but among their killed were Captain Williams and Lieutenant Macdonough, both officers of great merit.

After this repulse, both armies remained in a state of inactivity for some time. General Gaines had been wounded by the bursting of a shell, and the command again devolved on General Ripley, but was exercised but a short time, as General Brown, now recovered from his wounds, entered the fort and resumed his functions.

The American public had become anxious for the fate of their army, and General Izard, by the order of the secretary of war, abandoning a post which, from the arrival of the British troops at Montreal, it was hazardous to leave, marched from Plattsburg with 5000 men, for their relief. The British were daily receiving reinforcements, and their works, upon which they laboured with great assiduity, grew more and more formidable. General Brown, learning that of the three parts into which the British army was divided, two were kept at the camp, while the third manned the batteries, determined to make a sortie, with a view of destroying the batteries, and cutting off the brigade on duty

On the 17th of September, at 12 o'clock, General Porter was ordered to move at the head of his detachment, by a passage through the wood, penetrate to the rear of the British, and fall by surprise upon their right. General Miller was at the same time directed to advance a short distance, and then conceal his party in a ravine between the fort and the British camp, until General Porter had commenced the attack. General Ripley was posted with a corps of reserve, between the bastions of the fort. General Porter with his men trod silently and circuitously along their perilous way, when, arriving at their destined point, they rushed upon the British, whom they completely surprised. In 30 minutes, they had taken a block-house and two bastions, spiked their guns, blown up their magazine, and made prisoners of their garrison; but Colonels Gibson and Wood had fallen at the head of their columns. At the moment of the explosion of the magazine, General Miller came up. He had been warned by the firing, that Porter had met the enemy. His division was equally brave and successful. In his attack, General Davis, of the New York militia, was killed. General Ripley arrived with the reserve, in season to share the danger and the honour of this well-planned and well conducted enterprise.

Thus in a few hours were the British deprived of the fruit of 47 days' labour, of a great quantity of artillery and ammunition, and of 1000 men, which was their number of killed, wounded and prisoners. General Miller, on whom the command devolved, secured the prisoners and the trophies of the victory, and reconducted the army to the fort in perfect order. Eighty-three were killed, 216 wounded, and as many missing; amounting in the whole to not much less than one-third of their whole number.

After the destruction of his works before fort Erie, General Drummond broke up his camp and retired on the night of the 21st, to his intrenchments behind Chippewa. Soon after this, the arrival of General Izard placed the Americans on a footing again to commence offensive operations; and leaving Erie in command of Colonel Hindman, General Brown again advanced towards Chippewa. Near this place an affair occurred on the 20th of October, in which Colonel Bissell, with a detachment of 1000 men, obtained an advantage over the marquis of Tweedale, who commanded a corps of 1200; took from him a fieldpiece, and obliged him to retire with considerable loss, having himself experienced a loss of 67 men.

During the summer of this year, an expedition was undertaken for the purpose of recovering Mackinaw. A part of the squadron on lake Erie, had for this object been extended into lake Huron, under the command of Commodore Sinclair. Major Croghan, accompanied by Captain Holmes, left Detroit on the 5th of July. Co-operating with Commodore Sinclair, they succeeded in destroying the British establishments at St. Joseph's and the Sault de St. Marie, and then proceeded to Mackinaw. Croghan landed his troops, but his force was not sufficient to reduce the fortress. The attempt was attended with the loss of many brave officers, among whom was Captain Holmes. Two vessels, which were left by the Americans to prevent supplies arriving at the fort, were blown up by the British. Commodore Sinclair, however, succeeded in capturing the last of their vessels on the upper lakes.

On the 22nd of October, General M'Arthur left

Detroit with 700 men, and marched in the direction of the river Thames. He destroyed the British stores at different places, and took 150 prisoners, without any loss to his own party. He returned to Detroit on the 27th of November.

*Peace of Paris—Preparations to defend Washington—British land and ascend the Patuxent—Proceedings of both armies—Alexandria capitulates—Battle near Baltimore—Various rencontres.*

In the early part of the year 1814, Admiral Cockburn confined his operations to a predatory warfare upon the shores of the Chesapeake. The only protection of the inhabitants was a fleet of gunboats and smaller vessels, commanded by Captain Barney. Early in June, several skirmishes took place between this flotilla, and a part of the enemy's vessels; but the American commander not being able to cope with the superior force of the British, took refuge in the Patuxent, and was there blockaded by the British admiral.

About the middle of June, news was received of the peace of Paris, which leaving unemployed a large veteran land force, and an immense navy at the disposal of England, there was every reason to expect that she would use it to the annoyance of America. America ought to have been as much as possible prepared in all her vulnerable points: and especially ought her government to have made a reasonable provision for the safety of her capital. Not that Washington, like the great metropolis of a European kingdom, contained the strength and wealth of the empire, to invite great exertions on the part of an enemy; but from common opinion, to possess the capital of a country, as the flag of a ship is the point of honour.

The administration were not however inattentive. They took measures in reference to the object of defending Washington, and the adjacent city of Baltimore, but their measures were inefficient. The national territory had been previously divided into nine military districts. A tenth was now formed, embracing Maryland, the district of Columbia, and a part of Virginia. On the 4th of July, a requisition was made by the president upon the governors of these states for 93,000 militia. Of these, 15,000 were within the limits of the new military district. One thousand regulars were also to be added, and thus there was numerically a force of 16,000 men at the disposal of General Winder, who was appointed to the command.

But it was only a fortnight previous to the invasion which terminated in the capture of Washington, that the order, authorizing General Winder to call for these forces on the respective states which were to furnish them, was received. Time is necessarily consumed in the tardy operations of republican governments, unused to war; and when on the 20th of August news arrived that the enemy had landed at Benedict, on the Patuxent, General Winder had not collected more than 3000 men, and these were unacquainted with each other, and mostly unaccustomed to move with regularity, or to act in concert.

On the 17th of August the British fleet in the Chesapeake was greatly augmented by the arrival of Admiral Cochrane, who had been sent out with a large land force commanded by Major Ross, in pursuance of the resolution which had been taken by the British government "to destroy and lay waste such towns and districts upon the coast as might be found assailable." This formidable fleet was di-

vided into three parts, one of which carrying General Ross, and commanded by Admiral Cochrane, proceeded up the Patuxent; one under Captain Gordon ascended the Potomac; and the third under Sir Peter Parker, went further up the Chesapeake, as if to threaten Baltimore.

On the 19th General Ross landed at Benedict with 5000 infantry; on the 20th he commenced his march, keeping along the right bank of the Patuxent. His object was in the first instance to co-operate with Admiral Cockburn in the destruction of Commodore Barney's squadron, which that Admiral had for some time been blockading. On the 22nd the expedition reached Pig Point, and desecrated the broad pendant of the American flotilla. They instantly advanced to the attack; but on their approach the Americans abandoned their fleet, and sixteen out of the seventeen boats of which it was composed, were blown into the air. Commodore Barney, no longer able to secure them, thus prevented their falling into the hands of the British, who were now distant only sixteen miles from Washington.

On the afternoon of the 20th of August, when General Winder was apprised of the danger of the capital, he left it with his force and advanced towards the enemy. On the 22nd the main body of his army being encamped about half way from Marlborough to Washington, a detachment under Major Peter met and annoyed the British at Marlborough. On this day, Commodore Barney united his marines with the army. On the night of the 23rd, the British rested only five miles from the American camp. The president of the United States, the secretary of war, and some of the other heads of department, here visited General Winder, and it was resolved to fall back nearer to the capital for the purpose of concentrating the American force, and as is suggested by some, from fear of a night attack. The same retreating policy was pursued until General Winder had recrossed the eastern branch of the Potomac. Here he made provisions for guarding the bridge, it being supposed the enemy would attempt the capital from this point. In the mean time, the militia from Baltimore, under General Stansbury, advanced to the relief of Washington. These, to the number of 2200, including a company of artillery, rested on the night of the 23rd, near Bladensburg. Being under orders to join General Winder, they commenced their march on the morning of the 24th. But it was now discovered that although General Winder, or those under whose direction he acted, had carefully set a trap at the great bridge on the east branch, the British commander did not choose to fall into it, but had taken for safety a more circuitous route, and was marching past Washington, to gain the Bladensburg road on the north. On his march for Washington, General Stansbury met the order of General Winder to retrace his steps to Bladensburg, and there give battle to the enemy. Almost exhausted by fatigue and the heat of the season, he obeyed the order. On his march he was met by Colonel Monroe, secretary of state, who had been scouring the adjacent country for volunteers. He proposed to Stansbury his making a movement to get in the enemy's rear; but that general being under orders to the contrary, did not feel at liberty to follow this judicious counsel. About noon he met the enemy near Bladensburg. General Winder soon came up with the main body. The president and heads of department were on the field, but left it (except Colonel Monroe, who was active in forming

and bringing forward the cavalry of General Stansbury) about the time the action commenced; probably having documents of great importance to secure, as the event of the day was doubtful. Here ensued a contest in which, as might have been expected from the condition of the American troops, the British were victorious. Commodore Barney, with his little band of marines, fought valiantly, and for some time held the British in check; but he was at length wounded and made prisoner. The regulars and militia of the district of Columbia stood their ground for a time, but at length left the field and retreated towards Washington. They were now joined by fresh militia from Virginia, and upon the heights they formed again, and once more interposed a barrier between the seat of their country's government and the British. But on surveying their numbers, wasted by the flight of many timid, and the fall of a few brave men, they were found inadequate to the task of its defence; and with sorrow they heard the order to retire, and leave the capital of their country to the mercy of her enemies.

General Ross entered Washington at eight in the evening, and with a Goth-like barbarism, disgraced himself and his country, by destroying the monuments of taste and literature, with which the young republic had embellished her chosen seat. The British commenced with destroying the capitol, which was in an unfinished state, the extensive library, public records, and whatever else of value it contained. The public offices and the president's house, were wantonly sacrificed, together with many private dwellings. The public stores at the navy-yard, and the vessels on the stocks, were burned by order of the president, to prevent their falling into the hands of the invaders. The elegant bridge across the Potomac was also destroyed. The loss of public property alone amounted to 1,000,000 of dollars. They left Washington on the evening of the 25th, and proceeded without any opposition to their ships, which they reached on the evening of the 27th.

The loss of the Americans in the battle of Bladensburg, was 30 killed and 50 wounded; that of the enemy, 249 in killed and wounded. Their loss during this expedition, amounted to 400 killed and wounded, besides 500 who were taken prisoners or deserted.

Had the British confined themselves to the capture and destruction of public property appropriated to warlike purposes, their conquest would have been untarnished. The Americans would have felt deeply their humiliation, and the resentment of the nation might, as was expected in England, have fallen heavily upon the public servants; but the manner in which the advantage was used, produced in the minds of the people a stern vindictive feeling against the conquerors, which swallowed up all minor resentments, and united the nation, not in a wish for peace, but in firm resolves for war.

In the mean time, the squadron under Captain Gordon passed up the Potomac without opposition, and appeared before Alexandria on the 27th of August. The inhabitants entered into a capitulation, by which they delivered up their merchandise and shipping to the British, who, laden with a rich booty, returned to the ocean, though not without being much annoyed from the shore as they passed.

The squadron, which had sailed up the Chesapeake under Sir Peter Parker, landed about 250 marines for the purpose of surprising 200 militia, who were encamped near Bellair, under Colonel

Reed. They were repulsed with the loss of 41 killed and wounded. Sir Peter Parker was mortally wounded.

Admiral Cochrane having received on board his fleet the conquerors of Washington, the combined land and sea forces moved in the confidence of victory to the attack of Baltimore. After passing down the Patuxent, they ascended the Chesapeake, and on the 11th of September appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco, fourteen miles from Baltimore. On the morning of the 12th, General Ross, with an army amounting to about 5000, debarked at North Point, and commenced his march towards the city.

General Smith commanded the whole force of the defenders. Watching the movements of the enemy, he dispatched about 2300 men under General Stricker, who on the 11th marched towards North Point. They halted at night seven miles from the city. On the morning of the 12th, information was received of the landing of the British, and General Stricker advanced to meet him. A skirmish between the advanced parties ensued, in which General Ross was killed. The command then devolved on Colonel Brooke, who having the instructions of General Ross, continued to move forward. An action commenced at about half past three, by a discharge of cannon on both sides. After maintaining the contest for some time, the Americans gave way, and General Stricker retired behind the entrenchments on the heights, where General Smith was stationed with the main army.

On the morning of the 13th, the British army advanced within a mile and a half of the intrenchments, and made several manœuvres to draw forth the Americans, which were so met by General Smith, that they could not obtain their object; but on the contrary, the republicans maintained the advantage of ground and position. Colonel Brooke was aware that they were superior to him in numbers as well as position; he therefore made no attempt upon them during the day, but disposed his troops for a night attack. In the evening he received a communication from Admiral Cochrane, the commander of the naval forces, informing him that fort M'Henry had resisted all his efforts, and that the entrance of the harbour was blocked up by vessels sunk for that purpose, and that a naval co-operation against the town and camp was impracticable. Colonel Brooke resolved therefore not to hazard an attack, but moved off in the night, and on the 15th re-embarked at North Point.

Great was the joy of the inhabitants of Baltimore, at the success of their efforts for the preservation of their city; and the warmest gratitude was manifested to those whose vigorous exertions had saved them from the dreaded invasion. Among these, the defenders of fort M'Henry were particularly remembered.

The harbours of New York, New London and Boston, continued to be closely blockaded. The humanity of Commodore Hardy, in his incursions into the interior, affords a striking contrast to the brutality of Admiral Cockburn, and the squadron in the Chesapeake. In some cases, however, but contrary to his orders, private property was destroyed by parties of officers and marines.

On the 11th of July, Commodore Hardy with eight ships and 2000 men, made a descent upon the coast of Maine, and, without resistance, took possession of Eastport and all the towns on the west side of Passamaquoddy Bay. Many of the inhabitants remained, but it was on the condition of



acknowledging themselves the subjects of Great Britain.

In August, the governor of New Brunswick, with the aid of Admiral Griffith, undertook an expedition to the Penobscot river. They took possession of Castine, which was previously evacuated, and proceeded up the river to Hamden, where the frigate John Adams had been placed for preservation. The militia who had been stationed for its defence, fled on their approach, and the frigate was blown up, to prevent its falling into the hands of the British. A proclamation was issued by the council of New Brunswick, declaring the country east of the Penobscot in possession of the king of Great Britain; and a direct communication was opened between New Brunswick and Canada. The British continued to occupy this section of Maine until the close of the war.

Early in August, the enemy's ships under Commodore Hardy, appeared before Stonington, in Connecticut, and threatened the destruction of the town. They commenced a severe attack, but were repulsed by a battery of two eighteen-pounders and a small band of militia. They then proceeded to another part of the town, which they expected to find defenceless; but here the well directed fire of a six-pounder, forced them to retire to their ships. They bombarded the place during the night, and in the morning renewed the attack; but finding the place so gallantly defended, at the end of three days the Commodore retired.

*British force in Canada increased—Sir George Prevost advances to Plattsburg—Engagement in the bay of Plattsburg—Americans annoy the British merchant-vessels—Naval engagements—Difficulties of the Americans—Convention at Hartford.*

During the months of July and August, the British army in Canada was augmented by another considerable body of those troops, who had, under Lord Wellington, acquired experience and reputation in the war of the Spanish peninsula. With these troops, Sir George Prevost determined to invade America, by the same route that Burgoyne had formerly pursued. Like that general, his hopes were sanguine, that if he appeared in force in the country, the inhabitants would join him; and like Burgoyne, it is said that a part of his baggage consisted of arms and clothing for those who he expected would flock to his standard. The American smugglers, wishing to court the favour of the British, had encouraged these hopes, which the republican party accused the federalists of exciting. Prevost's plan of operations is supposed by some to have resembled that of Burgoyne in another respect, and that he had hopes of being able to penetrate, by the way of lake Champlain and the Hudson river, to New York.

The army at Plattsburg had been reduced by the departure of General Izard for fort Erie. Sir George Prevost seized this opportunity for making the projected invasion. Having concentrated his force on the frontier of Canada, he entered the American territory on the 3rd of September. From Champlain, he issued a proclamation, assuring the inhabitants that his arms would only be directed against the government, and those who supported it; while no injury should be done to the peaceful and unoffending. The fire of genuine patriotism kindled in the breasts of the Americans, at the news that the foot of an invader pressed the soil of their country. The inhabitants of the northern part of New York,

and the hardy sons of the green mountains, rose in arms without distinction of party, and hastened towards the scene of action.

A different disposition, however, prevailed among a few individuals of the federal party, in Vermont; and among these was the governor, who belonged to the federal party,—a well meaning man, but too much under the influence of others. Stationing himself at Burlington, he endeavoured to dissuade the volunteers from crossing to Plattsburg, stating that General Macomb did not need their services. In consequence, some were actually returning. At the solicitation of Colonel Fasset, of the regular army, a special messenger crossed to Plattsburg, to obtain a written request for their services from General Macomb. General Strong, a federalist, and a highly respectable farmer and country gentleman, and who, on his arrival at Plattsburg, was chosen to command the volunteers, was earnestly urged by the governor and his friends, not to embark in the enterprise. The political obloquy which these measures cast upon the party, and particularly on the individuals concerned, will remain a salutary warning to others under similar circumstances.

Sir George Prevost advanced at the head of 14,000 troops, in two columns, upon Plattsburg. One column, with all the baggage and artillery, proceeded by the lake road, and the other, under the command of General Brisbane, by Beekmantown. Major Appling, with his corps of riflemen, and Major Sproul, with a detachment of the 13th regiment of infantry, were ordered on the Lake road, to check the advance of the enemy; which they endeavoured to do, by destroying bridges and felling trees in the road. On the 4th and 5th of September, the British advanced on both roads, and the column under General Brisbane encamped on the Beekmantown road, eight miles from Plattsburg, and two miles from General Mooers, who had 700 militia under his command. On the night of the 5th and 6th, General Macomb ordered Major Wool, with 230 regulars, to join General Mooers, and to give support to the militia, in retarding the advance of the enemy. At the dawn of day, General Brisbane broke up his encampment, and resumed his line of march for Plattsburg. He was met by Major Wool, about seven miles from the latter place. A skirmish ensued, but in consequence of the superior force of the British, he was compelled to retreat, not, however, without disputing every inch of ground to Plattsburg, killing and wounding 120; among whom was Lieut.-colonel Wellington. Major Wool lost 45, killed and wounded. Sir George arrived in the course of the morning, with the main column, and encamped his whole army before Plattsburg.

The situation of General Macomb was critical in the extreme. His whole regular force did not exceed 2000, and his fortifications were merely a show of defence. Had Sir George pursued Major Wool across the Saranac, on the morning of the 6th, he no doubt could have taken with ease the forts occupied by General Macomb and his army. Prevost has been censured for this delay, which gave his enemy time to increase his force; but the British commander, expecting that a part of the inhabitants would unite with him, calculated that his own force would also be augmented. Preferring to wait until the two fleets should have settled the question of the supremacy of the lake, he contented himself with doing little else than to erect seven batteries to assist in that which he considered certain,—the capture of General Macomb and his army.

On the morning of the 11th of September, Sir George formed his army in two columns, preparatory to an assault. Accordingly, one column passed the Saranac, and placed itself in rear of the American position. The other column was in the village in front, ready to advance whenever the order might be given, or circumstances might justify. Such was the position of the British army, when the British fleet made its appearance in the Bay of Plattsburg. It was commanded by Commodore Downie, and composed of the *Confiance*, a frigate of 39 guns, a brig of sixteen, two sloops of eleven, and several galleys, mounting in the whole, 95 guns, and having 1000 men. The American squadron, under Commodore Macdonough, was anchored in the bay. It mounted 86 guns, and had only 820 men. It consisted of the *Saratoga*, carrying 26 guns, the *Eagle* of 20 guns, the *Ticonderoga*, of seventeen, the *Preble*, of seven, and ten galleys.

The British having the advantage of choice of position, anchored within 300 yards of the American line, and at 9 o'clock, commenced the action. The *Confiance* was opposed to the *Saratoga*, the enemy's brig to the *Eagle*; one sloop assisting their brig and ship, while the *Saratoga* and *Eagle* were supported by one division of the galleys, the remaining division being opposed to the schooner, sloop, and thirteen galleys of the enemy.

The surface of the lake was unruffled, and for one hour and a half, the *Saratoga* and *Confiance* poured upon each other a most destructive fire, while the smaller vessels commenced a close and spirited action. The *Eagle* then cut her cable, and passing between the *Ticonderoga* and *Saratoga*, increased the danger of the American commodore, by leaving him exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy's brig. His guns were dismantled, or had become unmanageable; when by the skilful manœuvre of winding his ship, (in which Commodore Downie was unsuccessful,) he brought a fresh broadside to bear upon the *Confiance*; and she surrendered. A broadside was then poured upon the brig, which in fifteen minutes surrendered. The sloop opposed to the *Eagle*, as also that engaged with the galleys, struck some time before. Three of the galleys were sunk, and the remainder escaped in a shattered condition. A frigate, brig, and two sloops of war were the trophies of the victory. The action lasted two hours and a half, and the shattered appearance of both squadrons bore witness to the severity of the conflict. Commodore Downie was slain, with 84 men. One hundred and ten men were wounded. The loss of the Americans was 52 killed, and 58 wounded.

At the moment of the engagement between the fleets, the British opened their land batteries upon the American works, but with little effect. They ceased however with the victory on the lake, when Sir George recalled his columns from the contemplated assault, and commenced his retreat towards Canada, leaving behind large quantities of ammunition and military stores. The column placed in the rear of the Americans, was pursued by General Strong, with his militia, when the soldiers of one company were either killed, wounded or captured.

Affairs interesting to the belligerents were also transacted on the ocean.

During the month of April, Commodore Porter returned from his cruise in the Pacific ocean. He had sailed from the Delaware in the autumn of 1812, and after cruising off the eastern coast of South America for some time, he steered for the Pacific ocean, and arrived at Valparaiso in March 1813.

He proceeded to Lima. From thence he went to the Gallipagos Islands, and cruised among them until October. Here he greatly annoyed the British commerce, particularly the whale fishery. He captured twelve armed whale ships, whose aggregate force amounted to 107 guns, and 302 men.

Of these prizes, the *Atlantic* was equipped with twenty guns, intended chiefly as a store ship, and with the name of *Essex Junior*, given in command to Lieutenant Downs. With this vessel, Downs conducted the prizes made by Porter, to the neutral port of Valparaiso.

Alarmed by the successes of the *Essex*, the British admiralty had sent out Commodore Hillyar with the *Pehbe* frigate, carrying 53 guns, and a complement of 320 men, accompanied by Captain Tucker, with the *Cherub* sloop of war, mounting 28 guns, and having 180 men, making his whole force 81 guns and 500 men.

On learning the vicinity of this force, by the return of Lieutenant Downs, Commodore Porter steered for the island of Noaheevah, for the purpose of refitting his vessel. He took possession of the island in the name of the American government, named it in honour of the president, Madison's island, and established a friendly intercourse among the natives, whom he had found in a state of hostility. Leaving three of his vessels under the charge of Lieutenant Gamble, he proceeded to Valparaiso, and there, as he expected, met with Commodore Hillyar, who had been seeking him for five months. The *Essex* mounted 46 guns, but her crew at this time consisted of only 250 men; the *Essex Junior* was manned by 60. Finding to his regret that his force was greatly inferior to that of his adversary, Commodore Porter remained blockaded in the port for six weeks.

Determined to attempt an escape, the wind being favourable, he set sail on the 28th of March, 1814. On rounding the point at the entrance of the bay a sudden squall carried away his main topmast. The British gave him chase with both their ships. In his disabled state he anchored in a small bay, within pistol shot of the shore, hoping that Commodore Hillyar would respect the neutrality of the place. Perceiving that they continued to approach, Porter made every preparation in his power to meet them, and sustain the honour of his flag. The British vessels commenced the attack, but so vigorously was it met, that in the course of half an hour the *Phebe* and *Cherub* were so much disabled as to retire for repairing damages. The crew of the *Essex* had suffered severely from the hot raking fire of the British; but they still showed a spirit of brave and determined resistance. A tremendous firing was soon renewed. The *Phebe* being enabled to choose her distance, took a station out of the reach of the guns of the *Essex*, while with her long guns she poured upon the American frigate a destructive fire; many of the guns had all their men destroyed, and one was manned three times during the action. Porter next endeavoured to board his antagonist, but his masts and rigging were shot away, and his ship became unmanageable. He next determined to run his vessel on shore, land his men, and destroy her; but the wind shifting, he was blown into a situation to receive the raking fire of the British. His ship caught fire. The flames burst in all directions, and the brave men were threatened with instant death from the explosion of the magazine, near which the fire had taken. The boats had been cut to pieces, and the sailors received permission to

swim for the shore, but most of them preferred remaining with the commander to share the fate of the ship; the enemy still firing upon them. The sailors succeeded in extinguishing the flames of the *Essex*, not however until a considerable quantity of powder was exploded. With a desperate resolution they again went to their guns.

Commodore Porter now determined to consult his officers on the expediency of surrendering, when, to his surprise, Lieutenant M'Knight was the only remaining officer to be consulted. The commodore then gave his orders to strike the colours; only 75 of the crew of the *Essex* remaining, the rest being killed or wounded. The loss of the enemy was also severe. Both vessels were in a sinking state.

Commodore Porter was sent on parole, in the *Essex Junior*, to the United States, where he was received at New York with distinguished honours.

On the 21st of April the United States' sloop of war, *Frolic*, commanded by Commodore Bainbridge, was captured by the *Orpheus* frigate. On the 29th of the same month, the United sloop, the *Peacock*, of which Captain Warrington was the commander, captured the British brig *Epervier*, commanded by Captain Wales. The action took place in latitude 27 degrees, 47 minutes, north, and longitude 30 degrees, 9 minutes. During its continuance, which was 45 minutes, the *Epervier* had eight men killed and fifteen wounded, while the *Peacock* escaped without a man killed, and two slightly wounded.

The *Wasp*, commanded by Captain Blakely, left Portsmouth, (New Hampshire,) on the 18th of May. On the 28th of June, near the entrance to St. George's Channel, she fell in with the English brig *Reindeer*, commanded by Captain Manners. After an action of nineteen minutes the *Reindeer* having lost her commander and purser, and 27 men killed and 42 wounded, and having made two unsuccessful attempts to board the *Wasp*, was herself boarded by the American vessel and forced to strike her colours. She was so much injured during the engagement, that the next day she was burned. The Americans lost in the action 26 killed and wounded.

The *Wasp* continued her cruise, and after making several captures, put into the port of L'Orient, in France, on the 8th of July. She remained there until the 27th of August, and when four days at sea she met the brig *Avon*, commanded by Captain Arbuthnot. After a severe action of 45 minutes, and after orders were given to board her, three British vessels appeared in sight, and Captain Blakely was compelled to abandon his prize. The *Avon* sunk soon after he left her. During the remainder of the cruise, Captain Blakely captured fifteen merchant vessels; but he never returned to port; nor is it known what was the fate of the vessel and her gallant crew.

The last naval battle, ended in the loss of the American frigate *President*, then under the command of Commodore Decatur. Four British vessels were off Sandy Hook, blockading the harbour of New York; the *Pomone*, the *Tenedos*, the *Majestic*, and the *Endymion*. Commodore Decatur attempted to put to sea on the 15th of January, 1815; when they gave chase, and after eighteen hours he was brought to an engagement with the *Endymion*. For two hours and a half the action continued, and Decatur had silenced the guns of his adversary, when the whole fleet appeared. Having one-fifth of his crew killed or wounded, and being opposed by a force greatly superior to his own, he no longer hesitated to surrender.

In October, communications were received from

the American commissioners in Europe. Great Britain demanded such terms as extinguished the hopes of a speedy reconciliation. The situation of affairs in the United States was such as to alarm the friends of their country. The expenditure of the nation greatly exceeded its income, its credit was low, its finances disordered, and a most bitter opposition was manifested to every measure of the administration; yet its congress did not shrink from the duties which the crisis imposed. New loans were authorized, taxes augmented, and every preparation made for prosecuting the war with increased vigour. Mr. Munroe was appointed secretary of war, in the place of General Armstrong.

The opposition had at this time assumed a bold attitude; some of the New England states, as has been related, refused to call out their militia, and Massachusetts even proposed to withhold the revenue of the state from the general government. A convention of delegates from the New England states was proposed, the object of which was, to take into consideration the situation of the country, and to decide upon such measures as might lead to a redress of supposed grievances. Members were appointed by the legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Two members from New Hampshire and one from Vermont were appointed at county meetings. The convention met at Hartford, in Connecticut, on the 15th of December, 1814, and sat nearly three weeks with closed doors. After their adjournment they published an address, charging the national government with pursuing measures hostile to the interests of New England, and recommending amendments of the federal constitution. Among these amendments, it was proposed that congress should have no power to lay an embargo for more than 60 days, that they should not interdict commercial intercourse, or declare war, without the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses; that no person, who should be thereafter naturalized, should be eligible to a seat in the senate, or house of representatives, or hold any civil office under the government of the United States; and that the same person should not be twice elected to the office of president of the United States, nor the president elected from the same state for two successive terms. A resolution was passed, providing for the calling of another convention, if the United States "should refuse their consent to arrangements whereby the New England states, separately or in concert, might be empowered to assume upon themselves the defence of their territory against the enemy, and appropriate therefore such part of the revenue raised in those states as might be necessary." The committee appointed by the convention to communicate these resolves to the government of the union, subsequently met at Washington the news of peace.

The proposed alterations of the constitution were submitted to the several states, and rejected by all except Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Probably there had been no measure taken since America was a nation, so odious to the great bulk of the people of the United States, as this convention, or which subjected the agents to such severe personal as well as political censure. It is but right to give however the following defence made by one of the leading members of that body. "The Hartford Convention, far from being the original contrivance of a cabal, for any purpose of faction or disunion, was a *result*, growing by natural consequences out of existing circumstances. More than

a year previous to its institution, a convention was simultaneously called for by the people, in their town meetings, in all parts of Massachusetts. Petitions to that effect were accumulated on the tables of the legislative chamber. They were postponed for twelve months by the influence of those who now sustain the odium of the measure. The adoption of it was the consequence, not the source of a popular sentiment; and it was intended, by those who voted for it, as a safety-valve by which the steam, arising from the fermentation of the times, might escape, not as a boiler in which it should be generated. Whether good or ill, it was a measure of the people, of states, of legislatures. How unjust to brand the unwilling agents, the mere committee of legislative bodies, with the stigma of acts which were first authorized, and then sanctioned by their constituted assemblies."

*Proceedings in the south—La Fitte's disclosures—Pensacola surrenders to the Americans—General Jackson's preparations at New Orleans—Capture of the American flotilla—Contests between the armies—Sir E. Packenham arrives with the main body of the British—Jackson's Proceedings with the legislature of Louisiana—Battle of New Orleans—Sir E. Packenham killed—Subsequent rencontres—British abandon the expedition—Fort Bowyer surrenders—Peace proclaimed.*

After the peace with the Creeks, and about the first of August, General Jackson fixed his head-quarters at Mobile. Here he learned that three British ships had entered the harbour of Pensacola, and landed about 300 men, under Colonel Nicholls, and a large quantity of guns and ammunition, for the purpose of arming the Indians. General Jackson also heard that the British meditated a descent, with a large force, upon the southern shores of the United States. He immediately made a call for the militia of Tennessee, and was promptly furnished with 2000 men by that patriotic state.

Colonel Nicholls issued from Mobile a proclamation, which was addressed to the inhabitants of Louisiana, Kentucky, or Tennessee, inviting them to return to their allegiance, and help to restore the country to its rightful owner. This proclamation produced no other effect but contempt. If this attempt manifested Nicholls a weak man, another brought him greater odium. West of the mouth of the Mississippi, the island of Barrataria was the resort of a band of marauders, who, by their daring courage, and the celerity and mysterious secrecy of their movements, kept the country in a state of perpetual alarm; now appearing, to strike some unexpected blow of robbery, perhaps of murder, sometimes by sea, sometimes by land, then suddenly disappearing, and constantly eluding pursuit. Their numbers were formidable, amounting to 500 or 600. Their leader, La Fitte, was subtle and courageous; possessing traits of magnanimity, yet unprincipled, as the chieftain of such a band must of course be. They had made a pretence of sailing under the Carthaginian flag, as privateers, but their prizes were condemned in their own ports. In short, they were by land, robbers; by sea, pirates. The American authorities, by whom they were outlawed, having endeavoured to root them out, applied to the British to lend their assistance. Instead of this, Nicholls, disclosing to La Fitte that a powerful attempt was to be made on New Orleans, offered him a large reward, if, by his knowledge of the

passes, he would aid the British in their approach to the threatened city.

La Fitte drew from him important facts, and then dismissing his propositions with disdain, disclosed the whole to Claiborne, governor of Louisiana. Struck with this act of the pirate's generosity to a country which had set a price upon his head, and perceiving how valuable would be the services of the Barratarians in the crisis which was approaching, Governor Claiborne, by a proclamation, offered pardon to the whole band, if they would come forward in the present crisis in defence of the country. They joyfully accepted the proposition, and afterwards rendered essential services.

General Jackson had represented to the government, that the Spanish were not performing the part of a neutral nation, but were suffering the British to use the port of Pensacola for the purpose of annoyance to the Americans, and he therefore urged the propriety of taking it into possession during the war. Not having received an answer, he determined to hazard the responsibility of taking possession of the port without the orders of the government. Having received his reinforcements, about the 30th of October he marched from Mobile, at the head of nearly 2000 men. Having arrived in the neighbourhood of Pensacola, on the 6th of November he sent a flag to the governor, for the purpose of conference, but his messenger was fired upon. On the 7th, he entered the town, at a place where he had not been prepared for, or expected. A battery was however formed in the street; but this was soon carried at the point of the bayonet, and the governor capitulated. The British troops destroyed the forts at the entrance of the harbour, and with their shipping evacuated the bay. Jackson now returned to Mobile. He had received information that Admiral Cochrane had been reinforced at Bermuda, and that thirteen ships of the line, with transports and an army of 10,000 men, were advancing. Believing New Orleans to be the place of their destination, he marched for that place, and reached it on the 1st of December.

Early in the month of September, the inhabitants of Louisiana were impressed with the belief that the British were about to invade them with a powerful force, and their principal citizens, among whom were Governor Claiborne, and Mr. Edward Livingston, beheld the prospect with well-grounded alarm. This portion of the union having been but recently annexed, its yeomanry felt not the same pride of country as those of the older states. New Orleans being assailable from so many points, it was difficult to secure it in all. Yet, far from being discouraged by difficulties, these patriotic citizens felt them only as stimulants to greater exertions. Governor Claiborne issued his proclamation, calling on the people to arouse for the defence of their country and their homes. Mr. Livingston, at a meeting of the citizens who convened on the 16th of September to devise measures in co-operation with the government of the state, made an eloquent and moving appeal, calling on the inhabitants to prove the assertion a slander, that they were not attached to the American government. The people aroused; defences were commenced, guarding the principal passes, and volunteer corps were organized. In the mean time, General Jackson arrived, and all classes concurred in putting him at the head of affairs. His powerful talents and invariable success in war, had already made him regarded, particularly near the seat of his victories, as invincible; and believing

that he could and would preserve them in safety, or lead them to victory, the inhabitants were content to put all their strength, pecuniary and physical, at his disposal. Confident in his own energies, he took, with a firm and unwavering step, the perilous post assigned him; satisfied that his own breast should be the first to meet the shock which menaced his country.

It was ascertained that the British with 60 sail of the line, were off Ship Island. Jackson neglected no measure which might increase his military force, or make it more effective, or that would put at his disposal more labouring hands, in the building of defences. The motley population of New Orleans, the slaves, the free people of colour, Frenchmen, Spaniards and Americans, all were employed.

The British had passed into lake Borgne. A naval force consisting of several small vessels, under Lieutenant Jones, met them at one of the straits which connect that lake with the Ponchartrain. The British, being provided with a great number of boats, sent 43, with 1200 men, against the American flotilla, which was manned with only 180 men. After a gallant defence, in which Lieutenant Jones sunk several of their barges, he was compelled to surrender his fleet to the superior force of the assailants. The loss of this fleet, which had been supposed adequate to defend the passes, placed New Orleans in still greater danger. Having reason to believe that there were persons in the city who carried intelligence to the British, an embargo was laid for three days. That not an idle hand might be found, the prisons were cleared, on condition that the prisoners should labour in the ranks. La Fitte and the Barratarians arrived, and were employed. To keep in order and direct the energies of such a mass, General Jackson judged that the strong arm of military control only could be effectual. The danger of the times was extreme; it was a case of preservation or destruction, which a few days must decide, and the general took the daring responsibility of proclaiming martial law.

On the morning of the 22nd of December, 3000 British troops, under General Kean, landed at the head of lake Borgne, and at two o'clock, after making prisoners of a small advanced party of Americans, they posted themselves about nine miles below New Orleans. General Jackson lost no time in preparing to meet them. Apprehending that they would pass the strait from lake Borgne to lake Ponchartrain, and thus make a double attack, he posted part of his force under General Carroll, on the Gentilly road, so as to intercept their approach in that direction. At five on the afternoon of the 23rd, General Jackson, accompanied by General Coffee, having the co-operation of the Caroline, an armed vessel, attacked the enemy in their position on the bank of the river. The charge of the Americans was bravely made, but the British troops maintained their position. A thick fog coming on, General Jackson, whose men were now for the first time acting in concert, deemed it prudent to draw off his army. Having rested on the field, he withdrew on the morning of the 24th, to a stronger position, two miles nearer the city. The loss of the Americans was about 100, in killed, wounded, and missing; that of the British, 224 killed, besides a large number wounded.

In the discretion with which General Jackson now took his position, and the diligence, care and activity with which he fortified it, consists much of the merit of his defence of New Orleans. His

camp occupied both banks of the Mississippi. On the left was a parapet of a thousand yards in length, in the construction of which bags of cotton were used, with a ditch in front, containing five feet of water. The right wing of the division here posted, rested on a river, and the left on a wood which nature and art had rendered impervious. On the right bank of the river, a heavy battery enfiladed the whole front of the position on the left. The entire army were vigorously occupied in strengthening these lines.

In the mean time, the British who had been greatly annoyed by the fire of the Caroline, constructed a battery, which by means of hot shot, set fire to the vessel, and blew her up; she having been one hour before abandoned by her crew.

On the 25th Sir Edward Packenham, the commander-in-chief of the British force, accompanied by Major-general Gibbs, arrived at the British encampment with the main army, and a large body of artillery. On the 28th, Sir Edward advanced with his army and artillery, intending to force Jackson from his position. At the distance of half a mile from the American camp, he opened upon their yet unfinished works a heavy cannonade. This was met on the part of the Americans, by the broadsides of the Louisiana, then lying in the river, and by the fire of their batteries. After maintaining the contest for seven hours, the British commander retired with the loss of 120 men. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable, being only six killed and twelve wounded.

While engaged in the conflict of the 28th, General Jackson was informed that plans were forming in the legislature of Louisiana, then in session, for entering into negotiations with the British. In the moment of irritation, he sent an order to Governor Claiborne, to watch their conduct, and if such a project was disclosed, to place a military guard at the door, and confine them to their chamber. Governor Claiborne, misconstrued the order, and placed a guard which prevented their assembling.

Eaton in his life of General Jackson, says, "My object in this, remarked the general, was that then they would be able to proceed with their business, without producing the slightest injury; whatever schemes they might entertain would remain with themselves, without the power of circulating them to the prejudice of any other interest than their own. I had intended to have had them well treated, and kindly dealt by; and thus obstructed from every thing passing without doors, a better opportunity would have been afforded them to enact good and wholesome laws. But Governor Claiborne mistook my order, and instead of shutting them in-doors, contrary to my wishes and expectations, turned them out."

(1815.) On the morning of the 1st of January, the British having constructed batteries near the American lines, immediately opened a heavy fire upon them, and at the same time made an attempt to turn their left flank. They were repulsed, and in the evening abandoned their position. The loss of the Americans on this occasion, was six killed and 24 wounded. The British were supposed to have had 120 men killed.

On the 4th of January, General Jackson received a reinforcement of 2500 Kentucky militia, under General Adair. On the 6th, the British army was augmented by 4000 troops under General Lambert. Their army amounted at this time to 14,000, while that of General Jackson did not exceed 6000.

On the 7th, the British commanders were making the most vigorous preparations for a meditated attack. At immense labour they had widened and deepened the canal from lake Borgne to the Mississippi, so that, on the night of the seventh, they succeeded in getting their boats from the lake to the river. Early on the morning of the 8th, the American army was assailed by a shower of bullets and Congreve rockets. The British army marched in two divisions under General Gibbs and General Kean, the whole commanded by Sir Edward Packenham, to storm the American intrenchments. The American batteries opened a brisk fire upon them, but the soldiers advanced slowly, though firmly, carrying fascines and scaling-ladders. The keen and practised eyes of the western marksmen were, as they advanced, selecting their men. When the British were within reach of their rifles, the advanced line fired, and each brought down his man. Those behind handed a second loaded rifle as soon as the first was discharged. The plain was strewn with the dead, and the British faltered and retreated in confusion. Sir Edward appeared among them, encouraging them to renew the assault. Two balls struck him, and he fell, mortally wounded. A second time the British columns advanced, and a second time retreated before the deadly fire of the Americans. Again their thinned ranks were closed, and they moved forward with desperate resolution. Generals Kean and Gibbs were now both wounded, and carried from the field. Their troops fell back. At this time General Lambert, who commanded the reserve, attempted to bring them up, but the day was irretrievably lost. The retreating columns had fallen back in disorder upon the reserve, and all his attempts to rally were vain.

In the mean time, the battle was raging upon the opposite side of the river. Gen. Jackson had there placed the Kentucky militia, to guard his battery and annoy the British. Previous to the commencement of the action, Sir Edward Packenham had sent Colonel Thornton, with a strong detachment to make an attack upon these batteries, simultaneous with his own. Thornton was completely successful. The Kentucky militia, after having spiked the cannon, ingloriously fled, and left to the enemy the strong position which they occupied. General Lambert, now in command, and defeated on the left bank of the river, learning the success of Thornton, sent an artillery-officer to examine the position, who, giving it as his opinion that the post could not be securely held without 2000 men, he concluded to abandon it, and accordingly ordered Colonel Thornton to rejoin the main army. The disparity of loss on this occasion is utterly astonishing; that of the British was 2600, while that of the Americans was but seven killed and six wounded! On the 9th, both armies returned to their former position. From this period until the 18th, a bombardment was kept up by the British fleet at fort St. Philips, while General Jackson continued to annoy the troops with his artillery. On the night of the 18th, the British retreated, leaving behind them their wounded and artillery.

On the 7th of February, fort Bowyer, commanded by Major Lawrence, with a garrison amounting to 370, was invested by a British force, 6000 strong. Resistance against so superior a force must of necessity be unavailing, and Major Lawrence surrendered his garrison as prisoners of war.

On the 17th of February, while the Americans were yet rejoicing for the victory at New Orleans,

a special messenger arrived from Europe, bringing a treaty of peace, which the commissioners had concluded in the month of December, at Ghent. This treaty, which was immediately ratified by the president and senate, stipulated that all places taken during the war, should be restored, and the boundaries between the American and British dominions revised. Yet it contained no express provision against those maritime outrages on the part of Great Britain, which were the chief causes of the war. But as the orders in council had been repealed, and the motives for the impressment of seamen had ceased with the wars in Europe, these causes no longer existed in fact; although America had failed, as Europe, combined under the name of the armed neutrality, had formerly done, to compel England to the formal relinquishment of the principles on which she founds her claims.

After the promulgation of peace, news was received of the further success of the American navy. On the 20th of February, the Constitution, then under the command of Captain Stewart, when off the island of Madeira, fell in with and captured the Cyane and Levant, after a severe action of 40 minutes. The total number of killed and wounded on board the Constitution, was fifteen; that of the enemy, 38.

On the 23rd of March, an engagement took place off the coast of Brazil, between the United States sloop Hornet, Captain Biddle commander, and the British brig Penguin, which had sailed from England in September, for the purpose of capturing the Wasp. After 22 minutes, the Penguin surrendered. Her loss was fourteen killed and 28 wounded.

*War with Algiers—Decatur and Bainbridge sent to the Mediterranean—Piratical powers make peace—Treaties with the Indians—National bank—Mr. Monroe president—Mississippi admitted to the union—The illicit trade destroyed—Proceedings of the congress—Commencement of the Seminole war—General Jackson marches against them—Tria of Arbuthnot—And of Ambrister—Treaties with Great Britain and Sweden—Indian affairs—Cession of Florida.*

Soon after the ratification of peace with Great Britain, the United States declared war against Algiers. The Algerine government had violated the treaty of 1795. In 1812, under pretence that the cargo of the ship Alleghany, which had just arrived with naval stores, for the payment of tribute, did not contain such an assortment of articles as he had a right to expect, the dey of Algiers demanded additional tribute to be paid in money. After several ineffectual attempts to negotiate, Colonel Lear, the American consul, made arrangements for paying the demand, and sailed for the United States. Immediately after his departure, the dey commenced hostilities upon the commerce of the United States, in the Mediterranean. These outrages were not chastised at the time, on account of the war with Great Britain. War having been declared with Algiers, two squadrons were fitted out, under Commodores Decatur and Bainbridge. Commodore Decatur sailed from New York in May, and proceeding up the Mediterranean, captured on the 17th of June, an Algerine frigate, and on the 19th, off Cape Pelos, an Algerine brig, carrying 22 guns. From Palos, Decatur sailed for Algiers. The dey, intimidated, signed a treaty of peace, which was highly honourable and advantageous to the Ame-



icans. Decatur then proceeded to Tunis and Tripoli, where he obtained satisfaction for the unprovoked violation of the treaty subsisting between those governments and the United States, and caused the former treaties to be renewed. On his arrival at Gibraltar, Commodore Decatur joined the squadron under Commodore Bainbridge, to whom he resigned the command. Bainbridge, with this additional force, made his appearance before Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, but seeing no disposition to violate the treaties, he returned to the United States.

With a view to the tranquillity of the western and north-western frontiers, measures were taken to obtain a peace with several tribes of Indians who had been hostile to the United States. Several of their chiefs met at Detroit, on the 6th of September, and readily acceded to a renewal of their former treaties of friendship.

At the close of the war, the regular army of the United States was reduced to 10,000 men. For the better protection of the country in case of another war, congress appropriated a large sum for fortifying the sea-coast and inland frontiers, and for the increase of the navy.

(1816.) In April an act was passed by congress to establish a national bank, with a capital of 35,000,000 of dollars.

In August fort Appalachicola, which was occupied by runaway negroes and hostile Indians, was destroyed by a detachment of American troops. More than 100 were killed, and the remainder were taken prisoners.

In September General Jackson held a treaty with the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Cherokees. He made purchases of their lands, particularly favourable to the wishes and security of the frontier settlements. The tranquillity which was restored among the Indians themselves, contributed to favour the resumption of the work of civilization, which previous to the war had made considerable progress.

In December the Indiana territory was admitted into the Union as a state.

As early as the year 1790, establishments for spinning cotton, and for manufacturing coarse cotton cloths, were attempted in the state of Rhode Island. They were at first on a small scale; but as the cloths found a ready market, the number and extent of these manufactories gradually increased. The embarrassments to which commerce was subjected some years previous to the war, increased the demand for American goods, and led the people to reflect upon the importance of rendering themselves independent of the manufactures of foreign nations. During the war, large capitals were vested in manufacturing establishments, from which the capitalists realized a handsome profit. But at the close of the war, the English having made great improvements in manufacturing, and being able to sell their goods at a much lower rate than the American manufacturers could afford, the country was immediately filled by importations from England. The American manufactures being in their infancy, could not resist the shock; and many large establishments failed. The manufacturers then petitioned government for protection, to enable them to withstand the competition; and in consequence of this petition, the committee on commerce and manufactures in 1816 recommended that an additional duty should be laid on imported goods. A new tariff was accordingly formed, by which the double war imposts being removed, a small increase of duty was

laid upon some fabrics, such as coarse cotton goods. The opposition to the tariff from the commercial interest, and in some sections of the country from the agricultural, was so great, that nothing effectual was at that time done for the encouragement of manufactures.

A society for colonizing the free blacks of the United States, was first proposed in 1816, and was soon formed. This society was not under the direction of government, but was patronized by many of the first men in all parts of the Union. The society purchased land in Africa, where they yearly removed considerable numbers of the free blacks from America. The object of the society was, by removing the free negroes, to diminish the black population of the United States; and by establishing a colony in Africa, to prevent the traffic in slaves which then existed. It would also give those owners of slaves, who were desirous of liberating them, an opportunity of doing so, without exposing the country to the dangers apprehended from a numerous free black population.

(1817.) Mr. Madison's second term of office having expired, he followed the examples of his predecessors, and declined a re-election. James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins were elected president and vice-president, and entered upon their official duties March 4, 1817. During the summer of 1817, Mr. Monroe visited all the northern and eastern states, and was received with every demonstration of affection and respect.

This year a treaty was concluded by commissioners appointed by the president of the United States and the chiefs of the Wyandot, Delaware, Shawanoe, Seneca, Ottoway, Chippewa, and Potowattamie tribes of Indians, by which these tribes ceded to the United States all lands which they claimed within the limits of Ohio. The Indians were, at their option, to remain on the ceded lands subject to the laws of the United States.

The territory of Mississippi was this year admitted into the union of the states.

A band of adventurers, who pretended to act under the authority of the South American states, took possession of Amelia Island, near the boundary of Georgia, with the avowed design of invading Florida. As this island had been the subject of negotiation with the government of Spain, as an indemnity for losses by spoliations, or in exchange for lands of equal value beyond the Mississippi, the measure excited a sentiment of surprise and disapprobation; which was increased when it was found that the island was made a channel for the illicit introduction of slaves from Africa into the United States, an asylum for fugitive slaves from the neighbouring states, and a port for smuggling of every kind. An establishment of a similar nature had previously been formed on an island in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Texas. This island was also a rendezvous for smugglers; and privateers were equipped, who gave great annoyance to the commerce of the United States. These enterprises, however, proved to be merely private adventures, unauthorized by any government. The United States sent out a force, which took possession of the islands, and put a stop to the illicit trade.

The political feuds which had, since the revolution, occasioned so much animosity, were now gradually subsiding; and it was an object with the administration to remove old party prejudices, and promote union among the people. A spirit of improvement was spreading over the country: roads

and canals were constructed in almost all parts of the union, and the facilities for travelling and for conveying merchandise and produce were continually increasing. The subject of education received great attention, particularly in its primary departments. These improvements were, however, made by the state governments; among which, the wealthy state of New York, at whose head was the illustrious De Witt Clinton, took the lead. Congress caught the spirit of the times, and manifested a desire to employ the resources of the nation for these objects; and though no doubt arose as to the expediency of such a course, yet the power of that body for carrying on such a system of internal improvement, was questioned and debated. It was the opinion of President Monroe, that the general government had not this power, and could not obtain it except by an amendment of the constitution, which he recommended to the states. Military roads had been opened in the late war, but it was by order of the war department. One of these extended from Plattsburg to Sackett's Harbour, another from Detroit to the foot of the Miami rapids. The extra pay to the soldiers engaged in these works, was provided for by congress in a specific appropriation. Congress had, however, caused to be made the great Cumberland road, connecting through the seat of government, the eastern with the western states, and passing over some of the highest mountains in the union. This undertaking, however, was not decisive of the great question respecting the right of congress; but it was made under peculiar circumstances. An article of pact between the United States and the state of Ohio, under which that state came into the union, provided that such a road should be made; the expense being defrayed by money arising from the sale of public lands within that state. As the road passed through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, it was thought necessary to obtain the sanction of those several states. Accordingly, the subject was brought before their legislatures, and an act passed, approving the route, and providing for the purchase of the land. The final decision of congress was, that the constitution in its present state did not grant to them the power of expending the revenue, for internal improvements. Under several of the state governments, however, roads and canals were constructed; the most extensive of which were two in the state of New York; one leading from lake Erie, and the other from lake Champlain, to the Hudson river. The expense of these canals was defrayed entirely by the state of New York.

In the first year of Mr. Monroe's administration, an arrangement was concluded with the British government for the reduction of the naval force of Great Britain and the United States, on the lakes; and it was provided that neither party should keep in service on lake Ontario or Champlain more than one armed vessel, and on lake Erie, or any of the upper lakes, more than two, to be armed with one gun only.

For the security of the inland frontiers of the United States, military posts were established at the mouth of the Yellow Stone river, on the Missouri, about 1800 miles above its junction with the Mississippi, and at the mouth of St. Peters, on the Mississippi.

(1818.) During this year, the United States became engaged in a war with the Seminole Indians, who occupied the lands lying on the confines of the United States, and Florida; the greater part, how-

ever, lying within the dominions of the king of Spain. Outlaws from the Creek nation, negroes who had fled from their masters in the United States, and the Seminole Indians, had united in committing depredations upon the lives and property of the citizens of the United States. For many months, the southern frontier was exposed to savage and bloody incursions; the most horrid massacres had become so frequent, that the inhabitants were obliged to flee from their homes for security. The hostile spirit of the Indians was strengthened by Arbuthnot and Ambrister, two English emissaries, who had taken up their residence among them, for the purposes of trade. They were also incited by one Francis, whom they regarded as a prophet. In December 1817, a detachment of 40 men, under the command of Lieutenant Scott, was sent to the mouth of the river Appalachicola, to assist in removing some military stores to fort Scott. The party in returning, were fired upon by a body of Indians who lay in ambush upon the bank of the river, and six only escaped. Lieutenant Scott was one of the first who fell. Notwithstanding the offenders were demanded by General Gaines, the commanding officer on that frontier, the chiefs refused to deliver them up to punishment. General Jackson, with a body of Tennesseans, was now ordered to the protection of the southern frontier. In several skirmishes with the Indians, he defeated and dispersed them; and persuaded that the Spaniards were active in fomenting the Seminole war, and furnishing the Indians with supplies, he entered Florida, and took possession of fort St. Marks and Pensacola. He took as prisoners, Arbuthnot, Ambrister, and the Indian prophet Francis. A court-martial was called, at which General Gaines presided, for the trial of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. Arbuthnot was tried on the three following charges;—first, "for exciting and stirring up the Creek Indians to war against the United States and her citizens, he being a subject of Great Britain, with whom the United States are at peace." Second, "for acting as a spy, aiding, abetting, and comforting the enemy, and supplying them with the means of war." Third, "for exciting the Indians to murder and destroy William Hamby and Edmund Doyle, confiscate their property, and causing their arrest, with a view to their condemnation to death, and the seizure of their property, they being citizens of Spain; on account of their active and zealous exertions to maintain peace between Spain, the United States, and the Indians." He was found guilty of the first and second charge, omitting the words "acting as a spy," and sentenced to be hung.

Ambrister was tried on the following charges:—First, "Aiding, abetting, and comforting the enemy, and supplying them with the means of war, he being a subject of Great Britain, who was at peace with the United States, and late an officer in the British colonial marines." Second, "Leading and commanding the Lower Creek Indians, in carrying on war against the United States." The court-martial found him guilty of both charges, and sentenced him to be shot.

The treaty between the United States and Spain stipulated, that the Spanish should keep such forces as would enable them to restrain the hostilities of the Indians inhabiting their respective colonies. It was the refusal of Spain to do this, which produced the necessity of carrying the war into her provinces. The massacres committed by the savages, left no

alternative but to suffer the frontier settlements of Georgia to remain exposed to the mercy of those barbarians, or to carry the war into Florida. Pensacola and St. Marks were restored to Spain, by order of the president.

In April of this year, the governor of Georgia received information that the Phlelemmes and Hoppones, tribes of Indians, had shown indications of a hostile disposition, and that several murders had been committed by them. He accordingly ordered Captain Wright, with a company of militia, to go to the relief of the inhabitants in that part of the country. The Creeks were at this time friendly, and many of them assisted General Jackson in the Seminole war. Notwithstanding this, Capt. Wright, instead of defending the frontier from the Phlelemmes, attacked the Cheraw village, which belonged to the Creeks. Their warriors being with General Jackson, they were unable to defend the town, and Captain Wright took possession of it, murdered many of the Indians, some of their women, and reduced their dwellings to ashes. This treatment enraged the Creeks, and it was expected that they would immediately retaliate. Measures were however taken by government, to redress the injuries inflicted upon them, and they became satisfied. It seemed doubtful whether Captain Wright's proceedings arose from a misapprehension of the point of attack, or not. He was arrested by government, but escaped from prison.

The congress of this year passed a bill to admit Illinois territory into the union, by the name of the state of Illinois.

Treaties of commerce were concluded with Great Britain and Sweden. In the treaty with the former, the northern boundary of the United States, from the lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains, was fixed.

Congress also passed a law abolishing internal duties. They passed an act providing for the indigent officers and soldiers of the revolution, by which every officer who had served nine months at any period of the revolutionary war, and whose annual income did not exceed 100 dollars, received a pension of twenty dollars a month; and every needy private soldier who had served that length of time, received eight.

This year, the Chickasaws ceded to the government of the United States, all lands west of the Tennessee river in the states of Kentucky and Tennessee.

(1819.) The condition of those tribes living within the territories of the United States, now attracted the attention of the government, and a most humane policy dictated its measures with regard to them. The sum of 10,000 dollars annually, was appropriated by congress for the purpose of establishing schools among them, and to promote in other ways, their civilization. By means of the missionary societies already established in the United States, missionaries were supported among the Indians, and success in many instances crowned their efforts.

On the 23rd of February, 1819, a treaty was negotiated at Washington, between the secretary of state and the Spanish minister, by which Spain ceded to the United States, East and West Florida, and the adjacent islands. The government of the United States was to exonerate Spain from the claims which the citizens of the United States had against that nation, on account of injuries and spoliation, and congress was to satisfy these claims to an amount not exceeding 5,000,000 of dollars.

Three commissioners were to be appointed by the president with the advice of the senate, to examine and decide upon the amount and validity of all claims included by the treaty. The contracting parties renounced all claims to indemnities for any of the recent acts of their respective officers in Florida. This treaty was ratified by the president and senate of the United States, and sent to Spain, when the king very unexpectedly refused to sanction it. Don Onis, the Spanish minister, was recalled. Another minister was sent to the United States, to make complaints of unfriendly policy on the part of the American government, and to demand explanations respecting the imputed system of hostility on the part of the American citizens, against the subjects and dominion of the king of Spain. Explanations were made, and it was satisfactorily shown, that there had been no system of hostility pursued by the citizens of the United States.

*Alabama admitted to the union—The Missouri question—Mr. Monroe re-elected—Treaty with France—Increase of piracy—Recognition of South American states—The tariff question again agitated.*

In October, 1820, Ferdinand ratified the treaty between France and Spain, but did not give possession of Florida until July 1821.

Alabama territory was this year (1820) admitted into the union of the states. The territory of Missouri was separated, and another, called the Arkansas territory, formed.

A petition was presented to congress this year from the territory of Missouri, praying for authority to form a state government, and to be admitted into the union. A bill was accordingly introduced for that purpose. This, with an amendment, prohibiting slavery within the new state, passed the house of representatives, but was arrested in the senate.

The district of Maine also presented a memorial to congress, praying to be separated from Massachusetts, to be authorized to form its own constitution, and to be admitted into the union on an equal footing with the other states. The two bills for the admission of Maine and Missouri were joined, but not without much opposition from the advocates of the restriction in the Missouri bill. Upon this subject, the members of congress were divided into two parties; those from the non-slaveholding states were in favour of the restriction, while those from the south warmly opposed it. Much debate took place, and at no time had the parties in the congress of the United States been so marked by a geographical division, or so much actuated by feelings dangerous to the union of the states, as at this time. Nor was the seat of government the only place where this subject was discussed; in all parts of the union it attracted the attention of the people. Many of the northern states called meetings, and published spirited resolutions, expressive of their fears of perpetuating slavery, and their approbation of the restriction.

The members from the south opposed the restriction partly on the ground of self-defence. They did not consider that the admission of Missouri, without any restriction, would tend in any degree to perpetuate slavery. It would not be the means of increasing the number of slaves within the states, but of removing some of those that already existed from one state to another. They maintained that it would be a dangerous and despotic measure of the general government, and one that would infringe upon the sovereignties of the states; that such a re-

striction was inconsistent with the treaty by which the territory was ceded to the United States; and finally they insinuated the danger of a dissolution of the union, if the friends of the restriction persisted in it.

The advocates of the restriction maintained that the constitution gave to congress the right of admitting states with or without restrictions, and that no state had ever yet been admitted without any. That the ordinance of 1787 established this right. In proof of this it was urged that when North Carolina ceded to the United States that part of her territory which now includes the state of Georgia, she made the grant upon the express condition that congress should make no regulation tending to the emancipation of slaves. When Georgia ceded to the United States the Mississippi territory, the articles of agreement which provided for its admission as a state on the conditions of the ordinance of 1787, expressly excepted that article which forbids slavery. They also maintained that to strike out the restriction from this bill, would inevitably tend to perpetuate slavery, and to entail this greatest evil upon the new state, besides increasing to the union the mischiefs arising from unequal representation. After much discussion a compromise was effected, and a bill passed for the admission of Missouri without any restriction, but with the inhibition of slavery throughout the territories of the United States, north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes, north latitude. Thus was the most dangerous question ever agitated in congress disposed of in an amicable manner.

The bill for the admission of Maine passed without restriction or amendment; and, in 1820, Maine became independent of Massachusetts, and assumed her proper rank as one of the United States.

(1821.) Missouri was not declared independent until August 1821. Previously to the passage of the bill for its admission, the people of Missouri formed a state constitution; a provision of which required the legislature to pass a law "to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in the state." When the constitution was presented to congress, this provision was strenuously opposed. The contest occupied a great part of the session, but Missouri was finally admitted on the condition that no laws should be passed, by which any free citizens of the United States should be prevented from enjoying those rights within that state, to which they were entitled by the constitution of the United States.

This year Mr. Monroe entered upon his second term of office, having been re-elected to the presidency by nearly a unanimous vote.

(1822.) A territorial government was established in Florida in 1822.

In June a convention of navigation and commerce, on terms of reciprocal and equal advantage, was concluded between France and the United States. The ports of the West India islands were opened to the United States by an act of the British parliament.

The American commerce had for several years suffered severely in consequence of the depredations committed by pirates. The West Indian seas were infested by these marauders, and transactions of the most flagrant and outrageous character had become frequent. Great quantities of property were seized by them, and their captives were often murdered in the most inhuman manner. They respected no law, and the flag of no nation. An event occurred this year which excited general attention,

and showed that the evil had become so alarming as to call loudly for the strong arm of government to interpose for the protection of its citizens. The *Alligator*, United States schooner, was about entering the harbour of Matanzas, when information was received that two American vessels, which the pirates had just captured, were lying a short distance from that place. The *Alligator* was immediately ordered to their relief. An engagement with the pirates ensued, in which the Americans were victorious. They recaptured five American vessels which were in possession of the pirates, and took one piratical schooner. But Allen, the commander of the *Alligator*, was wounded in the engagement, and died in a few hours. His death excited much feeling throughout the United States.

The pirates made the island of Cuba their general place of rendezvous, and they carried their depredations to such an extent that it was extremely dangerous for vessels to enter or leave the port of Havana. Congress at length passed a law appropriating a sum of money to fit out an expedition for the suppression of piracy. Commodore Porter, to whom was given the command of this expedition, sailed for the West Indies, and after touching at Porto Rico, arrived at Matanzas with a squadron consisting of a steam frigate, eight schooners, and five barges. No captures were made by this squadron, as the pirates had obtained knowledge of their movements; but the object of their going out was accomplished in the protection afforded to commerce. The American squadron remained near the islands, and afforded convoys to merchant vessels; and in consequence of this protection of the sea, the pirates were compelled to remain upon the islands, where they committed depredations upon the inhabitants. But one vessel was taken from the Americans during this time, and that was recaptured by Commodore Porter.

In the message which President Monroe this year sent to congress, he invited their attention to the expediency of recognising the independence of the South American republics. He stated, that throughout the contest between those colonies and the parent country, the United States had remained neutral, and had fulfilled, with the utmost impartiality, all the obligations incident to that character. Some time had elapsed since the provinces had declared themselves independent nations, and had enjoyed that independence free from invasion. For three years Spain had not sent a single corps of troops into any part of that country. The delays which had been observed in making a decision on this important subject, would afford an unequivocal proof of the respect entertained by the United States for Spain, and of their determination not to interfere with her rights. Mr. Monroe remarked, that "in proposing this measure, it is not contemplated to change thereby in the slightest manner, the friendly relations with either of the parties, but to observe in all respects as heretofore, should the war be continued, the most perfect neutrality between them." The committee on foreign relations, to whom this question was referred, reported in favour of this measure, and recommended that a sum should be appropriated to enable the president to give due effect to such recognition. Ministers-plenipotentiary were appointed to Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Columbia, and Chili.

(1824.) Ever since the year 1816, the tariff had attracted the attention of the people throughout the union, and from time to time the subject had been

brought before congress; but with the exception of the small protection afforded to coarse cotton cloths, nothing had yet been done for the encouragement of American manufactures. Notwithstanding the pressure of the times, and the many disadvantages under which they laboured, the manufactures of cotton, after they recovered from the first shock, had proved successful. Excepting fine fabrics, which were not manufactured to any extent in America, domestic cottons almost supplied the country, and considerable quantities were exported to South America. Establishments for printing calicoes had been erected in a few places, and in some instances the manufacture of lace had been attempted.

In the support of these establishments, independent of the protection of government, and in defiance of the obstacles which opposed them, individuals and manufacturing companies displayed great energy and perseverance. During this period, the friends of manufactures had increased in numbers, and in zeal for the cause. This year the subject of a new tariff was again brought before congress, but was vehemently opposed. The grounds of the opposition to the bill were, that it would injure the commerce and agriculture of the country, and by lessening the public revenue, compel a resort to a system of excise and taxation. That it would diminish the exports of the United States, as other nations would not purchase articles of any kind unless the produce of their industry was received in exchange. That the country was not prepared for the successful establishment of manufactures, on account of the high price of labour; and that manufactures would, under a favourable concurrence of circumstances, flourish without the protection of government.

The friends of a new tariff replied, that a dependence upon the internal resources of the country was the only true policy of the government; and that the protection desired for manufactures, far from injuring, would prove beneficial to both commerce and agriculture. It would create a home market, without which the agriculturist would not receive the just reward of his labours. It would create a new and extensive business, by which thousands of persons now out of employment might add greatly to the wealth of the nation, and thus keep its resources at home. That it would not diminish the exportations of the country unless to Europe, where little besides the raw materials are carried; and by the applications of industry, new articles of exportation might be multiplied, more valuable than the raw materials, and by which the country would be indemnified for any losses. They considered it by no means certain that it would lessen the public revenue; the augmentation of duty would compensate for the diminution in the quantity of goods imported. Experience proved that manufactures needed protection, and that such had ever been the policy of those governments where the manufacturing interest flourished; and in proof of this, they pointed to the steady course of the English government. Many of the friends of the tariff, however, conceded, that if all nations would unite in a system of free, unshackled trade, it would probably produce the best possible state of things; but the commercial world contended, that as the United States must suffer from laws made by other governments to protect and favour their own manufactures, it was but just that the citizens of the United States should receive a like protection and preference from their own government. After much

discussion, the bill, with some amendments, passed; and it proved effectual in affording the desired protection to cotton goods.

*La Fayette visits America—His reception—Returns to France—Mr. Adams elected President—Treaty with Columbia—Representatives sent to the Congress at Panama—Fiftieth anniversary of Independence—Military stations—Eminent men—Concluding remarks—Retrospect and present state—Future prospects—Conclusion.*

On the 15th of August, 1824, General La Fayette, the friend of America, arrived in the harbour of New York. He did not stop at the city, but proceeded to the residence of the vice-president, at Staten Island. Congress, participating in the warm feeling of esteem and gratitude which pervaded the whole nation, had given him an invitation to visit America, and had proposed sending a national ship for his conveyance. He accepted the invitation, although he declined the offer of a national vessel. When information was received in the city of New York of his arrival, a committee of the corporation and a great number of distinguished citizens immediately proceeded to Staten Island, to behold and welcome the former benefactor of their country, now her illustrious guest. Arrangements were made by the committee for his visit to New York, which was to take place the following day. A splendid escort of steam-boats gaily decorated with the flags of every nation, and bearing thousands of citizens, brought the popular La Fayette to the view of the assembled crowds at New York. The feelings of Fayette, at revisiting again in prosperity the country which he had sought and made his own in the period of her adversity, were at times over-powering.

The thousands assembled to meet him at New York, manifested their joy at beholding him, in the most vehement and sincere manner. He rode uncovered from the battery to the City Hall, receiving and returning the affectionate gratulations of the multitude. At the City Hall, the officers of the city, and many citizens, were presented to him, and he was welcomed by an address from the mayor. His meeting with a few grey-headed veterans of the revolution, his old companions in arms, was an interesting scene. The deep affection they evinced, their constant recurrence to the time when they fought together, few could witness without tears.

Deputations from Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Haven, and many other cities, arrived in New York, with invitations for him to honour those places with his presence. After remaining a few days in New York, he proceeded through New Haven and Providence on his way to Boston. A deputation from Boston met him on his entrance into Massachusetts, and accompanied him to the seat of the governor, in Roxbury. There they received an escort of 800 citizens from Boston; the mayor and corporation awaiting his arrival at the city lines. The pupils of the public schools, both male and female, were arranged in two lines on the side of the common adjoining the mall, under the care of their respective teachers, and through these lines the procession passed.

From Boston he proceeded to Portsmouth, to visit the navy-yard. Orders had been issued by the president to all the military posts, to receive him with the honour due to the highest officer in the American service. He returned to Boston, and from thence to New York, through Worcester and

Hartford. On his return to New York, a splendid fête was given at Castle Garden, and every demonstration of joy continued to be shown. From New York, the general proceeded to Albany and Troy, calling at West Point, and several other places on the river. He next passed through New Jersey, and visited Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Yorktown, and Richmond. These places vied with New York and Boston in the splendour with which they received the esteemed defender of their country. He returned to Washington during the session of congress, and remained there several weeks. Congress voted him the sum of 200,000 dollars, and a township of land which was located in Florida, as a remuneration, in part, of his services during the revolutionary war, and as a testimony of their gratitude.

(1825.) The last of February, La Fayette commenced his tour through the southern and western states. From Washington he went to Richmond, passed through North and South Carolina, taking in his route, Raleigh, Fayetteville, and Charlestown, to Savannah. He travelled through Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, to New Orleans; and from thence proceeded up the Mississippi as far as St. Louis, visiting the principal places on both sides of the river. He returned to the Ohio, passed through Nashville; Louisville, Frankfort, and Lexington in Kentucky; Cincinnati, and other towns in Ohio; Wheeling and Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, to Buffalo; through the state of New York to Albany; and from thence, across Massachusetts, to Boston. He arrived in season to participate in the ceremony of laying the corner stone of a monument which was to commemorate the battle of Bunker's Hill. Leaving Boston, he proceeded to Portland, in Maine; from thence, through Concord in New Hampshire, Windsor, and Montpelier, to Burlington, in Vermont. From Burlington he crossed to Plattsburg; and passing down lake Champlain and the Hudson, arrived again in New York, where he united in the celebration of the anniversary of American independence. Then taking his leave of the eastern and northern states, he returned to Washington, where he remained until his departure from the continent. A more interesting scene can hardly be imagined, than was presented in his visit to Mount Vernon, to the tomb of his departed friend, of him whose name is dear to the heart of every friend of America. He was accompanied by several gentlemen, relatives of Judge Washington's family. When he arrived at the tomb, Mr. Custis, the adopted child of Washington, presented him with a ring containing a portion of the locks from that great champion of American independence. On retiring from the tomb, he was overcome with emotions; and, according to an eye-witness, "Not a soul intruded upon the privacy of the visit to the tomb. Nothing occurred to disturb its reverential solemnity. Not a murmur was heard, save the strains of solemn music, and the deep and measured sound of artillery, which awoke the echoes around the hallowed heights of Mount Vernon."

On the departure of General La Fayette from Washington, the president expressed to him the happiness the nation had experienced in receiving such a guest; its attachment to him; the grateful remembrance of his valuable services; and in behalf of the nation, he bade him an affectionate adieu. A new frigate, named the *Brandywine*, in memory of the battle in which General La Fayette was wounded, was deputed by government to convey

him to his native land, where he was followed by the benedictions of thousands, who would gladly have detained him in America.

The administration of Mr. Monroe was during a time of profound peace. In this period, 60,000,000 dollars of the national debt were discharged. The Floridas were peaceably acquired, and the boundaries of the United States extended to the Pacific ocean. The internal taxes were repealed, the military establishment reduced to its narrowest limits of efficiency, the organization of the army improved, the independence of the South American nations recognised, progress made in the suppression of the slave trade, and the civilization of the Indians advanced.

Mr. Monroe's second term of office having expired, John Quincy Adams was elected president. Four among the principal citizens of the republic had been candidates for the office, and voted for by the electoral college. These were John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and William H. Crawford. The electors were divided, and no choice being made by them, a president, according to the constitution, was to be chosen by the house of representatives, from the three candidates whose number of votes stood highest; who were Messrs. Adams, Jackson, and Crawford. Mr. Adams was chosen. His was the first election by the house of representatives. Many fears had been expressed, that whenever such a case should occur, it would be attended with unpleasant circumstances; but the result was far different. That an event, such as had torn asunder the most powerful kingdoms, should have taken place in the congress of the United States, without the least commotion, showed the respect which that body felt for its own dignity, and their sense of the solemnity of the obligation which bound them to preserve inviolate the constitution of their country.

Mr. Adams was inaugurated March 4th, 1825. In his inaugural address, he declared the course he should pursue was that marked out by his predecessor. He observed that there remained one effort of magnanimity to be made by the individuals throughout the nation, who had heretofore followed the standards of the political party;—it was that of discarding every remnant of rancour against each other, of embracing as countrymen and friends, and of yielding to talents and virtue alone, that confidence which in times of contention for principle, was bestowed only upon those who bore the badge of party communion.

A treaty of commerce and navigation, with the republic of Colombia, was ratified in 1825. "The basis of this treaty was laid in the principle of entire and unqualified reciprocity, and the mutual obligation of the parties to place each other on the footing of the most favoured nation."

In the first message of President Adams to congress, he announced the invitation which had been received by the government of the United States from the South American republics, to send representatives to the congress which they had called at Panama. This invitation had been accepted by the president, on condition that the nomination of commissioners should be approved by the senate. The congress of Panama was to be merely an assembly of diplomatic agents, vested with no powers, except to negotiate and discuss; they were to be deputed by governments, whose constitutions require that all foreign contracts and treaties shall receive ratification from the organic body at home.



before they can go into effect. The relations which the United States held with the South American nations, were very different from those which existed with the European powers. They were united by a similarity in the forms of their governments: the new republics looked upon the United States as having led the way in the cause of freedom, and expected from her friendship in their cause. At the same time, they desired nothing of her which would violate her strict neutrality, or give just cause of umbrage to any other power. The commercial relations existing between the United States and those nations, were even now important; and the interest of them to that country, would be continually increasing. Subjects in which the United States were deeply interested, were to be discussed at Panama, and it was highly necessary that their wishes should be made known there.

Some of the objects which it was hoped might be accomplished by the attendance of ministers at Panama were, the preservation of the tranquillity of the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, the invasion of which, by the united forces of Mexico and Colombia, was among the objects to be matured by the belligerent states at Panama; and the abolition of private war upon the ocean, by a general agreement among the South American nations, as far as they were concerned. They would also take into consideration the means of making effectual the assertion of the principle, that the European nations have no right to colonize further in America, and that with the exception of the existing colonies, the whole of the continent of America belongs to the independent governments established upon it. They would concert measures for the more effectual abolition of the slave trade, and if possible, prevail upon the South American nations, to consent to religious toleration.

The mission was warmly opposed in congress, on the ground that it would be a departure from the neutral character the United States professed to maintain, and contrary to the advice of Washington, which was, in extending the commercial relations with other countries, to have as little political connexion with them as possible. After much discussion, the nominations of the president were approved by the senate, and two ministers were appointed to represent the United States at Panama.

The intercourse of the United States with the nations of Europe, has, since the close of the war with Great Britain, been friendly. With many of them, commercial treaties highly advantageous to the United States, have been formed.

We now draw to the close of our history of this great republic, and cannot conclude it better, than at the fiftieth anniversary of its independence. This epoch, which occurred on the 4th July, 1826, was commemorated with a universal enthusiasm, which was alone subdued by the simultaneous death of the two great champions of American freedom, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, that with a melancholy singularity occurred on this day.

*List of the Military Stations in the United States, in 1826.*

- Fort Sullivan, at Eastport, Maine.
- Fort Preble, at Portland, Maine.
- Fort Constitution, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.
- Fort Independence, at Boston, Mass.
- Fort Adams and Wolcott, at Newport, Rhode Island.
- Fort Trumbull, at New London, Connecticut.

Forts Columbus, Wood, Gibson, and La Fayette, at New York.

Fort McHenry, at Baltimore, Maryland.

Fort at Annapolis, Maryland.

Fort Washington, on the Potomac, four miles below Alexandria.

Fortress Monroe and Calhoun, near Hampton Roads.

Fort Johnson, at Smithfield, North Carolina.

Fort Moultrie, at Charlestown, South Carolina.

Fort Jackson, at Savannah, Georgia.

Fort Marion, at St. Augustine, Florida.

Fort Barancas, near the entrance of the harbour, and Cantonment Clinch, above the town, Pensacola.

Forts Jackson and Philips, near the mouth of the Mississippi river.

Fortified Arsenal, at Baton Rouge.

Cantonment Jessup, at Natchitoches.

Cantonment Towson, at Kirmitia river.

Fort Atkinson, at Council Bluffs.

Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island, in the Mississippi river.

Fort Crawford, at the Prairie du Chien.

Fort Luelling, near the Falls of St. Anthony.

Fort Howard, at Green Bay.

Fort Brady, at the Sault de St. Marie.

Fort Mackinaw, near the Straits of Michilimackinac.

Madison Barracks, at Sackett's Harbour.

Fort Niagara, near the mouth of Niagara river.

Fort at West Point.

There are arsenals at Watertown, near Boston; Gibbonsville, opposite Troy, New York; Rome, Do.; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Pittsburg, Do.; Pikesville, near Baltimore; Washington City; Bellona arsenal, near Richmond, Virginia; and at Charlestown, South Carolina.

Armories at Springfield, and at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

A military academy was founded at West Point, by the government of the United States, in 1802, during the administration of Mr. Jefferson. This institution, when first organized, consisted only of the commandant, and a few other officers of the corps of engineers, together with fifteen or twenty cadets, who were attached to that corps. Congress appropriated 25,000 dollars, for erecting buildings, and purchasing apparatus. By an act of congress in 1812, the plan was much extended, as to the course of education, and the number of cadets. This act increased the number of cadets to 250, and provided for a professor and assistant professor in natural and experimental philosophy; a professor and assistant professor in engineering; a professor and assistant professor of mathematics; a professor of the French language; a professor of drawing; an instructor of tactics; an instructor in artillery; a surgeon of the army, to act as professor of chemistry and mineralogy; and a sword-master. By an act of congress in 1818, a chaplain was appointed, who is also professor of rhetoric and moral philosophy. The secretary of war is authorized to appoint, in addition to the above, as many lieutenants from the army, as the service of the academy may require, who are to act as assistant professors. The library contains about 700 volumes, principally on scientific subjects. The course of instruction is finished in four years.

*Catalogue of Eminent Men who died during the Period extending from 1803 to 1826.*

(1803.) Samuel Adams, a distinguished statesman and patriot.

- (1803.) Samuel Hopkins, D.D., an eminent divine—author of a *System of Doctrines*, to which is added a *Treatise on the Millennium*.  
 William Vans Murray, a distinguished statesman.  
 Matthew Thornton, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.
- (1804.) Alexander Hamilton, a distinguished statesman, and first secretary of the treasury of the United States.  
 John Blair Linn, D.D., a poet, and an eminent divine—author of "*The Powers of Genius*," &c.  
 Philip Schuyler, a major-general in the revolutionary army.  
 George Walton, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.
- (1805.) Arthur Brown, LL.D., a distinguished scholar and eminent barrister—author of a "*Compend of Civil Law*," "*Miscellaneous Sketches*," &c.  
 William Moultrie, governor of South Carolina, and a major-general in the American war.
- (1806.) Isaac Backus, a learned divine and historian—author of a "*Church History of New England*."  
 Horatio Gates, a major-general in the army of the United States.  
 Henry Knox, LL.D., a major-general in the army of the United States.  
 Robert Morris, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.  
 George Wythe, chancellor of Virginia, and one of the signers of the declaration of independence.
- (1807.) Abraham Baldwin, a distinguished statesman.  
 Oliver Ellsworth, chief justice of the United States, and a distinguished statesman.  
 Edward Preble, commodore in the navy of the United States.  
 Samuel West, D.D. an eminent divine, metaphysical, theological, and controversial writer—author of "*Essays on Liberty and Necessity*."
- (1808.) Fisher Ames, a distinguished statesman and scholar.  
 John Dickinson, a distinguished political writer.  
 John Redman, M.D., first president of the College of Physicians in Philadelphia.  
 William Shippen, M.D., F.R.S., a learned physician and anatomist.  
 James Sullivan, a distinguished civilian—author of a "*History of the District of Maine*," "*History of the Penobscot Indians*," &c.
- (1809.) Thomas Heyward, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.  
 Meriwether Lewis, governor of Louisiana.  
 Thomas Paine, a political and deistical writer—author of the "*Age of Reason*," "*Rights of Man*," &c.
- (1810.) Charles Brockden Brown, a distinguished writer, principally of novels—author of "*Wieland*," "*Ormond*, or the Secret Witness," &c.  
 Benjamin Lincoln, a major-general in the American army.
- (1811.) Robert Treat Paine, a popular poet.
- (1811.) William Williams, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.
- (1812.) Joel Barlow, LL.D., a distinguished poet—author of the "*Vision of Columbus*," since entitled the "*Columbiad*."  
 George Clinton, fourth vice-president of the United States.  
 David Ramsay, a celebrated historian—author of the "*Life of Washington*," "*American Revolution*," &c.
- (1813.) George Clymer, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.  
 Robert R. Livingston, one of the signers of the declaration of independence, and a distinguished patriot and statesman.  
 Theophilus Parsons, an eminent statesman and lawyer.  
 Zebulon Montgomery Pike, a brigadier-general in the army of the United States.  
 Benjamin Rush, M.D., a celebrated physician, and one of the signers of the declaration of independence.  
 Alexander Wilson, a celebrated naturalist.
- (1814.) William Heath, a major-general in the American army.  
 Robert Treat Paine, a distinguished patriot, and one of the signers of the declaration of independence.
- (1815.) James A. Bayard, a distinguished statesman.  
 John Carroll, D.D., first archbishop of the Roman Catholic church in America.  
 Benjamin Smith Barton, M.D., a learned physician.  
 Robert Fulton, a celebrated civil engineer.
- (1817.) James Alexander Dallas, secretary of the treasury of the United States.  
 Timothy Dwight, S.T.D., LL.D., president and professor of divinity of Yale-college.
- (1818.) Caspar Wistar, M.D., a learned physician and celebrated anatomist—author of a "*System of Anatomy*."
- (1819.) Henry Kollock, D.D., an eminent divine.  
 Samuel Stanhope Smith, D.D., LL.D., president of Princeton-college.  
 Hugh Williamson, M.D., LL.D., author of the "*History of North Carolina*," "*Change of the climate of the United States*," &c.
- (1820.) Daniel Boone, the first settler of the state of Kentucky.  
 Stephen Decatur, commodore in the navy of the United States.  
 Oliver Hazard Perry, commodore in the navy of the United States.  
 Benjamin West, a celebrated historical painter.
- (1821.) Samuel Bard, M.D., LL.D., an eminent physician, and president of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in the University of New York.  
 William Floyd, one of the signers of the declaration of independence.
- (1822.) William Pinkney, an eminent lawyer and statesman.  
 John Stark, a brigadier-general in the American army during the revolutionary war.
- (1823.) William Bartram, F.R.S., an eminent botanist—author of *Travels through the Carolinas, Georgia, and the Floridas*.

(1826.) John Adams, LL.D., eminent as a statesman and a lawyer, and second president of the United States.  
 Thomas Jefferson, LL.D., third president of the United States.  
 Rufus King, a distinguished statesman.

#### *Concluding Remarks.*

We cannot better conclude our history than with the following general review of the history and prospects of the United States, by an able American author.

The English colonies of North America were settled under the most favourable auspices. The mind of man had just burst from thralldom, and begun to delight in the free and vigorous exercise of its powers. Religion and government had become themes of animated discussion. The people had boldly questioned the divine right of their rulers to control their actions, and of their priests to prescribe to them articles of faith. They had assumed a higher rank and bolder attitude; and, conscious of their own power, had begun to feel less dependence upon others.

From that country, where the advancement of knowledge had been greatest, came those who peopled this western wilderness. They belonged principally to a class, so high as to have participated largely in the advantages which knowledge imparts, and yet not so high as to be above the power of the oppressor. The persecutions they had endured rendered the principles of civil and religious liberty more dear to their hearts; and led to inquiries and reflections, which fixed a conviction of their truth more firmly in their understandings.

No occasion could be more fortunate, no men could be better fitted to lay the foundation of a superstructure entirely new. Their knowledge enabled them to discern the good and the evil of the political institutions which had existed in the world; and their feelings, chastened by their sufferings, or elevated by their favourable view of human nature, led them to reject those provisions which sacrificed the happiness of many to the splendour of a few; and to adopt such only as gave equal rights and privileges to all.

In every nation of Europe ecclesiastical establishments existed, almost co-ordinate with the civil authority. The officers of these establishments were numerous, and their privileges extensive. For their support, in early times, a tenth part of the income of the laity was appropriated. Possessing wealth, and rank, and learning, their influence was great, and was constantly exerted to acquire and preserve dominion over the minds and consciences of men. Their success was equal to the means which they employed. They continued to add to their wealth and power, until, corrupted by luxury and idleness, they forgot their duties to God and to man; and encumbered society with a useless and oppressive weight.

No part of these establishments have been transferred to America. The first settlers of most of the colonies were too proud of their attainments, in spiritual knowledge, to submit to dictation in matters of faith; and too independent in feeling to acknowledge a superior on earth. Here man resumed his natural and dignified station; and the ministers of the Gospel, maintaining an apostolical simplicity of character and manners, have seldom sought to obtain, and possess not the means of obtaining, any greater influence than that which superior virtue and piety confer.

The doctrine of hereditary right prevailed also throughout Europe. By the fundamental regulations of nearly every kingdom, the monarch and nobles transmitted to their eldest sons, even though destitute of talents and virtue, their authority, privileges, and rank. The people often saw on the throne men, who were guilty of the most atrocious wickedness, and whose conduct involved communities and nations in misery; but no attempt could be made to remove or punish them without incurring the penalty of rebellion. They saw also, in other exalted stations, men equally wicked and equally beyond their control.

The law of primogeniture existed as a part of the hereditary system. The eldest son inherited, not the title only, but also all the lands of the father. By this unjust, and unnatural law, the younger sons and daughters were doomed to comparative poverty. One portion of the people was made rich, and another poor. Few were placed in that happy medium between wealth and poverty, which is most favourable to virtue, to happiness, and to the improvement of the human faculties.

The principle, that power could be inherited, was at once rejected by the first emigrants to America. They had witnessed, in Europe, the pernicious operation of this principle; they were convinced of its absurdity; and even had not such been the case, that equality of rank and condition, which existed among them, would have prevented any one from claiming such a privilege for his family, and all others from submitting to it.

The law of primogeniture fell of course into disuse, or was abolished. That equality of rights and of rank, which prevailed at first, has continued to prevail; and though in some of the colonies, the extravagant grants of land, which were made by capricious governors to their favourites, introduced great inequality of fortune, yet the salutary operation of various laws is continually diminishing this inequality, dividing and distributing among many that wealth which, in the hands of a few, is less beneficial to the public, and productive of less individual enjoyment.

The systems of government established in the colonies were also departures from European precedents, and were in perfect harmony with their social institutions. Most of the provisions of the early charters were doubtless suggested by the first emigrants, and of course accorded with their liberal political principles. The kings who granted them conceded many privileges, to encourage the settlement of colonies in America, entertaining no suspicion that their successors would ever have occasion to regret their concessions. These charters made but little distinction in the rights and privileges of the colonists. Every man could regard those around him as his equals. The state of individual dependence being hardly known, all sense of dependence on the mother-country was gradually lost; and the transition from a colonial to an independent condition was natural and unavoidable.

In nothing is the contrast between the two systems of government greater than in the requisitions which they make of the people for their support and defence. That of Great Britain may be taken as a favourable example of the European governments. The people of that kingdom pay annually, for the support of their sovereign and his relatives, above 2,500,000 dollars, while the compensation of the president of the United States is but 25,000. In the salaries of the subordinate officers of government,

the disproportion is not so great, but is generally, nevertheless, as four or five to one.

The military peace establishment of Great Britain costs annually 34,000,000 dollars; that of the United States but little more than 5,000,000. The naval establishment of the former costs 22,000,000; that of the latter less than 2,500,000. British subjects pay in taxes, raised exclusively for national purposes, at the rate of fifteen dollars yearly for each individual; the citizens of the United States pay, in national and state taxes, at the rate of but two dollars. And as the whole population of Great Britain and Ireland is included in the estimate, the individual wealth of the subjects of the united kingdom and of the citizens of the American republic may, on an average, be considered nearly equal.

With burdens thus light, not embarrassed by too much regulation, nor restricted by monopolies, but left at liberty to pursue their own interests as individual judgment may dictate, the citizens of the republic have boldly embarked in all the ordinary pursuits of man; and in all have met with a degree of success which exhibits a favourable and forcible commentary upon their free institutions, and proves that no other people surpass them in activity or enterprise.

In the pursuits of AGRICULTURE, by far the greatest portion of the inhabitants are engaged; and for that employment the country is most favourably situated. It embraces every desirable variety of climate. The soil is generally good; in many parts of the union it is exceedingly fertile; and it produces, or may be made to produce, almost every vegetable which can be made the food of man, or as the material of manufactures. The northern states produce Indian corn, rye, wheat, flax, hemp, oats, potatoes; and their pastures feed and fatten large numbers of cattle and sheep. The middle and western states produce tobacco, and the same articles as the northern, but wheat in much greater abundance. In the southern states cotton is principally cultivated, but considerable quantities of rice and sugar are produced.

In 1820 the number of persons engaged in agriculture was 2,070,646. The value of all its products exported during the year ending the 30th of September 1823 was 37,646,000 dollars. The principal articles were, cotton to the value of 20,445,000 dollars; tobacco to the value of 4,852,000 dollars; flour to the value of 4,962,000 dollars; and rice to the value of 1,821,000 dollars. The value of provisions of all kinds exported was 13,460,000 dollars, and it has in many years been at a greater average. A people able to spare such an amount of the necessities of life, can never be in danger of suffering from want.

The agricultural class is conspicuous for industry, morality, and general intelligence; but has less professional knowledge than the same class in Europe. Land having hitherto been cheap, and not exhausted by cultivation, agriculturists have hitherto not been eager, and it has not been necessary, to make practical application of the discoveries of science; but a change in these respects having taken place, especially in the Atlantic states, many now study their profession as a science; and as all professions are estimated according to the skill and intelligence required to attain eminence in them, they are raising their own nearer to that rank in society, to which its utility and importance entitle it. More taste and neatness are now displayed in cultivation, and the appearance of the country is rapidly improving.

The COMMERCE of the United States has yielded

a rich harvest of wealth. Various circumstances have directed the attention of a large portion of the population to this pursuit, and have contributed to give them success in it. For 2000 miles the republic bounds upon the sea, and in that space has many excellent harbours. The finest timber for ship building is abundant, and easily procured. Near the shores of the northern states, and on the adjacent banks of Newfoundland, are fishing stations, unsurpassed by any in the world. Fishing is consequently a lucrative employment, in proportion to the capital invested, and attracts to it a large number of the natives of those states. These, having become accustomed to a seafaring life, and acquired the requisite qualifications, soon pass into larger vessels, destined for more distant and perilous voyages.

The state of the world, for several years subsequent to the commencement of the French revolution, offered great encouragement to the commercial enterprise of the country. While almost every other power was engaged in war, the United States were neutral; their vessels navigated the ocean in safety, and were employed to carry, from port to port, the commodities of the belligerent nations. In fifteen years, beginning with 1793, these favourable circumstances increased the amount of American tonnage from 491,000 to 1,242,000 tons, and the revenue arising from commerce, from 4,399,000 to 16,363,000 dollars.

In 1820, the number of persons engaged in commerce was 72,493. In 1823 the whole amount of exports was 74,799,000 dollars; the amount of imports was 77,579,009 dollars, the balance, in favour of the United States, being about 3,000,000 of dollars. As the imports, however, are always undervalued at the custom-house, the accession of wealth which, in that year, accrued to the nation from commerce, was undoubtedly greater.

In other years the commerce of the country has flourished more. In 1807 the exports amounted to 108,343,000, and the imports to 138,574,000 dollars. The principal causes of the decline which has taken place have been the restoration of peace in Europe, and the increase of the product of domestic manufactures. The former has permitted all other nations to become competitors; the latter has rendered it unnecessary to resort to Europe for most of the conveniences and many of the luxuries of life; but a proof that the depression is fast decreasing, is that in 1831 the exports were estimated at 81,310,583 dollars; and the imports at 103,191,124 dollars; and the independence of the South American republic has opened a wide field for the enterprise of American merchants.

The COD-FISHERY on the north-eastern coast of America attracted at an early period the attention of the world. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert found 36 vessels fishing in the harbour of St. John, in Newfoundland. They were principally from Biscay, in Spain, and Brittany, in France, and for many years the French retained almost a monopoly of this source of wealth. In 1744 they employed, in this fishery, 414 large ships, navigated by about 24,000 seamen, and the quantity of fish taken amounted to 1,149,000 quintals.

The war of 1756 expelling the French from the continent, transferred the privileges which they had enjoyed to Great Britain. The English colonies, from their vicinity, participated largely in them. In the year 1760, 660 vessels, navigated by 4400 seamen, were fitted out from the ports of New England. During the revolutionary war, the Americans were

compelled to relinquish the profitable pursuit; and it required all the firmness and address of the negotiators of the peace of 1783 to secure to these states those advantages which nature seems to have intended for them, and which they had enjoyed as a component part of the British empire. They were at length, however, notwithstanding the covert opposition of France, conceded by the mother-country.

From that period till 1807 the number of vessels and men employed in this pursuit continued to increase. An estimate has been made that, from 1790 to 1810, 1200 vessels of all kinds, navigated by 10,500 men and boys, were, on an average, yearly employed in the Bank bay and Labrador fisheries; 1,150,000 quintals of fish were caught and cured; and 37,000 barrels of oil were made. The annual value of the product of these fisheries could not have been less than 3,500,000 dollars. They were interrupted by the last war with Great Britain, and have not since regained their former activity. As nurseries of seamen, they are important to the nation; and as such have received the particular attention and encouragement of government. A bounty, amounting in some years to 200,000 dollars, is paid to the owners and crews of the vessels employed.

The WHALE-FISHERY of the United States ought not to be passed over unnoticed. Its successful prosecution requires uncommon hardihood and skill. As early as 1690, the inhabitants of Nantucket engaged in this pursuit, and were soon after joined by their brethren of the town of New Bedford. In a few years these monsters of the deep were driven from the American coasts; but were pursued with ardour into seas more remote. In 1715, 228 tons; in 1771, 27,000 tons; in 1815, 42,000 tons of shipping were employed in this business. The product of this fishery exported in 1807, consisting of common and spermaceti oil and whale-bone, was valued at 606,000 dollars; in 1831 at 741,808 dollars; not including spermaceti candles, which amounted to 217,830 dollars additional.

An extract from the speech of Mr. Burke, delivered in the British parliament, in 1775, presents in eloquent language, a correct idea of the importance of this fishery, and of the enterprise and dexterity of those engaged in it. "As to the wealth which the colonies have drawn from the sea by their fisheries, you had all that matter fully opened at your bar. You surely thought those acquisitions of value; for they seemed even to excite your envy; and yet the spirit by which that enterprising employment has been exercised, ought rather, in my opinion, to have raised your esteem and admiration.

"And pray, Sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. While we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's bay and Davis's straits; whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold; that they are at the Antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry.

"Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both poles. We know that while some of them draw the line and

strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue the gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood.

"When I contemplate these things; when I know that the colonies owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government, but that, through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take its own way to perfection; when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable they have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt and die away within me. My rigour relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty."

MANUFACTURES.—While the United States were colonies, the mother-country endeavoured to prevent the inhabitants from manufacturing any article whatever, even for their own use. The erection of slitting-mills was prohibited, and hatters were forbidden to take any apprentice for less than seven years, or to employ more than two at a time. In addition to these and other legislative enactments, the wages of labour were high, and neither skill nor surplus capital existed in the country. But little attention was of course given to manufactures, and the inhabitants received their supplies from the artisans of England.

Some attempts were indeed made, a few years previous to the commencement of the revolutionary war, to introduce manufactures. Such was in part the intention of the non-importation agreements; and some of the colonial legislatures, to encourage the production of wool, and the manufacture of cloths, exempted sheep from taxation. But at no time, previous to the adoption of the constitution, did manufacturers exist in the country in sufficient number to be considered a class of the population.

And indeed it was not until the imposition of the embargo, in 1807, that any considerable impulse was given to this branch of industry. Prevented by this interruption of commerce from exchanging their products for foreign articles, the inhabitants then attempted to fabricate them for themselves. From the want of experience and skill, many of the first attempts were unsuccessful; but in a very short time these deficiencies were supplied, and at the close of the war the amount of the products of manufactures was astonishingly great. Forming an estimate from the amount in 1810, which was near 170,000,000, it could not have been less, for 1814, than 200,000,000 dollars.

Peace, by affording to foreigners an opportunity of introducing the goods which had accumulated in their warehouses, checked for a few years the impulse which the restrictive measures and the war had given. In each of the three years following 1815, the value of articles manufactured was probably less than in any one of the preceding six years. From the year 1818, the amount has gradually increased, and in 1821 and 1822 it was probably greater than it had ever before been. It will here.

after continue to increase, and the navigation of the country will be employed, not so much in bringing home the manufactures of other nations, as in carrying abroad those of the United States. In this way, domestic manufactures will repay to commerce the capital they have lately drawn from it.

The states in which the greatest attention is devoted to this branch of industry, are Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. The principal manufactures are those of cotton and of woollen cloths, of iron, and of leather. In 1820, the number of inhabitants engaged in manufactures was 349,506.

The question, whether agriculture, commerce or manufactures is most productive of national wealth, and to which the government ought, in preference, to extend its protection and encouragement, has lately been warmly discussed by the politicians and writers on political economy in America and in Europe. Each interest has its advocates. The decision of the impartial statesman would probably be, that neither should be encouraged to the neglect of the others: that if either is, in any degree, to be preferred, it is that which is, at the time, the most depressed; or that which supplies most of the means of national defence, and most of the necessities and conveniences of life.

**DEBT, REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES.**—When in 1790, the public debt was first funded, it amounted to about 75,000,000 dollars. In 1803, by the purchase of Louisiana, it was augmented to about 85,500,000. In the eight years which followed, a large amount was paid, leaving due, in 1812, but little more than 45,000,000. To defray the expenses of the war which was declared in that year, more than 80,000,000 of new debt was contracted. A large portion has since been paid, and the remainder is so small as not to deserve notice.

The present revenue of the republic is derived principally from commerce, and from the sale of public lands. In 1822, there accrued from the former source, the sum of 20,500,775 dollars; from the latter source, 1,803,581; and from other sources, 839,084. The amount however which was actually received, during the year, was but 20,232,427.

The expenditures, during the same year, were as follow:—Civil, diplomatic, and miscellaneous, 1,967,996; for the pay and support of the army, the construction of forts, the supply of arms, the payment of pensions, and the various expenses of the Indian department, 5,635,188; for the support and increase of the navy, 2,224,458; for the payment of the interest, and for the redemption of that portion of the principal of the debt which became due within the year, 7,848,949; amounting in the whole to 17,676,591, and leaving an excess of revenue over expenditure of 2,555,836 dollars.

**EDUCATION.**—In the kingdoms of Europe, large sums have been appropriated, by the governments, for the purpose of education. Nearly all, however, has been expended in founding or endowing universities. To these the sons of the nobles and the rich could alone gain access; and the intention and effect of the expenditure has always been, to produce erudite scholars, and able orators, and to perpetuate and widen the separation between the higher and lower classes of the population.

The people of the United States have had a different object in view, and one more congenial with their political institutions. Desirous that none should be ignorant, their first and principal care has been, to impart the advantages of instruction to the

whole mass of the population. With this view, the legislatures of many of the states have ordained that schools, for the education of all the youth in reading, writing, and arithmetic, shall be kept and supported by a public and general tax.

This system was adopted in Massachusetts as early as 1647. A law was then passed by that colony, providing that a school should be kept in every township having 50 householders, in which all the children who might resort to it should be taught to read and write. As the number of inhabitants increased, the townships were divided into small districts, and a school supported in each. Thus the means of education were provided at the public expense, and the opportunity of acquiring it placed within the power of all.

Immediately after their first settlement, the same system was adopted by the other colonies of New England; and it has, by all of them, been preserved and cherished to the present time. Connecticut, having a large tract of land in Ohio, which was sold for 1,200,000 dollars, appropriated the whole sum to the support of common or primary schools. The sum has since been augmented to 1,700,000 dollars, and the interest is annually distributed to the several school districts, according to the number of scholars taught in each. No district, however, is entitled to any aid from this fund unless it had in the preceding year expended, for the same purpose, a certain amount derived from its own resources.

The effect of this system has been, to render the great body of the people of these states the most enlightened in the world. All can read and write, and rarely can one be found not qualified by education to transact the common concerns of life. To educate his children is the first object, and the chief glory of the parent; their ignorance is to him and to them disgraceful. In these schools, the human mind receives its first impulse in the career of learning; an impulse which carries many forward to high stations of honour and of usefulness.

The great state of New York, distinguished for magnificent projects of internal improvement, and for liberal patronage of literature and the arts, has lately adopted a system nearly similar to that of Connecticut. From various sources it has accumulated a fund, the income of which is to be applied annually to the support of common schools. This fund in 1820, amounted to 1,215,000 dollars. Since that year all the unsold and unappropriated lands, which, when disposed of, will probably produce 2 or 3,000,000 more, have been permanently devoted to the same object. The annual interest of this fund is distributed, according to population, among the several townships, on their raising, for the same purpose, an additional sum equal to that which they receive from the state. In 1821, 333,000 children were taught in the several district schools; a number nearly equal to that of all the children in the state between five and fifteen years of age. In 1823, the number taught was 400,000.

Virginia has also a literary fund, the interest of a part of which is appropriated for the support of common schools. This fund is of recent origin, and its income is yet small. The advantages of education are, however, so highly appreciated in that state, by its enlightened citizens, that most of the rising generation are instructed in private schools, or by domestic teachers. The same remark will apply to most of the middle and southern states; yet, in these, too many of the children of the poor will remain in ignorance until effectual provision



is made by the respective governments, for the instruction of all.

The national government has not been unmindful of the importance of universal education. Before the adoption of the constitution, it acquired, by the cession of the states claiming it, the property of nearly all the unappropriated land within the national boundaries. In offering this land for sale, it has reserved in every township one section, comprising 640 acres, for the use of schools. As the population of the new states becomes more dense, these lands will constitute a valuable and productive fund, and the system of free schools, thus planted in the western, will there produce the same benefits as in the eastern portion of the union.

Schools of a higher order, to which the name of academies has been applied, are numerous in all the states, especially in those of New England. Many are incorporated, and some possess considerable funds. That at Exeter, in New Hampshire, holds the highest rank; its funds amount to 80,000 dollars; it has a library containing 700 volumes, and a handsome philosophical apparatus. In these schools are taught English grammar, composition, history, geography, mathematics, the Latin and Greek languages. Many young men resort to them to acquire an education superior to that which can be obtained at the primary schools, and many to prepare themselves to enter some college or university. They are principally taught by those who have just received a degree in the arts, and who are unable, from the want of property, to engage immediately in the study of the professions which they intend to pursue.

Of colleges and universities there is also a large number in the United States. (Of the chief, Harvard-college, and Yale-college, we have already given an account, in the history of their respective states.) In addition to these, there are in the union about 50 colleges and universities authorized to confer degrees. In all of these are taught the English, Latin, and Greek languages, rhetoric, mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, chymistry, astronomy, history, and geography. In some of them are also taught the Hebrew, Oriental, and modern European languages, anatomy, surgery, medicine, botany, polite literature, divinity, ethics, natural and municipal law, politics, and elocution.

**LITERATURE.**—The remark has often been made, that the United States have produced no eminent scholars; and that the national character has not been illustrated by literary and scientific performances of distinguished merit. This remark is doubtless just. Compared with those of the old world, their writers have not exhibited the same laboured polish of style, nor their men of science the same perseverance and extent of investigation. Their historians are not equal to Hume or Robertson; their poets to Milton or Pope; their chymists to Lavoisier or Davy; nor their metaphysicians to Locke, Berkeley, or Reid.

But this fact implies no deficiency of mental vigour in the people. The mind of the nation has received from circumstances a different direction. Those who are endued with extraordinary talent, whatever may have been their original propensities, have been called from the closet to labour in the legislative hall, or the cabinet; to vindicate the cause or defend the interests of their country abroad; to dispense justice from the bench, or to support and defend at the bar the claims and the rights of their fellow-citizens.

To perform these duties, certainly not less ho-

nourable nor less difficult than any thing which the mere scholar can perform, a greater variety of talents, and greater intellectual labour have been required in this than in any other country. Here in comparatively a short period the foundations have been laid, and the superstructures erected, of new political institutions. Many governments have been established over communities differing from each other, and from those of Europe; and over these a paramount government with extensive and important powers. For each of these communities, a new system of law has been required, and each government has a separate executive, legislative, and judicial department. The population of no country has been called upon to supply such a number of legislators, of judges and of lawyers; nor, it may be added, of instructors of youth. And while their number accounts for the comparative neglect of literature and the fine arts, the talents they have displayed sufficiently vindicate the republic from the reproach of intellectual inferiority.

But not in these modes alone have the people of these states proved that in original powers of mind they may assert an equality, at least, with those of any other nation. None has made more important discoveries in the useful arts. England boasts of her Arkwright, who invented the spinning machine; of her Worcester, Newcomm, and Watt, by whose ingenuity and labours the powers of steam were substituted for the uncertain aid of wind and water in moving the machinery of manufactories.

America may boast of her Godfrey, whose quadrant has been almost as serviceable as the compass to navigation; of her Franklin, who has made our dwellings comfortable within, and protected them from the lightning of heaven; of Whitney, whose cotton gin has added to the annual product of that article at least 100,000,000 of pounds; of her Whittemore, the inventor of the wonderful machine for making cards; of her Perkins, the inventor of the nail machine; and of her Fulton, who has rendered the power of steam subservient to the purposes of navigation.

But the United States have produced authors who would do honour even to any other nation. The style of Franklin is perspicuous and pure; and few men of any age or country have contributed more by their writings to enlighten and to benefit mankind. The histories of Marshall, Ramsay, Belknap, Williams, and the Annals of Holmes, are works of sterling merit, interesting and instructive. Among theological writers, Edwards, Hopkins, Dwight, Lethrop, Davies, Kollock, and Buckminster are deservedly eminent. And, as novelists, Brown, Cooper, and Irving, are very distinguished.

Many of the political writers of this country have displayed great vigour of thought and force of expression. The pamphlets and state papers to which the revolutionary struggle gave existence; the numbers of the Federalist; the official letters of Mr. Jefferson, as secretary of state, and of the American ministers at Ghent, not only display intellectual powers, but possess literary merit of the highest order. The best writers of this republic have not been authors of books.

To the fine arts still less attention has been paid than to literature; but the neglect is to be attributed rather to the deficiency of patronage than to the want of capacity to excel. Benjamin West, a native of Pennsylvania, presided for many years over the Royal Academy, comprising the most eminent painters of Great Britain. In portrait painting, Copley

and Stuart have acquired a high reputation ; and in historical painting, Trumbull excels. The United States claim only the honour of their birth ; England and Italy that of patronizing and instructing them.

**RELIGION.**—The consequences resulting from the enjoyment of religious liberty have been highly favourable. Free discussion has enlightened the ignorant, disarmed superstition of its dreadful powers, and consigned to oblivion many erroneous and fantastic creeds. Religious oppression, and the vindictive feelings it arouses, are hardly known. Catholics and Protestants live together in harmony ; and Protestants who disagree, employ in defending their own doctrines, and in assailing those of their antagonists, the weapons only of reason and eloquence.

In the New England states, the Independents or Congregationalists constitute the most numerous denomination ; in the middle states, the Presbyterians ; and in the southern, the Methodists. Baptists, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics are found in all the states ; but in Maryland and Louisiana, the Catholics are more numerous than elsewhere. Each of these sects has one or more seminaries of learning, in which its peculiar doctrines are taught, and young men are educated for the ministry. Many other sects exist, but reason, less tolerant than the laws, is gradually diminishing the number.

**CHARACTER AND MANNERS.**—Foreigners have asserted that the Americans possess no national character. If at any period this assertion has been true, it was then no reproach. In its youth, a nation can have no established character. The inhabitants of this republic, coming from every quarter of the world, speaking many different languages, dispersed over a vast extent of territory, could not immediately assimilate and exhibit those few prominent traits, which nations as well as individuals, in their maturity, display.

But the germ of national character has always existed. It has grown with the growth of the nation, and is gradually throwing into the shade those unfavourable and discordant traits, which have disfigured and partly concealed it from view. Who that has read the history of these states, has not perceived in the inhabitants an energy of purpose capable of surmounting all obstacles ; a spirit of enterprise, that leaves nothing useful unattempted ; a proud sense of personal dignity and independence ; a decided preference of utility before show ; and a love of knowledge that has dispelled ignorance from the land ? They may have been too much devoted to the pursuit of gain ; too much addicted to habits of intemperance ; too much inflated with national vanity ; bigoted and superstitious : but these traits are now less apparent ; they are constantly melting away, and those more noble appearing in bolder relief.

Those whose wealth or talents place them in the first rank in society, are, in their manners, free from awkwardness, formality, haughtiness, and ostentation ; but they do not display the elegance or refinement of the same class in Europe. The mass of the people are serious, shrewd, inquisitive, manly, and generally respectful, but they know little, and

practise less, of the ceremonies of formal politeness. To foreigners, accustomed to the servility of the lower classes in Europe, they doubtless often appear rough and uncourtly ; and many fashionable tourists may have had their feelings needlessly wounded, and their delicacy shocked ; but when respectfully treated, they display native politeness, and generosity of sentiment. Time will remove the grosser defects ; but may it never, by polishing too deeply, impair that strength of character, which is essential to the permanence of republican institutions.

A review of the rapid progress of the United States in population, wealth, and power ; a survey of their present physical and moral condition ; and a comparison of them, in either respect, with other nations, cannot fail to give to an American citizen an elevated conception of his own country, and to justify the loftiest anticipation for the future.

In a period of 30 years, ending with 1820, the population of the republic increased from 3,893,835, to 9,642,150 ; it consequently doubles in less than 25 years. In Great Britain, the population does not double in less than 80 years ; and in that country the increase is nearly, if not quite, as rapid as in any other country in Europe.

The augmentation of wealth and power cannot be so easily ascertained. It is the opinion of many, well qualified to judge, that it has been still more rapid ; and when the increase of the exports, which in the same period advanced from 19 to 65,000,000 ; when the growth of the cities and villages ; the increase of the manufacturing establishments, of the national and mercantile navy, of the fortifications and other means of defence ; the extent of the internal improvements ; and beyond all, the extensive territories reclaimed from a state of nature, and made productive, and valuable, are adverted to, that opinion will not appear unfounded nor extravagant.

Although now inferior to the principal nations of the old world, yet but a short period will elapse before the United States, should their progress hereafter be the same that it has been, will overtake and pass them. Their great natural advantages will continue to urge them forward. Extensive tracts of fertile land yet remain vacant of inhabitants ; the portions already settled are capable of supporting a much more numerous population ; new roads and new canals will give greater activity to internal commerce, and open new fields to the untiring industry and enterprise of man ; and a small part only being required by the government, nearly the whole annual income will be added to the general capital, augmenting it in a compound ratio.

That these splendid anticipations are not the suggestions of national vanity, the history of the past sufficiently proves. Yet their fulfilment depends in a great degree upon the future conduct of the people themselves ; upon their adherence to the principles of their fathers ; upon the preservation of free political institutions, of industrious, frugal, and moral habits ; and above all, upon the universal diffusion of knowledge.

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